METROPOLITAN
BOROUGH OF WOOLWICH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES.
Richard de Lucy, Justiciar of England, planning his foundation of Lesnes Abbey 1178.
PLUMSTEAD
LIBRARY.
GEORGE BAKER DEL. 1926

LONDON BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
LIBRARY SERVICE

Author

Title

BOOK STORE

Books or discs must be returned on or before the last date stamped on label or on card in book pocket. Books or discs can be renewed by telephone, letter or personal call unless required by another reader. After library hours use the Ansafone Service (01-698 7347). For hours of opening and charges see notices at the above branch, but note that all lending departments close at 1 pm on Wednesday and all libraries are closed on Sundays, Good Friday, Christmas Day, Bank Holidays and Saturdays prior to Bank Holidays.

METROPOLITAN
SPECIAL COLLECTION

942.061/065

SECOND COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE and VALUABLE

TRACTS,

ON THE MOST

Intereſting and *Entertaining* Subjects:

But chiefly ſuch as relate to the

Hiſtory *and* Conſtitution *of theſe* Kingdoms.

Selected from an infinite Number in *Print* and *Manuſcript*, in the ROYAL, COTTON, SION, and other Public, as well as Private Libraries;

Particularly that of the

Late LORD *SOMERS*.

Reviſed by EMINENT HANDS.

VOL. I.

The Bent and Genius of the Age is beſt known in a free Country, by the Pamphlets and Papers that come daily out, as the Senſe of Parties, and ſometimes the Voice of the Nation. Preface to KENNET's Regiſter.

Judex qui aliquid ſtatuit, unâ parte auditâ tantum & inauditâ alterâ, licet æquum ſtatuerit, haud æquus fuerit. *Ld.* COKE & JUST. *Inſt.*

LONDON:

Printed for F. COGAN, at the *Middle-Temple-Gate*, in *Fleet-Street*.

MDCCL.

SECOND COLLECTION
OF A
LIST
OF THE
PERSONS of QUALITY and DISTINCTION,

Who were pleased to honour this WORK with their
Approbation and Encouragement.

A.

His Grace the Duke of Argyll.
The Right Hon. the Earl of
Sir Stephen Anderton, Bart.
George Andrews, Esq;
John Atwood, Esq; of Sandertead.
The Rev. Dr. Autry.

B.

His Grace the Duke of Beaufort.
Her Grace the Dutchess of Bolton.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Bath.
The Right Hon. Lady Viscountess
-tey.
The Right Hon. the Lord Bp. of Bang-
Sir John Bellew, Bart.
The Hon. William Bowyer.
Edmund Heapate Beaghan, Esq;
John Bacon, Esq;
Blomfield Berradell, Esq;
Maurice Birchfield, Esq;
Edmund Charles Blomberg, Esq;

C.

The Right Hon. Lord Carpenter.
Sir Nathaniel Curzon, Bart.
Sir Kenrick Clayton, Bart.
Sir Thomas Clarges, Bart.
Sir Clement Dormer Cotterel.
William Curzon, Esq;
William Campbell, Esq;
Robert Clayton, Esq;
Humphry Coats, Esq;
Edward Compton, Esq;
Claud Cretigney, Esq;
Philip Cretigney, Esq;
The Rt. Hon. Lord Viscount Dowe-
The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Dup-
Sir John Dalrymple, Bart.
Bryan Dawlon Esq;
James Dixon, Esq;
James Dalton, Esq;
Thomas Delamaine, Esq;

E.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Essingham.
William Elliot, Esq;
Charles Erskine, Esq;
Anthony Ewer, Esq;

A

LIST

OF THE

PERSONS of QUALITY and DISTINCTION,

Who were pleaſed to honour this WORK with their Approbation and Encouragement.

A.

HIS Grace the Duke of Argyll.
The Right Hon. the Lady Viſcounteſs Allen.
The Hon. Richard Arundell.
Sir Stephen Anderſon, *Bart.*
George Andrews, *Eſq*;
John Atwood, *Eſq*; *of* Sanderſtead.
The Rev. Dr. Aſtry.

B

His Grace the Duke of Beaufort.
Her Grace the Dutcheſs of Bolton.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Bath.
The Right Hon. Lady Viſcounteſs Bulkeley.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bp. of Bangor.
Sir John Bellew, *Bart.*
The Hon. William Bouverie.
Edmund Hungate Beaghan, *Eſq*;
John Bacon, *Eſq*;
Blomfield Barradell, *Eſq*;
Morrice Birchfield, *Eſq*;
Edmund Charles Blomberg, *Eſq*;

C.

The Right Hon. Lord Carpenter.
Sir Nathaniel Curzon, *Bart.*
Sir Kenrick Clayton, *Bart.*
Sir Thomas Clarges, *Bart.*
Sir Clement Dormer Cotterel.
William Curzon, *Eſq*;
William Campbell, *Eſq*;
Robert Clayton, *Eſq*;
Humphry Coats, *Eſq*;
Edward Compton, *Eſq*;
Claud Creſpigney, *Eſq*;
Philip Creſpigney, *Eſq*;
Dr. Connell.
Mr. Collins, *Bookſeller.*

D.

His Grace the Duke of Devonſhire.
His Grace the Duke of Dorſet.
The Right Hon. Lord Viſcount Downe.
The Right Hon. Lord Viſcount Dupplin.
Sir Hugh Dalrymple, *Bart.*
Bryan Dawſon *Eſq*;
James Dixon, *Eſq*;
James Dalton, *Eſq*;
Thomas Delamaine, *Eſq*;

E.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Effingham.
William Elliott, *Eſq*;
Charles Ereſkine, *Eſq*;
Anthony Ewer, *Eſq*;

F.

The Hon. Robert Fairfax.
William Farrell, *Esq*;
John Frederick, *Esq*;
Mr. Joſeph Fox, *Bookſeller*, 2 *Setts.*

G.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Granville.
Thomas Gordon, *Esq*;
Thomas Gore, *Esq*;
Charles Gore, *Esq*;
Alexander Gordon, *Esq*;
Edward Green, *Esq*;
Mr. Griffith.
Mr. Graham, *Bookſeller.*

H.

The Right Hon. Lady Hervey.
The Hon. Lieutenant General Roger Handaſyd.
The Hon. Charles Weir Hope.
The Hon. Colonel Howard.
Robert Banks Hodgekinſon, *Esq*;
Laſcoe Hyde, *Esq*;
William Hervey, *Esq*;
Mr. Bartholomew Hammond.
Mr. John Heaton.
Mrs. Hewer.
The Rev. Mr. Harling, *M. A. Rector of* Kilkhampton *in* Cornwall.
Mr. Hildyard *of* York, 7 *Setts.*

I.

The Right Hon. Lord Viſcount St. John.
The Right Hon. Lord Chief Baron Idle.

K.

His Grace the Duke of Kingſton.
The Right Hon. Lord Viſcount Kingſton.
The Right Hon. Lord Viſcount Kingſland.

L.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Londondery.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Lauderdale.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Leiceſter.
Edwin Laſcelles, *Esq*;
Thomas Liſter, *Esq*;
Richard Layland, *Esq*;
Manning Lethuillier, *Esq*;
Edward Loyd, *Esq*;
Richard Lockwood, *Esq*;
Capt. Lowe.

M.

His Grace the Duke of Montagu.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Middleſex.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Marchmont.
The Right Hon. the Lord Maynard.
Sir William Milner, *Bart.*
The Hon. William Monckton.
The Hon. John Mordaunt.
Richard Mead, *M. D.*
William Morgan, *Esq*;
William Mirrell, *Esq*;
James Macartney, *Esq*;
Matthew Mills, *Esq*;
George Montgomery, *Esq*;
Charles Moore, *Esq*;
Humphry Morrice, *Esq*;
The Rev. Dr. Morgan.
The Rev. Dr. Miles.

N.

The Right Hon. Lord North.
Robert Nugent, *Esq*;

O.

The Right Hon. Arthur Onſlow.
Sir Chaloner Ogle.
John Offley, *Esq*;
Capt. Oſborne.

P.

The Right Hon. Henry Pelham.
The Hon. Lieutenant General Sir Charles Amand Powlett.

George

George Pitt, *Esq*;
The Rev. Mr. Phipps.
Mr. Peale.

R.

His Grace the Duke of Rutland.
The Right Hon. Sir John Rushout, *Bart.*
Sir Thomas Robinson, *Bart.*
Sir William Richardson.
William Roberts, *Esq*;
The Rev. Mr. Richardson.
Mr. Rawlingson.

S.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Shelbourne.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Salisbury.
Sir Francis Eyles Haskins Styles, *Bart.*
Sir George Savile, *Barr*
Sir Miles Stapleton, *Bart.*
Sir Simeon Stuart, *Bart.*
George Scott, *Esq*;
Andrew Stone, *Esq*;
John Sawbridge, *Esq*;
Owen Swiney, *Esq*;
The Rev. Dr. Sayer.
The Rev. Mr. Sandford, *of* Halifax.
Mr. Sanderson.
Mr. Strettell.

T.

The most noble Marquis of Tweedale.
The Hon. Horatio Townshend.
Joseph Townshend, *Esq*;
Richard Turbutt, *Esq*;
Dr. Taylor
The Rev. Dr. Thomas.

V.

Edward Vernon, *Esq*;
Henry Vernon, *Esq*;

W.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Worcester.
Sir Thomas Webster, *Bart.*
Horatio Walpole, *Esq*;
Charles Whitworth, *Esq*;
George Wright, *Esq*;
Edward Weston, *Esq*;
Edward Wheeler, *Esq*;
Mr. Whormby.
Mr. Peter Wilson, *Bookseller, of* Dublin.

THE CONTENTS OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Bellum Grammaticale: A Diſcourſe of a great War and Diſſention betwene two worthy Princes, the Noune and the Verbe, contending for the cheife Place or Dignitie in Oration: Very pleaſant and profitable. Turned into *Engliſh* by *W. H.* 1569. *Page* 1

A briefe Diſcourſe of the Aſſault committed upon the Perſon of the moſt noble Prince, *William* Prince of *Orange*, Count of *Naſſau*, Marques *De la Vere*, &c. by *John Fauregui*, a *Spaniard*, 1582. 29

The Copie of a Letter to the Right Honourable the Earle of *Leyceſter*, Lieutenant Generall of all her Majeſty's Forces in the United Provinces of the *Lowe Countries*; written before, but delivered at his Returne from thence. With a Report of certeine Petitions and Declarations made to the Queenes Majeſtie, at two ſeverall Times, from all the Lordes and Commons lately aſſembled in Parliament; and her Majeſties Anſweres thereunto by her ſelfe delivered, though not expreſſed by the Reporter with ſuch Grace and Life, as the ſame were uttered by her Majeſtie, 1586. 61

The Holy Bull, and Cruſado of *Rome*: Firſt publiſhed by the holy Father *Gregory* XIII. and afterwards renewed and ratified by *Sixtus* V. for all thoſe who deſire full Pardon and Indulgence of their Sinnes: and that for a litle Money, to weete, for two *Spaniſh* Realls, *viz.* Thirteen Pence. Very plainely ſet forth, and compared with the Teſtimony of the Holy Scriptures, to the great Benefite and Profite of all good Chriſtians, 1588. 75

Chronographia: A Deſcription of Time, from the Beginning of the World, unto the Yeare of our Lord 137. Wherein the ſeveral Hiſtories, both of the Old and New Teſtament, are briefly compriſed, and placed in their due Order of Yeares: for the better Direction of the Reader. Collected out of ſundry Authors; but for the greateſt Part, abridged and tranſlated out of *Laurentius Codomannus*, his *Annales Sacræ Scripturæ*, 1590. 92

Declaration of generall Corruption of Religion, Scripture, and all Learning, wrought by Dr. *Bilſon*; while he breedeth a new Opinion, that our Lord went from Paradiſe to Gehenna, to triumph over the Devils, by *Hugh Broughton*, 1604. 134

Two little Workes defenſive of our Redemption; That our Lord went through the Veile of his Fleſh into Heaven to appear before God for us: Which Journey a Talmudiſt, as the Goſpell, would terme a going up to Paradiſe; but Heathen Greeke a going downe to *Hades*, and Latin *Deſcendere ad Inferos*: Wherein the unlearned Barbarous anger God and Man, ſaying, That *Jeſus* deſcended to Hell; and yeelde unto the blaſphemous *Jewes*, by ſure Conſequence upon their Words, That he ſhould not be the Holy One of God, by *Hugh Broughton*, 1604. 140

The

The CONTENTS of the FIRST VOLUME.

The King Majesties Speech, as it was delivered by Him in the Upper House of the Parliament to the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and to the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses there assembled, on *Monday* the 19th Day of *March* 1603, being the first Day of this present Parliament, and the first Parliament of his Majesties Raigne, 1604. 145

His Majesties Speech to both the Houses of Parliament, in his Highnesse's great Chamber at *Whitehall*, the Day of the Adjournement of the last Session, which was the last Day of *March* 1607. 156

An Apology for Actors: Containing three briefe Treatises; 1. Their Antiquity. 2. Their ancient Dignity. 3. The true Use of their Quality. Written by *Thomas Heywood*, 1612. 172

The Order and Solemnitie of the Creation of the high and mightie Prince *Henrie*, eldest Sonne to our sacred Soveraigne, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornewall*, Earle of *Chester*, &c. as it was celebrated in the Parliament House, on *Monday* the Fourth of *Junne* last past. Together with the Ceremonies of the Knights of the Bath, and other Matters of speciall Regard incident to the same: Whereunto is annexed the Royall Mask, presented to the Queene and her Ladies on *Wednesday* at Night following. Printed at *Britain*'s Burse, 1610. 203

Tethys Festival, or the Queen's Wake, celebrated at *Whitehall* the 5th of *June* 1610. Devised by *Samuel Daniel*, one of the Groomes of her Majesties most honourable Privie Chamber, 1610. 211

True Copies of the insolent, cruell, barbarous and blasphemous Letter, lately written by the Great *Turke*, for Denouncing of Warre against the King of *Poland*; and of the magnanimous and most Christian Answere made by the said King thereunto: With a short Preface, declaring the unjust Cause on which this *Turkish* Tyrant, and faithlesse Enemy of Christendome, now layeth hold to invade it, 1621. 221

A true Copy of the *Latine* Oration of the excellent Lord *George Ossolinski*, Count Palatine of *Tenizyn* and *Sendamyria*, Chamberlain to the King's Majestie of *Poland* and *Suethland*, and Embassadour to the King's most Excellent Majesty: As it was pronounced to his Majestie at *Whitehall*, by the said Embassadour, on *Sunday* the 11th of *March* 1620. With the Translation of the same into *English*, 1621. 226

A Relation of the Departure of the most Illustrious Prince of *Wales* from *Madrid* the 9th of *September* 1623. 231

The ancient Patriarchs Peregrination; or a Map of the first inhabited Countries that were in the World: Containing also a Description of the Passages and Proceedings from the Flood to the Family of *Jacob*: their several Travels, Living, and Places of Abode, notified along by pricked Lines for the Reader's Direction, 1600. 243

The Praise of King *Richard* the Third. By Sir *William Cornwallis*, 1617. 246

The Elements of Architecture, collected by *Henry Wotton*, Knight, from the best Authors and Examples, 1624. 262

The Danger wherein the Kingdom now standeth, and the Remedie, by Sir *Robert Cotton*, Knt. and Bart. 1627. 297

Proceedings of the Parliament being this Day related to the King, by the Councellors of the Commons House of Parliament. 303

The Duke of *Buckingham*'s Speech to his Majestie, on *Friday*, the 4th of *April*, 1628. *ibid.*

The Charge of the Scottish Commissioners against *Canterburie* and the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, concerning the sixth Article of the Treaty. Whereunto is added the Parliaments Resolution about the Proportion of the *Scottish* Charges, and the Commissioners thankfull Acceptance thereof, 1641. 304

The passionate Remonstrance of the Pope in his Conclave at *Rome*, upon the disasterous Disappointments given to the *Roman* Cause, by the late Proceedings and great Covenant of *Scotland*, &c. with a Reply of Cardinall *De Barbarisme*, in the Name of the *Roman* Clergy: Together with a Letter of Intelligence

telligence from the Apoſtolick Nuntio (now reſiding at *London*) to Pope *Urban* VIII. 1641. 323

Fragmenta Regalia: Or, Obſervations on the late Queen *Elizabeth*, her Times and Favourites. Written by Sir *Robert Naunton*, Maſter of the Court of Wards, 1641. 350

A Letter written upon Occaſion from the *Low Countries*, concerning a Difference betwixt the Prince of *Orange* and the States, ſhewing upon what Occaſion it grew: Whereunto is added, Aviſo's from ſeveral Places, of the taking of the Iſland of *Providence*, by the *Spaniard* from the *Engliſh*, *March* 22, 1641. 383

Some Obſervations by Way of Parallell of *Robert Devereux*, Earle of *Eſſex*, and *George Villiers*, Duke of *Buckingham*, in the Time of their Eſtates of Favour, by Sir *Henry Wotton*, Knight, 1641. 385

A Letter from *Mercurius Civicus* to *Mercurius Ruſticus*: Or *London*'s Confeſſion, but not Repentance. Shewing, that the Beginning and the obſtinate Purſuance of this accurſed horrid Rebellion, is principally to be aſcribed to that rebellious City. By *Samuel Butler*, 1643. 397

A ſhort Treatiſe of the Laws of *England*: with the Juriſdiction of the High Court of Parliament, with the Liberties and Freedoms of the Subjects, written by *Walter Mantell*, Eſq; 1644. 420

A true Account of the moſt triumphant, and royall Accompliſhment of the Baptiſm of the moſt excellent, right high, and mighty Prince *Henry Frederick*, by the Grace of God, Prince of *Scotland*, and now Prince of *Wales*. As it was ſolemnized the 30. Day of *Auguſt*, 1594. 429

The Life and Death of our late moſt incomparable and heroique Prince *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*; a Prince (for Valour and Vertue) fit to be imitated in ſucceeding Times, by Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, Knight, 1641. 442

Reaſons of the preſent Judgement of the Univerſitie of *Oxford*, concerning the ſolemn League and Covenant; the negative Oath; the Ordinances concerning Diſcipline and Worſhip. Approved by general Conſent in a full Convocation, *June* 1ſt, 1647. and preſented to Conſideration. 476

A true and exact Copy of a treaſonable and bloody Paper, called the Fanaticks New Covenant: Which was taken from Mr. *Donald Cargill*, at *Queen*'s *Ferry*, the third Day of *June*, 1680. one of their Field-Preachers, a declared Rebel and Traytor. Together with their execrable Declaration, publiſhed at the Croſs of *Sanquhair*, upon the Twenty-two Day of the ſaid Month of *June*, after a ſolemn Proceſſion and Singing of Pſalms, by *Cameron*, the notorious Ringleader of, and Preacher at, their Field Conventicles, accompanied with twenty of that wicked Crew, 1680. 502

A

SECOND COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

Bellum Grammaticale: A Diſcourſe of great War and Diſſention betwene two worthy Princes, the NOUNE and the VERBE, contending for the chefe Place or Dignitie in Oration. Very pleaſant and profitable.

Turned into *Engliſh* by *W. H.*

Imprinted at *London* by *Henrie Bynneman*, dwelling in *Knightrider-ſtrete*, at the Signe of the *Mermayde*. *Anno* 1569.

LECTORI.

SYTH Time permits, refuſe not, nor diſdayne
To learne aright ſuch things as here be founde:
For why? this Author firſt herein did take the Paine,
Hereby to ſhewe of Grammer Rules the Ground.
In Order good thy Workes will then appeare,
And from right Rule not ſeeme to ſwarve a Jote,
If all the Actes of theſe atchieved here
Accordingly thou well do weigh and note.
Come nigh therfore (I ſay) and take a Taſte
Of pleaſant Liquours here detected plaine,
If that thou covet ſpeedily in haſte,
Of *Latine* Stile to chooſe the fruitefull Graine:
For all Things fade, as Brouches, Golde and Stone,
When Vertue ſwimmes, and ſcapes to Shore alone.

To the Right Worſhipfull Maſter THOMAS POWLE, Eſquier, Clerke of the Crowne in the Queenes Majeſties honourable Courte of Chauncerie, and one of the Six Clerkes of the ſame, *William Hayward* wiſheth Health, with long Life and Proſperity.

AS *Seneca* ſhamed not to recite the worthy Saying of the Poete *Heſiodus*, ſo I doubt not, but I may alſo (from ſo ſufficient Authoritie, as by *Seneca* himſelfe in a certaine Epiſtle by him alleaged) partly ſeeme to overthrowe that moſt horrible Monſter Ingratitude, and thoroughly to diſplace ſo unnaturall Affection before he ſhall by Entertainment in ſo ſimple an one as I, (not able to be thankful) cauſe any Part of Oblivion for the Benefites that have bene towards me in any Part extended: For (as I remember) he ſayth: *Nullum officium magis quàm referenda gratia, neceſſarium*, that no Duetie is more neceſſary than rendred Thanks to thoſe that have miniſtred ſuch ample Benefits as ſome have beſtowed: and to render Thankes (ſayth he) with greater meſure than they uſed to receyve Commodities. For as *Cicero* ſayth, *Lib.* 1. *de officiis*, If rendred Thanks be due to ſuche of whome we hope to be benefited, howe muche more then is due to thoſe by whom we have had already Profit? Which albeit that I of my ſelf in every Point am moſte unable to do, yet good Will of overmeaſuring (if Poſſibilitie were in me) ſhall not ſeeme utterly to be abſent, neither thinking that I can or am able to make any Shewe of Remuneration, and for that my Inſufficiencie is ſuch as it is, it might ſeme on my Part but Preſumption to attribute any ſuche Worthineſſe unto him, that is altogether voyde of deſiring any ſuch Preeminence. Yet among diverſe and ſundry Practiſes that by my poore Induſtrie I have attempted, conſideryng that Commoditie and friendly Aide that your Worſhip hath procured by your laborous travaile toward that Company, of which I am a Member: and then waying my greate Unabilitie to requite in any way the leaſt Parte of your manyfold Curteſies, I was diſmayed to repreſent in this Place any Part of them, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme of the Wiſe too greedie of Commendation. But being imboldened with your favourable Benevolence, and accuſtomed courteous Lenitie imployed towards all Men: and making bolde of your woonted good Will, that is, (and ever hath bene) ready to accepte a ſimple Thing proffered and freely given, rather than to reject and caſt off that which is meerely grounded of poore Simplicitie, after I had peruſed the rable of my poore Labours, founde among them this one, which then I was encoraged to dedicate unto your Gentleneſſe, not for the Worthineſſe therof as concerning my Labor, but conſidering your Worſhips Minde often tymes with ſerious Matters to bee encombred both in Carefulneſſe toward the weale publike according to your Office, as alſo for the Benefits of ſuch poore Men as I. Some thing therefore after your earneſt Buſineſſe, to revive and recreate your wearied Minde with honeſt lerned and profitable Mirth, I have preſumed to offer this my little Labour unto your learned Eares, it being the firſt Fruites of an unproined Orcharde, in reading wherof, (notwithſtanding the unſaverie Sappe of ſundry Water boughes) may appeare both learned and fruitfull

fruitfull Matter. And therfore I chiefly tooke upon me to tranſlate the ſame oute of the *French* tong, as earſt it was, for the like pleaſure and pithineſſe cauſe turned from out of *Latin* into *French*, in which tong it was firſt (by a righte learned and famous Man) written and invented. In which deviſe is contained a moſt perfect ſhew of horrible and bitter Contentions in the moſt fertile Region and Countrey of *Grammer*, by variance that grew betwixte two high and mightie Princes, Poſſeſſors of the ſame, the *Noune* and the *Verbe*. *Nomen*, with his Subſtantives, and Adjectives, Commons and Propers: With alſo the Nobles of the Houſe of Maſculines, with the Worthineſſe of the Genealogie of Feminines, Neutres, Doubtfulles, and Epicines, the Heteroclites, with their noble Capitaines, and Gentlemen, the Defectives, and Redundantes, with his moſte mighty Brother the *Pronoune*, and his ſworne ſtoute Warriors the Gentiles. Agayne *Verbum* with his Nobles, with the Participles, Modes and Tenſes, with Gerundes and Supins, in the great Fielde of Conjunctions contending where they met for Superiority in Governement. Wherein although but ſpoken *Allegoricè*, or rather written by the figure *Hypotheſis*, ſheweth in part the Troubles of a fained Common-weale by inteſtine and civile Contention ſprong up in the ſame. With ſuch pleaſant *Metamorphoſis* and ardent Allegories the ancient Poets uſed to beautifie their Workes, as *Demoſthenes*, who uſed ſuche covert Fable againſt *Philip*, (that required ten of the *Athenienſes* Oratours) ſaying how the Wolfe perſuaded and beſought the Shephierdes to tie up their Doggs, and ſo to joyne with them in Friendſhip. Which when the Shephierdes had granted, the Wolfe then as it were with a covered and licenſed crafty Crueltie ſpoiled their Flocks. So wrote *Eſope*, *Horace*, and divers other, which although but in part as Fables, (as this after a ſort is) is yet in ſome reſpect duly to be noted, as *Saint Ambroſe* affirmeth, ſaying: *Etſi fabula vim veritatis non habeat, tamen rationem habet ut juxta eam veritas manifeſtari poſſit:* That is: Allthough a Fable have not the Strength of the Truth, yet hath it a Reaſon, that by it the Truth may be uttered. Such was the Manner of Philoſophers, as *Aulus Gellius* ſayth, to allure Men's Mindes to the Underſtanding of the Trueth. Which thing now as it is but fained, yet knowyng it to be deviſed of ſo learned a Man at the firſt, thought with myſelfe, that thoſe whiche had Capacitie mighte reape ſome Fruite of his travellous toyles. And agayne, ſuppoſing that if the ſame wer engliſhed, ſome might the eaſlier gather the Senſe of the firſt Author. Therfore as the Tranſlator therof out of *Latine* did for the Recreation of a noble Perſonage labor in the ſame, ſo I for the pleaſant Profite of ſundry of my Countrey Men, ſo duely as I coulde after my Preſident, turned it into Engliſhe. And therefore as firſt and chiefeſt (it being alſo the firſt of my Labours) I exhibite it to your Worſhipe, not as a Gift, (for any part of my deſerving) worthie to be received: But by Way of Duetie offered, of meere good Will, making you the Patron of this my firſt enterpriſed attempt: Chooſing rather to ſuffer the reproche of the wiſe and the curious carping checke of *Momus* and his Mates, with the pernicious taunt of privie Paraſites, than to ſeem altogether oblivious of my Dutie, and ſo be accounted ingratefull. Which poore and ſlender Thing, if it pleaſe your Worſhip to receyve with

a friendly Aſpect at my ſimple Handes: Your favorable Encouragement ſhall hereafter procure me to finiſhe ſome greater Effect to the Benefite of my Countreymen (I meane ſuch as are deſirous to employe their Labour in reading:) And in eſpecially to manifeſt Gods doing in me, whom in the meane Seaſon I beſeech to conduct and guide youre Goodneſſe forth in that well doing that he hath alreadie begon in you (in the Suppreſſion of godleſſe Games, the very Nourice of Noughtineſſe: The Sufferance of which are the Decay of Commonwealthes, the Corruption of Youth, the Breach of Brotherhead and all true dealing.) I ceaſſe to ſpeake of ſuch Singularitie as all Men ſhall ſee enſue of your dayly Endevours, and of that due Commendation that may be ſayd of your Princely Practice, that Maynteyner of honeſt Exerciſe: Whereof right worthily your Worſhip is Maiſter, being a moſt perfect Preſident in that Practice (I mean of that laudable auncient and noble Science of Shooting in the long Bowe) for every one to folowe in Effect. The neceſſary Uſe wherof, howe needefull it is to be looked to, howe beneficiall the Uſe thereof hath beene to this our Countrey, howe daungerous the neglecting thereof is, and howe hurtfull the Lacke of uſyng the fame of our Youth in *Englande* hath bene, is too apparaunt. The Almightie eaſe us, whome I beſeeche ſo to endue you with preſent Conſolation hoped for in Chryſte, in thys Lyfe your Dayes may be long: And that after this Life, youre Lotte (as *David* ſayeth) may fal in a good Ground, that is, in Lyfe everlaſting. Amen.

Your Worſhips dayly Welwiſher,

WILLIAM HAYWARDE.

The PREFACE upon the hiſtoricall Diſcourſe of the *Grammer Warre*, firſt made in *Latin* by the learned Lord ANDREW GUARNA of *Salerne*, and after tranſlated into *Frenche*, and now for the Worthineſſe of the Hiſtorie turned into *Engliſh*.

THE firſt and auncient Philoſophers that wrote their Poeſies couertly hidden under ſubtile and wily Matter, dydde conſtitute Pallas *the Daughter of* Jupiter, *borne in hir Soveraigne Heade to be Goddeſſe of Wiſedome ſayd* Minerve, *and of Warre, call'd* Enyo *or* Bellona. *Gyving hereby to underſtande that of one and the ſame beginning, in one Time altogether and in one Subſtance, are two principall Things inſeperately joyned together: Whiche two Properties are ſo knitte, that the one wythout the other is of no Force, and the other without his fellow, of ſmal or no Accompt: Yea, they are the Principles whereby Men attayne to the Top of Honoure, and famous Felicitie, advauncing meane Men to Honor in their Life time, and immortal Fame after Death. They are learnyng and martial Proweſſe. Of theſe two together noble* Grece, *made Separation in his two Metropolitanes, when the Citie of* Athens *floriſhed in Learning, and the Citie of* Sparta *or* Lacedemonia, *glorious in Feates of Armes. The noble Fame of the* Romains *grew by the one, and by the other they did alwayes defend them, ſo that they dyd ſucceſſively*

succeſſively greately ſette Store by them. The worthy, valiaunt, and myghtie eloquent Cæſar *was decored with them bothe, and by them dyd eterniſe hys Renoune. Beholde (gentle Reader) nowe theſe two ſo worthie Things, whiche are no leſſe Principalls to the Governement of Empires, Realmes, Reipublikes, and for all Eſtates of the World to be aptely underſtode, which did ſo much ennoble* Grece, *ſo gretly honour the* Romaines, *and eterniſe the Fame of the great* Cæſar, *are in this preſent ſmall Volume compriſed, compact together by the induſtrious and pleaſaunt Artifice of the firſte Author, under an angry Argument, and hiſtoricall Narration of the Grammer Warre, of this pleaſaunt and figured Hiſtorie, no leſſe profitable than delectable.* Lucian *an eloquent Greke Author made the firſt Draughtes in the Battayle of the Alphabet Letters: But this Author hath waded further even unto Verbes and Nounes, being principall Heades of Oration, and to the Adherents of Speach, as well to the congruate Worde, (being the Opener and the Declarative of the Senſe) as otherwiſe, wherin reſteth al Arte and Knowledge, wherin alſo all the Wiſedome of Man is compriſed; ſhaping and fourming theſe two Heades, and the Auxiliate ayding Parties with ſuch fayned Perſonages and pretie Properties ſo apt and to them ſo quicke in Qualitie, that hee giveth Life, Bodie, Weapon and Armour to deade Wordes, yea, and ſounding Voice, to Subſtances inanimate and without Soule: So that the Reader in the Lecture of this (though fayned) Narration and dreadful Diſcoverie, ſhall deeme them no more to be vocall Wordes, but by a ſtrong Judgement ſhall thinke them dapperlye diſguiſed, being transfourmed into livlie Perſones, going, ſpeaking, and ſharply reſoning with continual Terrors of martiall Expedicion and Exploites, with allegoricall Conflictes of bloudie Battaile, not onelie in hoſtile Contencion Abroade, but alſo in civile, yea, and inteſtine Warres at Home: So that in the Diſcoverie hereof he is nothing Oblivious of anye thing that appertaineth to the Deduction and ſafe guiding of ſo great Affaires, even from the firſt Cauſes and entermixed Medlies of their Adventures, unto the laſt Ende of all their Attemptes and Endevors, with all their Circumſtances, all their Tumults and Uproares, with their Doubtfulneſſe of Victory among manie Martialiſtes, how of bloudie Battaile divers Loſſe and Daungers doe followe, and how in the Ende finall Peace enſueth. All which Matters be ſo properlie penned, and ſo cunningly compact in this Tragedie, that the Warres of the* Peloponnenſes, *and the Civile Warres of the* Affricanes *in* Thucide, *in* Saluſt, *and* Lucan, *are peradventure more high and diffuſedlye deſcribed: But with more Arte or more Compendiouſlye, I am ſure they are not. So that it is ſothly to be ſaide, that our Author through the Excellencie of his learned Wiſedom, doth as the good* Geometricians *doe, with the invincible Greatneſſe of the Heavens and the Earth do reduce in a ſimple Circuit, deſcribing the ſame in a ſmall Sphere or manuel Compaſſe. So hee hath placed the mightie, huge, and fearfull Factes of Armes under the Figure of ſo ſmall a Thing as of the Congruitie or Diſcordaunce of Words in Oracion, joyning Letters with Weapons, teaching the Arte militaire with the Arte litteraire, ſo well, and ſo exactlye, that the Reader beſides the Delyght and Pleaſure that he ſhall have in the reading of ſo pleaſaunt an Allegorie, ſhall receive further Benefite: For herein is repreſented in one Conteipt two Underſtandings knit togither, the one proper and naturall, the other tropique and figured. Beſide this, he ſhall comprehende in this ſame verie Subſtance and by the onely Labor of one*

reading,

reading, thoſe two ſo worthy Things above remembred, that doe eterniſe the Fame of their Fellowes, that is Lovers of Learning, and prudent Martialiſtes. The Science litteraire, and militaire, that is to ſay, the Arte of Grammer, yea the Graundmother of al Arts and Sciences, and the Arte militaire of deduced Warres, under pleaſaunt Metaphoricall Figures, tranſported and tourned, bereaving the Minde of the litterall Underſtanding of ſmall Things verball, to the Conſideration of greater, more royall and reall, doth manifeſtly ſhewe by Example the ambitious Movings, the imperiate Deſire of Princes to have Government, the Tumultes and Parcialities of People, the profitable and perverſe Counſaile of ſundrye Counſailers, the ſeemely Sentences, and modeſt Meſſages of the artificiall Erraundes on both Partes, their enterpriſed Attemptes and martiall Orders, the ſomoning of Souldiers, the Chartes of Defiaunce, the denouncing of Heraldes, the high and ſtatelie Stomackes of the adverſe Parties readie to joyne Battaile, the ſeeking of Alliaunce in Extremitie, the Compact confederated of Cuntrimen, the Slights, Treaſons, Eſpies, Embuſhements, their ſodain Entrappes and Skirmiſhes, the Ordinaunces of Armes, the placing of the Campe, the pitching of their Arrayes, the noble chering of the Captaines to their Souldiers, the taking of Townes, the marching of their Men, the cruel Conflicts and worthy Feates of Armes on all Sides, the lamentable Loſſe of Capitaynes, the cruel Combat of the Fighters, the great Slaughter on both Partes, the fearefull flying on all Sides, the doubtfull Meetinges of many, the Indifferencie of their Victory, and the finall pernitious Accidents that enſue thro' the Wars to both Sides, the robbing, the reaving, the Rapine and Diſorder that is then in ure, the depopuling of inhabitate Cuntries, the deſolate Deſtruction that divers are damnified by the Commodities and Advantages that one Realme enjoyeth throughe the Detriment of an other: And contrarily the infinite Utilities that enſue, thorowe Peace and Concorde, to all Realmes and Reipublikes. All which Things are by wonderfull Cunning, and pleaſaunt Fygures, by moſt exquiſite Rule and perfect Methode, treated ſummarily in this Booke, firſt written in his owne and pure Latine *Tongue, and after (for the Pleaſure and Profite that therein may be gathered) was tranſlated into our* Engliſh *Tongue, through the Commaundement of a learned Perſonage, one who is no leſſe a Lover of Learning, than vertuous in Condition, who for the Worthineſſe of his Example is to be followed as a meete Patron of humaine Curteſie.*

Wherefore (gentle Reader) when thou art delighted with the profitable Lecture of this hiſtoricall Diſcourſe, attribute the Thankfulneſſe of thy good Wil to be the Cauſer of this Engliſh *Tranſlation, wherin albeit that there be not the ſame Sweetneſſe in our Phraſe that it hath in his owne Tongue, yet I doubt not but it ſhall ſeeme to digreſſe but eaſilie from mine Author: For as the learned knowe, it is an abſurde and harde Matter in this Treatiſe properlie to engliſh the greateſt Part of thoſe Words that touch the Argument in apt Phraſe correſpondent to the* Latin, *ſithens the ſame coulde not bee done by a learned Tranſlater into the* French, *which Tongue doth nearer appropriate it than ours: Therefore whereas of ſome I may be thought little to alter in Tranſlation from the* Latine *Author, therein may the Reader judge me to followe the* Frenche *Phraſe who is my Patrone partly in moſt of my Tranſlation, and when I ſhall ſeme in anie point to digreſſe from the* French *Tranſlator, I doe it the nearer to follow the firſt Author, ſo that the Reader,*

Reader, I hope, wyll judge indifferently of my Doings. Wherfore in my Tranſlation I thought it requiſit, (yea, and alſo no leſs neceſſarie) to leave the moſt parte of the Wordes of this Argument in their own Tongue, eſpeciallye for that this Diſcourſe of the Grammer Warre was made upon the Grammer of the Latine *Tongue firſt, and not of the* French. *What will it then avayle (will ſome ſaye) to have tranſlated it into* Engliſh? *whereto in the firſt place it may thus be aunſwered, that for that it was the free good Wil of the Tranſlator, that in hys Labour on this Behalfe thought not to offend, neither to do wrong or diſpleaſure to any, but that through hys meane the ſimple and unlearned* Engliſhe *Readers, aſwell as the learned* Latiniſts, *might enjoy part of the Pleaſure that is had in the Lecture of this delectable Diſcourſe of this figured Warre, and bloudleſſe Battaile, without mortall Shot, ſweate or Cannon Poulder. And furthermore that his Meaning was, for the Utilitie of our* Engliſh *Children beginning to ſtudie the* Latine *Tongue who reading this pleaſaunt fight in their owne Tong (as the* French *in theirs) might learne by Waye of Mirth and merrie Paſtime, the principal Pointes of the* Romayne *Grammer: Finally the ſame might ſerve for an exempler, aſwell hiſtoricall for the Inſtruction and Guide of martiall Affaires, as morall, therin to conſider the Harmes that enſue thorowe the Diſſention of Princes and great Lords, Parents, Kinſmen or Neighbors, how the Communalties of Realmes and Cuntries can not eaſelye profite in anye Wealth and Aboundance, without Trafike and quiet Paſſages one to another, and howe Diſſention procureth diverſe dangerous Dammages to them and theirs: Shewing alſo on the other ſide the ſingular Benefites that Peace procureth, what Commodities are enjoyed by the Uniformitie of Kings and Princes raigning in one Regiment or Country lovingly togither in one Faith, Lawe, and Tongue, friendly as one: Which Things, (as I ſuppoſe) are the principall Cauſes whye this Booke was firſt compiled by mine Auctthor, which by Chaunce happening into my Handes, and by me over redde, to my ſingular Delight in both Tongues, determined with myſelfe to participate parte of my Underſtanding to the Youth of my Nation, thorowe the Requeſt of a Friende, who might have commaunded me. Wherefore if I eſpie the friendlie Receipt hereof, in no leſſe gratefull Parte, than it was friendly favoured of ſome, I ſhall be the readier encouraged to bid thee hereafter to ſome better Banquet. In the meane whyle let the courteous Reader uſe a friendly Gueſtes Parte, not miſlyking any thing that is ſet freely before him. And albeit that this my Tranſlation be not ſo exquiſitly engliſhed on my Parte as many better learned can doe, yet in Conſideration of my painefull good Will, I doubt not your friendly Receipt of the ſame. And thoughe that the* French *Tongue (whereout I extracted this Worke) in Adages and breef Termes have an eaſier Concluſion of Speach than our* Engliſh *Tongue, yet let the Reader be aſſured what ſoever Termes be altered (if any be) the Matter is perfite, pleaſaunt and profitable to the Reader, and much Matter contayned in this ſmall Booke, both of Delight and delicate Lyking, ſuch as the gentle Reader maye gather great Fruite, Wiſedome, and Worthineſſe by, if hee applie his Diligence thereunto. And for my Parte I beſtowed my Labours in this Behalfe, not to winne Fame or Favour, but to beſtowe my Leyſures well and to fruitful Exerciſe, to the Benefit of my Countreymen, and to encourage thoſe that can doe better to the like Exerciſe. And if any unfit Wordes happen to be eſpied of better and more*

eloquent

eloquent Heades, yet I truſt that ſuch will not condemne a goode Worke for an ill Wrighter, neyther a good Worde for an ill Speaker. What or howe effectuall Matter is contayned in this Booke, in the Sequele is manifeſt.

Farewell.

The Diſcourſe of the GRAMMER WARRE: betweene two Kings, the NOUNE and the VERBE, contending for the chiefe Place in Oration, wherin thou ſhalt ſee the VERBE to prevayle.

THERE is none ſo ſimple in Judgement, that doubteth the Soyle of the Grammer to be the faireſt and happieſt of all the renoumed Parts and Provinces of the World, aſwell for the Pleaſantneſſe of the Place wherein it is ſituate, being in good and holſeſome Ayre, and aboundaunt in all Fruites and other good Things, without which this mortall Lyfe may not eaſilye be paſſed: As alſo for that ſhee hathe alwayes and ever, beene the Nourſe and Bringer up of all People of Renoune. For even as in this Age, even ſo long Tyme heretofore, the Cuſtome and Maner ever was in all Landes and Countries (except among the rude and barbarous Nacions) where anye were eſpied of prone and readie Nature, bent towarde forwarde Wit, they were ſent thither to be taught and inſtructed, and perfitly to learne the moſt holy and learned Sciences: For by this onely Way and Paſſage is the Entrie and Acceſſe to the higheſt Countries, and noble Houſes, as *Dialectice* (that is Rethorike) *Philoſophie*, that is learned Wiſdome, and *Theologie*, that is the moſt high and excellent Knowledge in Divinitie. In ſo much that unleſſe they enter thorowe the Province of *Grammer*, no Soule were able to attaine to the worthy Secreats of the other Provinces. And albeit that the ſame Regions abounde in all Pleaſure, yet notwithſtanding, it is ſo environed about with high Mountaines, and ſuch ſharpe Rockes, right difficile and harde to be got up upon, that hardlye without a good Guide, any maye ever attaine to the plaine and pleaſant Path of them. And therfore bicauſe Mankinde ſhoulde not be reſtrayned from ſo neceſſarie a Benefite, the good and laudable Cuſtome ever was, and yet reaſteth to the Kings of the ſaide Lande, to ſende abrode through every part of the univerſall Worlde, ſome of their expert Knights and worthy Capitaines of olde Handes, properly call'd *Pedagoges* and Schole Maſters, that they might ayde others, and ſurely conduct them of tender Age to the princelye Pallaces of the ſaide Kings, (as for the mightie, and ſuche as nowe drawe towarde Age, hardely ſuffer to bee taught of anye,) to the Ende that the Youth there being taught in the Sciences of the Greeke and Latine *Minerve*, might the eaſier and more lightly aſcende and go over the foreſaide Countries. There have all learned *Grekes* and *Latins* made their apprentiſhode, who by their worthy Writings, or by the Actes of others, are immortaliſed with renouned Fame. Being there thus well taught and learned, they have afterwarde ſo floriſhinglye lived through the high Praiſe of their illuſtrious and ſplendant Actes, that they living, were unto all Men in their Time great Setters forth of vertuous Examples and after they were deade

(yet

(yet as alive) ſhewed to thoſe that ſurvived them, as it were by poynting with their Finger, the right Path and readie Way to attayne honorable Life, and immortall Fame.

But although that this Lande of *Grammer* be none other but indevidate and withoute Partialitie, yet nevertheleſſe there are two mightie Kings, that there raigne and governe, that is to weete, the *Verbe* and the *Noune*. The *Verbe* hath to Name *Amo*, and the *Noune Poeta*. Who a verye long Time raigned together in ſuch Concord and Quietneſſe, that to fourme Oration perfect, wherin the Beautie of them both (the higheſt Place of the one, and the chiefeſt Seate of the other) dependeth no Diſſention, Diſpleaſure or Contencion was ever hearde betweene them: For in all their Territorie there grew nothing more eſtemed, more worthie, or more ſounde, than Oration, which being beautified with the moſt Coulors of ſundrye Flowers, and decked with the moſt faire and fine Figures, and with the moſt ſweete and perfumed Buds of ſet Roſes, was of ſuch ſingular Comlineſſe and Aucthoritie, that ſhe not onelye drewe unto her all Mankinde (when the ſame is right and aptly applied) but may alſo withdrawe any of the Goddes which Waye ſhe will winde them. By reaſon whereof *Euripides* ſayth, That which Force coulde not gayne, that faire Speache did ſoone attaine: *Pirrhus* alſo uſed ſometime to ſaye, that *Cyneas* dyd winne more Townes with his Tongue and comelie Speache, than he with hys Warres. Theſe two Kings then being in ſuch Concorde, as all the Affaires of *Grammer* were in good Apparence and better Eſtate, it happened that for a ſmal thing Diſſention ſprang betweene them, whereby upon a verye ſodaine, all was bewrapped in Uprore and martiall Dyſpleaſures: For what Harme is that that Wine and inſaciate Eating cauſe not? That and ſo great Amitie and Union betweene theſe two Princes was ſo overthrowne at one onely Banquet, wherin they were both droncken: and Ebrietie ſet them in ſo great Ennimities one againſt another, that eyther of them, pricked forwarde with ambitious Deſire of Regiment (as wilde Buls ſtong of gadde Flies) almoſt utterly over turned their own Realmes, and the noble Empire of *Grammer*.

But nowe let us ſhewe howe their Debate happened, to the Ende that everye one may knowe, that there is no Bande or Knot of Amitie ſo ſtrong, that Deſire of Superioritie may not breake. And therfore the olde *Dennis* uſed not cauſeleſſe to ſaye, that even he that hath the Lordſhippe in his Lap, hath Cauſe himſelfe to feare, and to beware of Friendes: ſeing that it is certaine, that every Man loveth rather to be ſerved, than to ſerve other.

As theſe two Kinges on a Time were at a Banquet, in the middeſt of the hoate Summer, neare to a pleaſaunt and cleare Spring, having the Water Bancke on the one Side, and the other moſt pleaſant and ſingulerly ſhadowed with the Braunches of greene Willowes and high Plane Trees, after they had ſufficiently banquetted, warmed with Wine, and lightned wyth Drincking, a Queſtion aroſe betwene them, to weete, whether of them two were greateſt in Aucthoritie, and of moſt Importance to performe Oration? Then the *Verbe* minding to holde the worthieſt Place, was ſharpelye withſtoode of the *Noune*, affirming, that without him, Oration and Speach might not be, and that

through him altogither, the ſame is underſtoode and of better Grace. And what doſt thou (ſaide he) without me in Oration? if I withholde me a Parte never ſo litle, the Hearers underſtande thee no more than one that were dombe and ſpake not. Gather a while a ſmall Part of Speach wythout me, and do that the Hearers may underſtande that which thou ſpeakeſt.

Doubtleſſe if I be not there for an Interpreter, none maye ſo much as geſſe the leaſt Thing of thy Meaning. Moreover thou ſhouldeſt note, that in ſo much as I am elder than thou, ſo much more am I approoved worthieſt. Who is he that knoweth not the *Noune*, before the *Verbe:* Or who is he that is ignoraunt, how the Beginning of the *Noune* is more auncient than the *Verbe?* It is infallible, that God made all Things, who if hee made all, made alſo the *Verbe*. Nowe God is a *Noune* and not a *Verbe:* wherfore now of Conſequence, by the *Noune* were all Things made, yea, Oration itſelf was made of God, and ſo the *Noune*. As for thee, O thou *Verbe* (that arte ſo proude) thou haſt thy Calling of me: haſt thou never red, that among the Sonnes of Women, is not a greater than *John Baptiſt?* this is God's Sentence, it is not lawfull to go againſt it. Wherefore if none be greater than *John*, for that it is writen that his Name is *John*, and agayn that his Name was *John*, it is apparaunt to be ſeene, that there is not, neyther may any thing elſe, be greater than the *Noune*. I coulde alleage to this Matter ſixe hundredth Places, whereby it is prooved clearer than the Day, that as in Worthineſſe and Antiquitie, even ſo in Auctoritie and chiefe Place the *Noune* is preferred before the *Verbe*. All which Things I ſette and leave a part, to the Ende that Men thinke me not to precede the *Verbe* more thorow much Babling, than of juſt Cauſe. O *Poeta* (aunſwered the *Verbe)* I marvayled before nowe, why that Divine *Plato* had expulſed thee out of hys common Weale: But nowe knowing how ſhameleſſe and light thou art, ſo to intermixe the Holy Scripture among thy Follies: I know well that the learned and wiſe *Plato* judged rightlye of thee. For had not he exiled thee with manye other, forth of the Reipublike that he ordayned, thou haddeſt by thy falſe Ceremonies, fearefull Goddes, and other Things, corrupted the civile Maners of his Citizens. For what pernicious Thing durſt not thy great Pride and Arrogance, enterpriſe and attempt? Yea ſeing that by thy deviſed Deceiptes, and falſe writhed Witneſſes, thorowe Force writhed from Holy Scripture, thou laboreſt to caſt me down from the Dignitie of the chiefeſt Place, which I have long Time in this Lande poſſeſſed.

But certainly, for that it ſhall not ſeeme to thee, that thou alone arte learned, I will eaſlye alleage more manifeſt and plaine Teſtimonies of the ſame Holye Scripture that maintaine mine Auctoritie, I wil ſet here formoſt the very Beginning of that evangelicall Scripture, where it is thus ſaide, In the Beginning was the Worde, and the Worde was with GOD, and God was the Worde. Open thyne Eares nowe, wherefore hideſt thou thy Face ſo? God (ſaide he) was the Worde, and moreover, all Things are made by him: And withoute him nothing was made. It is not therfore the *Noune* then that made all Things, but the *Verbe*. Again, God was a *Verbe* and not a *Noune*.

Moreover,

Moreover, by the Worde the Heavens were made firme and ſure, and all their Powers.

What wilt thou now ſay? There is no Meane to defend thee by holy Allegations, but thou maiſt perceive them to make for me, and not for thee. But let us bend to thoſe Poyntes that aptlieſt tende to our Cauſe: Tell me I praye thee, whence commeth to thee this Folly and Madneſſe? And whence haſt thou ſo ſodainly taken ſuch Stomacke and Heart of Grace, that thou dareſt uſurpe upon thee the worthieſt Place in Oration? Knoweſt thou not that all Comelineſſe, Beautie and Sweetneſſe commeth of me alone? and that the *Noune* is alwayes ruled of the *Verbe*, and not that the *Verbe* is ruled of the *Noune*. The comelye Featneſſe of the *Verbe* is that, that beautifieth and enricheth Oration: and if I governe thee not therein, thou ſhalt be halfe handed and of no Force. Knoweſt thou howe to make a Conſtruction, wherin forthwith the chief Place is not given me? Beholde all Men knowe, that I onely that holde the Seigniorie over the *Verbes*, can without the Aide of any other make perfect Oration. Wherefore then ſpeakeſt thou ſo impertinentlye? And (as *Horace* ſayeth) why throweſt thou ſo thy proude and diſdainfull ſixe cornered Words? who art thou? what art thou? of what Force? or howe great? not of ſuch Auctoritie as thou boaſteſt of I am ſure, that ſo goeſt puffed and ſwollen, that it is marvell thou burſteſt not in the middeſt. I am (thou wilt ſay) the King of the *Nounes*. But what is thy Name? thou wilt aunſwere *Poeta*. And what is *Poeta* other then a Pratler, a Seller of Gaudes, a Deviſer of Fables, a Maiſter of Miſchiefe, a Brabler, a Lyer, a Dronckerd, and a fooliſh Dolt, that coloreth that which is Truth, and putteth forth Falſhoode, and ſuch a one as by thy prattling, filleſt and perturbeſt all the Worlde.

Which alſo by thy Chat uſurpeſt ſo much Auctoritie among the common and ſimple Sort, that thou dareſt ſtrive for the Dignitie againſt the renoumed Stocke of the *Verbes*. Foliſhly do thoſe Fathers that give thee their Children to be taught of: for what is in thee whereby the Youth maye be encited to Grace and vertuous Encoragement, but the Stewes of the adulterous *Jupiter*, the Jeloſie of *Juno*, and the Whoordom of *Venus*, and of the Ruffian *Mars*, and ſuch goodlye Deviſes imagined of thine owne Brayne, that having droncke a little more than well, thou, as filled with a devine Ghoſt, and overladen with wine, madlike or diveliſhly, dareſt mixe Heaven with Earth, and Earth with Heaven.

At theſe Wordes *Poeta* the King, all fiered in Ire, not able to ſuffer the Shame nor the Injurie that was ſayde of hym, aunſwered thus: O thou moſt moſt miſchievous Heade of Man, dareſt thou ſpeake ſo boldely ſuch contentious Things of us? And therewithall caught a Cuppe in his Hande, which had violentlye hit hym on the Face, had not one of the Standers by, (holding him by the Arme) tourned the Stroke a part. It is not to be doubted now, that in the Rage wherein both Partes were then, but that Wordes were no Blowes: but certaine of the elder Sorte and wiſeſt came upon the ſame, and they bare away the ſayde Kings all droncken into their Pallaces: and on the Morrow after the Friendes of the Parties were aſſembled, there was great Enquirie and Diſputation of the Contention happened the Day before. Then

of the Parte of the *Nounes* was ſharpelye blamed, the open Throate and unbeſeeming Talke of the King of *Verbes*, and the moſt Part of the *Nounes*, eſpecially the yonger of them, marvellouſly muttered, ſaying, that the Tongue of King *Amo* ought to be tamed, and to give him to underſtande, that the mightie Majeſtie of the *Nounes* was never ſubject to ſuch Reproch and Contumely.

But although the Elders that were then there preſent, eſpecially *Terence*, admoniſhed them that nothing might bee unadviſedly done, but that it was requiſite rather firſt to take Counſaile than Weapon in that Point, following the wiſer Sorte: Yet notwithſtanding, all the *Nounes* with their King, were ſo fleſhed to fight, that it was forthwith fully determined and accorded to offer Battaile to the *Verbes:* And thereupon was ſent forth a Trumpet to the King *Amo*, aſſuredly to denounce and indict open Warre againſt him. On the *Verbes* Parte was no wiſer Counſailes helde, for when all their Nobilitie were come togither, ther was nothing elſe treated of among them, than to defend the Dignitie of the *Verbes* in the Lande of *Grammer*, and to depreſſe and throwe downe the Pride of the *Nounes*. Add behold, hereupon came the Harolde of the King *Poeta*, who diligentlye declared the Charge of his Errande. They aunſwered, that with good Will they receyved the Defiaunce, and from thence forwarde all their Mindes were bent wholy towarde martiall Affaires. Afterwarde the King of *Verbes* ſent Trumpets and Meſſengers to all Nations and Landes that were under his Seigniorie, commaunding that all ſuch as were able to beare Weapon, ſhould be founde readie in good Order at the Day aſſigned.

Firſt before all other came *Quando* the Duke of *Adverbes*, with ſix of hys Capitaines, *Ubi Quo Unde Qua Quorſum* and *Quouſque*. *Quorſum* and *Quouſque* were companied with their Bands, and under the firſt Enſigne were theſe renoumed Champions, *Hic Illic Iſthic Intus Fores Ibi Ibidem Sicubi Alicubi Alias Alibi Uſque* and *Nuſquam*. Under the ſeconde, *Huc Illuc Iſtuc Intro Foras Alio Nequo Aliquo Siquo Illo Eo* and *Eodem*. Under the thirde, *Hac Illac Iſtac Alia Nequa Illa* and *Eadem*. Under the fourth, *Horſum Illorſum Iſtorſum Introrſum Extrorſum Dextrorſum Siniſtrorſum Aliorſum Aliquorſum* and *Deorſum*. Under the fifth, *Hactenus Hucuſque Eouſque Uſquemodo* and *Uſque nunc*. To the ſixt Bande the Capitaine himſelfe bare the Enſigne, marching in the middeſt of his Men, ſo that two of the ſaide Bands were in the forewarde, and the other three at the Taile.

Many other *Adverbes* ſerved for Forerunners, and theſe diſcovered the Wayes and ſerved for Partiſans, the reſt covered the Wings and kept that the Bandes marched not out of Aray. The Names of them are *Peregre Pone Super Supra Inter Infra Extra Citra* and *Ultra*, with many other. After them came other *Adverbes* great of Quality, Quantity, and Number, among whom were thoſe hideous ſwering *Adverbes:* as *Ædipol Enimvero Ecaſtor Mediuſfidius* and *Profecto*. Alſo the calling *Adverbes*, as *Heus*, *&c.* the Anſwerers, as *Hem*. The Laughers, as *Ha Ha He*. The denying *Adverbes*, *Minime* and *Nequaquam:* which *Nequaquam*, albeit he were valiaunt and greatly trayned up in the Wars, was yet notwithſtanding the moſt untrue and deceiptfulleſt of them

them all, and woulde never ſay Truth but thorow Conſtraynt: The *Greekes* called him *Holophant*, which is as mueh as altogither a Denier, or deceitfull Interpreter: Many mo Things could I report of this Ruffler *Nequaquam*, that moſt daungerous and hurtfull Beaſt, but bicauſe that the Wordes at theſe Dayes are not in common Terme, I willingly ceaſe of them, beleving doubtleſſe that it is loſt Labour to warne the Shepe how he ought to keep him out of the Wolfes Daunger. Now theſe *Adverbes* were armed with three Kinde of Armure, for they had Kynde for a Buckler, Signification for an Headpiece, and Figure for a Sword. Many other *Adverbes* came to the Ayde of their King as Indicatives, Frequentatives, Meditatives, Diminutives and Denominatives, with their Bands, which were not to be contempned. The mighty Lord of *Nounes* Animales (being *Nounes* out of Rule, that beare great Sway and Lordſhippe in the Borders of *Grammer)* were not laſt and hindmoſt: doubtleſſe worthie Men of Warre, but yet not able to holde their Arraye: they are called, *Sum Volo Fero* and *Edo*. By reaſon whereof it was permitted them to pitch their Tents in anye Part of the Campe where they woulde, leaſt they might raiſe Uprore among the Souldiers. The Nation of the *Verbes* Defectives came alſo thither very brave, and in goodly Order, *Memini*, *Noui*, *Cepi* and *Odi:* Alſo *Vale Salve Aio Inquit Faxo Cedo*, being all armed Poynt device readie to joyne Battaile. After them folowed all the *Verbes* Actives, clothed in Bone and Bravery, with alſo the Neuters, with the Deponents, Commons and *Imperſonals:* All of them of ſundry Fourms and ſtraunge Languages, and were armed with Genders Tenſes Moodes Kindes Perſons and Numbers.

The King *Amo* after he had thus aſſembled his Hoſt, pitched his Campe in the wide Playnes of Conjunctions, in a Place called *Copula*, and encamped his Hoſt there, neare to the Hoſt of Disjunctives called *Sine:* And devided his Hoaſt into foure Conjugations, giving to everye of them a meete Place (except to certayne familiar *Verbes* who were encharged to beare the Baggage of the Infinitives: Their Names are, *Incipit*, *Deſinit*, *Debet*, *Vult*, *Poteſt*, *Jubet*, *Audet*, *Nititur*, *Tentat* and *Dignatur*, with ſuch lyke: this Office was aſſigned them, for that they were willing therto, and had ſturdie Strength and Abilitie. Laſt of all came certayne *Verbes* extract from high Place, and of great Dignitie, as *Pluit Ningit Fulgurat Tonat Fulminat* and *Adveſperaſcit:* bringing with them certayne Bands of their moſt worthy Champions: But the Gerundes with the Supines, forſaking the *Nounes*, came and yelded to the *Verbes*.

When *Poeta* King of *Nounes* heard the great Preparation of his Adverſarie, fearing to be ſurpriſed with ſome ſodaine Alarum, if he abode the Furie and Force of his Enimies without Purveyaunce to defende him, commaunded all the Subjectes of his Realme, that in the ſpedieſt Maner they might, they ſhoulde make themſelves readie to be in the Fielde armed, and ſo aptly equipped, as in beſt wiſe were poſſible for them. Then to the Aide of the King of *Nounes*, firſt came the Dukes of the *Pronounes*, as the neareſt Kinſemen, who for the moſt Parte were often times Princes *Ego*, *Tu*, *Tui*, being of the Bloode Royall, and of the Stock of the *Arſacides*, with whome were,

Meus

Meus Tuus Suus Noſter and *Veſter*, *Noſtras* and *Veſtras*, *Ille Ipſe Iſte Hic* and *Hæc*. Al the *Pronounes* were parted in manye Fourmes, and under ſundry Enſignes. Some were Primatives, other Derivatives, ſome Poſſeſſives, and ſome Gentils. After them came the right worthy Articles, who had a long Time haunted the Warres, of which the firſt was *Hic Hæc Hoc:* The ſeconde *Hic & Hæc:* the third *Hic & hac & hoc*, armed with Genders, Numbers, Figures, Perſones, and Caſes. After them came the graunde Capitaynes of Interrogatives, Infinitives, and Relatives. *Quia qui que quod vel quid:* and theſe joyned to the Hoſt. Theſe were the generall Referenders of all the Land of the King of *Nounes*, with whome were all the Relatives and Demonſtratives, devided into two Bandes: that is to weete, in Idenditie, and Diverſitie. In the firſt were, *Is Suus Ipſe Ille Idem.* In the ſeconde, *Cæter Alius Reliquus* and *Alter.* The Prince of the accidentall Relatives was *Qualis*, under whome fought *Quantus quot quotuplex quatenus quotenus quotifariam cuias* and *cuigena.* The Queene of the Prepoſitions called *Ad*, came thither alſo with *Ab* and *In*, the Huſbandes of *Nounes* Caſuals, and they brought with them three Enſignes of worthy *Amazones.* Under the firſt were *A ab abs cum coram clam de è ex pro præ palam ſine abſque tenus*, which ſerved to the Ablative Caſes. Under the ſeconde were *Ad apud ante adverſum adverſus cis citra circum circa contra erga extra inter intra infra juxta ob pone per propter prope ſecundum poſt trans ultra præter ſupra circiter uſque ſecus penes*, all ſerving to the Accuſative Caſes: But *In ſub ſupra* and *ſubter* ſerved to both Caſes, to weete, to the Ablatives, aſwell as to the Accuſatives. Under the third were, *Di dis res ſe an con*, whoſe Office was to purvey Potation for the Souldiers, for it was then Lent. Who albeit they were by Compoſition inſeparable, leaſt they ſhould at any time be voyde of that was enjoyned them, were yet ſo inconſtant, that ſundrye Times they clave to the *Nounes*, and ſome while to the *Verbes:* and therefore they were accompted the common Roges of the Campe.

Nowe the *Nounes* thus devided by Bandes, marched in goodlye Aray, that is to weete, the Subſtantives, likewiſe the Adjectives, *Nounes* proper, Appellatives and Participles: After whome were the brave and rich Comparatives, Superlatives, Poſſeſſives, Patronymiques, Gentils, (which were noble) Numerals, and Multiplying, which governed the outwarde Borders. Every of them were devided by five Declinations, to weete, by the firſt, the ſeconde, the thirde, the fourth and fifr, and they were all armed wyth Kindes, Genders, Number, Figures and Caſes. All the ſayde Bandes reduced in one, *Poeta* the King of the *Nounes*, caried his Hoſt into the ſame Playne of Conjunctions, and pitched his Campe on the other ſide of the ſaide River *Sine:* So that betweene both the Hoſtes was nothing but the River: By reaſon whereof, ſundrye Times there happened ſharpe Skirmiſhes, betweene thoſe that went there to the Water, notwithſtanding yet without open Battaille, for that had both the Kings forbidden, bicauſe all nedefull Neceſſaries for the Warres, were not yet very readie.

Nowe eyther of theſe Kings coveted to induce to his Parte the Participle: a Man doubtleſſe of very great Auctoritie through all the Lande of *Grammer*, yea,

yea, in Puiſſance and Dignitie, altogither next and neareſt the King: who without doubt was able alſo to cauſe Victorie to whether Side he woulde winde him. By Reaſon of this, aſwell the *Verbe* as the *Noune*, left nothing unaſſayed, eyther of them hoping to have him on their Side. *Poeta* the King of *Nounes* putting forth formoſt, wrote to him in this Maner. I doubt not (O my Brother) but that thou knoweſt with what Pride and puffed Stomacke *Amo* the King of the *Verbes* is riſen againſt mee, and againſt the Dignitie of *Nounes*, and by what Lawe I minde to occupie the chiefeſt Seates to conſtrue Oration: For which Thing, ſeeing that the ſame doth ſo much move and diſpleaſe me, I am forced to take Armes and ſet Souldiers in the Fielde, that his Pride being beaten doune, we maye keepe oure Seigniorie in his right, uncorrupted. And ſithens thou knoweſt howe much thou art bounden to the Nation of the *Nouns*, and what great Benefit thou haſt receyved of us, as Genders and Caſes, Numbers and Figures: Thou ſhalt therefore doe a Worke worthy of thy Faithfulneſſe and Friendſhip, if with thy Men of Warre and thy Souldiers, thou come to joyne with us to defende our common Titles, our common Ritches, and common Hope. For if the Dignitie and Lordſhip of *Nounes* be deſtroyed, thinke not thou to finde anie ſure Place in the Lande of *Grammer*, and ſo fare well: Beſeeching thee to ſet forward thy coming in the ſpedieſt wiſe thou mayeſt.

On the other ſide, *Amo* the King of *Verbes* wrote to the ſaide Participle in this Wiſe. I know very well (O deare Brother) howe thou art by our Enimies verye inſtantly ſolicited to be on their Part, to warre againſt us: And albeit that we have Hope, that by thy ſingular Wiſedome thou wilt not doe any thing ſo raſh or unadviſedly, yet nevertheleſſe it ſemeth good unto us, to admoniſh and advertiſe thee, that thou conſider in thy ſelfe, what Commodities thou haſt receyved of us, and what Increaſe of Dignitie the *Verbes* have made thee, in making thee Partaker of their Tenſes and Significations, Numbers and Figures. And if thou haſt any ſmal Benefit of the *Nouns*, thoſe that thou receiveſt of us are much more, yea and alſo greater. Thou ſhalt therefore doe beſt if thou repaire to our happie Folde, not alone to keepe and defende us, and the Lordſhip of the *Verbes*, but alſo thou thy ſelfe, and thine. For thus thinke with thy ſelfe, that if I have the worſt, mine Enimies will not with-holde them from running upon thy Lordſhippe, and turne their victorious Armes (which God forbid) againſt thee: that they all alone may with their mad Will runne in and ſpoyle al the Land of *Grammer*. Farewell.

The Participle after that he had red the ſayde Letters of the two Kings, thought nowe of the one, then of the other, and had ſundry Thoughtes in his Heade, conſidering with him ſelfe that he coulde holde Part with neyther of them, without great and evident Loſſe of his owne Goodes. Contrarily if he ſhoulde ſeeme to miniſter, he might not onely enjoye the Favor of them both, but alſo that he rather wiſhed, to ſee them low brought thorowe the Hazard of the Warres, that they being deſtroyed, he might afterwarde alone withoute Reſiſtaunce, poſſeſſe the ſayde Lande of *Grammer:* and therefore thought good to diſſemble, feeding them with faire Wordes, untill he knewe who

who ſhould have the better, therfore he wrot to them in this Maner. I have moſt puiſſant Kings, receyved your Letters, and I have red them with great Sorowe and Trouble of Minde, knowing that betwen two ſuch Princes ſo knit, is fallen ſuch Diſcorde, that you can not withholde you from overthrowing thorow cruell War, your owne Lordſhips, and that renoumed Empire. But wherewith are ye vexed? or what Harme holdeth you? and whence commeth this Madneſſe? I beſeche you for God his Sake to conſider a little whither you go. Howe will our common Enimies (thoſe beaſty Citizens of Ignorance, and that ſlovenlike People of *Barbarie)* rejoyce, underſtanding the Strength of their Enimies to be ſo waſted through their owne contentious Quarrelling? I adjure by the high Gods above and beneath, that ye withholde you, and forbeare ſuch deadly, mortall, and abhominable Battayles, leaſt that through a damnable Deſire of Superioritie, you bewray in Uprores and Slanders the goodlieſt Province of all the Worlde. But if Deſtinie will have it ſo, and that you be ſo fully purpoſed to debate your Quarell by the Sword, I purpoſe to take Part with neyther of you, ſeing my Lordſhip dependeth in Part of the *Verbe* and in Parte of the *Noune*. And for that I am greatly bound to you both, with what I can I will ayde you both with Vitayles, Munitions, and other neceſſarie Things: But as touching Facts of Armes, I will withholde me, and I wyll cauſe my Souldiers to be aſſembled in Armes, to kepe in at home, that through Incourſes no Injurie be done by any, on the Frountiers of mine own Lande: I pray God give you better Counſayle. Fare ye well.

And albeit that he had thus written to them, this ſubtill and wily Fox neverthelefſe, through all poſſible Meanes he might, maintayned the Quarell, and by his privie Letters incited the Mindes of both Nations eagerly to ytche againſt other, hoping thereby (as I have ſaid) that he ſhoulde eaſily attayne to the Seigniorie of the whole *Grammer* after their totall Deſtruction. Then having aſſigned a Day for his Subjectes to be aſſembled in, was in a moſt trim and brave Companie. Firſt the Terminat in *Ans ens dus rus tus ſus xus*, were there with the *Nounes* verball in *Tor trix* and ſuch like, which were Neighbors of the *Verbes* and *Nounes*, and joyned with the Participles. Likewiſe the Gerundes and Supines, to avoyde theſe civil Wars, withdrew them alſo from the *Verbes*, and fled to the Participles. Theſe Things thus appoynted, the Participle ſent great Giftes to both Sides, to be alwayes and ſtill in their Favour, and firſt he ſent to the *Verbe* theſe under named neuter Paſſives. To weete *Gaudeo ſoleo audeo fio prandeo Cæno juro titubo placeo nubo careo mæreo poto taceo* and *quieſco*. To the King of *Nouns* he gave the Ending in *Tor* and *trix*. He ſent alſo for Wagis to the Hoſt of *Verbes* an hundreth Waggons of Preter Tenſes, of Preſent and Future Tenſes. Item a thouſand Camels laden with Figures, Simples, Compoſites, and Decompoſites: And to the *Noune* he ſent by the River *Sive*, tenne Ships laden with Nominative and Genitive Caſes, with as manye Singuler and Plurall Numbers, and a great Number of other, Maſculine Genders, Feminines, Neuters, Comons and all. This done, he helde him in his Country with his Men of Warre, awayting to whether ſide Fortune woulde tourne hir. In the meane while,

while, theſe two warlike Kings having verye well made Proviſion of all Things neceſſary to give Battaile, awayted nothing elſe than ſome trimme Occaſion to commence the Warre. But it chaunced that two of the worthieſt Townes of *Grammer*, (to weete) *A* and *V* were taken unappointed by the King of *Verbes*, albeit than then all Townes were indifferently ſubject, and payed equall Tribute to both the ſayde Kings, aſmuch to the one, as to the other, being moreover in nothing more in Service to the one King, than to the other.

When *Poeta* the King hearde this, he toke by the like Policy three other Towns *E I O:* The other hearing this, kept them to their ſtrongeſt Watch, and keping their Liberty, wer comon to both Parts, whoſe Names are, *B C D F G L M N P Q R S T X Z*, and of them doubtleſſe commeth all the Force of *Grammer*. To eyther of the Kings were given two Dipthongs to be their Trumpets, for they were taught by Sounde of Trump, to move the Spirite of all the Souldiers for to fight, *Æ* and *æ* ſerved to the King of *Nounes*, *Au* and *eu* to the *Verbes*. Beſide this, certayne jeſting or gibing Women folowed both the Hoſtes, that moved the Mindes of the Souldiers in ſundry Affections: for ſome wept and bewayled the Slaughter that ſhoulde be among them of *Grammer*, yea and that they felt the ſame neere them alreadie, as *Oh ha he heu* and *hei*, other were dyſpleaſed, and reproved the Contention of theſe Kings, as *Vah væ* and *atat*. Other woundered of ſuch Diſſention fallen betweene ſo great Friendes, as *Papæ vahu* and *vha:* other as Fooles incited and encouraged the Souldiers to fight, as *Eia* and *Evax*. Moreover, all the Men of Warre and Souldiers being well appoynted and readie to enter into the Battaile, it ſeemed good to the King of *Verbes* that on his Part gladly withall his Hart he would withdrawe to commence civile Warres, and to cloke his doing in or with ſome honeſt Maner, wrote a Letter to the King of *Nounes*, in this Tenor. O *Poeta* thou haſt well underſtoode in what Appoynment and readie Strength I am come downe to ſhewe my ſelfe in the Fielde to give thee Battaile: and agayne thou mayſt knowe that there are not in thee ſufficient Forces able to abide and withſtande the violent ruſhing in of the Legions of my Men of Warre: Therefore thou ſhalt doe wiſely, if in leaving me in my Eſtate thou withdrawe into thy Territories. But if thou be ſo ſenſeleſſe, that it muſt be had by the Edge of the Sworde, then know thou that three Dayes hence I will be readie with mine Hoſt in the playne Fielde to fight, there to receive thee.

When the Trumpets *Au* and *Eu* had given their Letters to the King of *Nouns*, he aunſwered them according to his Counſaile in this wiſe. O *Amo*, thou ever haſt too many Wordes, but it is not nowe a Time to amaſe the Eares of the Hearers with thy much babbling: thou boaſteſt thy valiaunt Hoſt, and thy fearefull prepared Ordinaunce, as if on our Side wee had not but Dwarfes and Graſhoppers. Thy Poſſeſſion hath ever bene very lyttle in Oration: But yet thy Follye leadeth thee thither from whence thou mayſt not flie, untill with that Parte of Lordeſhip (by thee wrongfully woon, worſe governed, and naughtely retayned) thou be by juſt Warre chaſed out. And for that thou ſhalt knowe how litle, not I onely, but mine, doe way thee,

and how ſmally we feare thy Threatnings, our Heraldes *Æ* and *æ* ſhal ſhewe thee their bare Buttockes if thou wilt: farewell, ſuch as I wiſh thee: adewe to the Devill for ever and aye.

By theſe Letters the Heartes of them poyſoned one againſt another, did all awayte with fierie Stomackes the laſt aſſigned Day of Battayle. In the meane while, by occaſion of ſuche troubleous Time, there aroſe (as comonly doth in ſuch Buſineſſe) a Licence of moſt miſchevous Deedes, and there went forth a Company of privy Pilferers through the whole Province of *Grammer*, ſeeking their Pray, and eſpecially in wooddie Places, and from the Hils eſpied the Paſſengers, and ſpoyled the Vittailers that went to the Campes: Whereby great Dearth and Scarſitie of Victuales daylye encreaſed in both the Hoſtes. By reaſon wherof, certaine worthie Capitaines, with ſufficient Number of Souldiers were by the Conſent and Decree of both Kings ſent out to flea theſe Robbers, or elſe to drive them far out of the Lands of *Grammer*. They being come thither, the Souldiers did encloſe a very thick Wood, where they hadde underſtoode that there were a great Number hidden: ſo they beſet them, that one eſcaped not untaken. Among whome was a certayne Fellowe called *Catholicon* that drave a great Aſſe laden with *Greeke* and *Latine* Words bound up togither, and caried them into *Italie*. Item an olde *Duns* called *Huguition*, with a yong Yonker ſurnamed *Garlandia* which alſo with a great one eyed Mule drave a Waggon laden with falſe and broken Rules, and fowle Fourmes not onely of olde Phraſes, but alſo of *Latine* Termes, wherewyth he hoped to be enritched in the Borroughes and Townes, ſelling them as precious Things ſet in Glaſſe, to make laten of Glaſſe which might have Day ſeene through it. Moreover this Yoncker of *Garlandia* was found ſtuffed full of falſe Peces of Money and counterfact Coyne, being baſe Bullion, which he cauſed to be taken for good, being of an untrue Stampe which he had forged, and of the ſayde Money he had filled all the Lande of *Grammer*. Lykewiſe there was taken a great and greaſie laſie Lourden, that made himſelfe be called *Greciſmus*, that had made leane all the Victayls that went to the Campe, to ſtuffe a greate foule ranck ſtincking and rotten Calves Paunch with. There was alſo taken one *Pylades*, that had robbed all the Wayes he went in, and was become ritche. All theſe were there bodily puniſhed as they had merited, ſome quartered and made in Pieces, ſome brent in the Fire, other caſt into the Dongeons of perpetuall and ſtincking Priſons. He that toke and puniſhed *Greciſmus* was a right worthy Capitaine called *Touſſan* or *Tuſan*. The Robberies of *Pylades* was diſcovered and debarred by a noble Capitaine very well acquainted in the Warres, which was called *John* of *Cuuella* that ſo ſwelled that he was in Perill to be Dropſie, but one gave him a ſhort Cliſter, that did yelde him in ſlenderer Fourme, and more leane and eaſie to be borne than he was. All the reſt of this robberous Rable were deſtroyed, ſlaine and buried in a great and darke Dongeon. *Catholicon* that among them was called the great, was brought to the Campe wyth his Aſſe, who confeſſed on the Racke albeit it were a Thing manifeſt) that he had ſtolen all theſe Wordes in the Lande of *Grammer*. Then when he was aſked ought in *Greeke*, he aunſwered that he underſtode not the *Greke*, and of the *Latine*

but

but a very little. Then ſayde the Judges, wherefore carieſt thou wyth thee *Greeke* Wordes, ſeing thou then underſtandeſt not?

Then he aunſwered, there is ſo great Ignoraunce of learning with us (ſaith hee) that albeit I ſpeake groſſely, yet can I eaſily make them beleve that I am through lined in every Corner with all the Eloquence of *Attica*. All they which were there, hearing this, fel in a great Laughter, and ſaid: by Saint *George*, ſeing that thou haſt ſuch Hearers as thou haſt, that which we know not the due Owners of, thou ſhalte carrye with Saulfconducte to thy People and Nation: but that which we ſhall know to belong to any, that we thinke good to be rendred to the due Owners. Then after they hadde made diligent Search, all the *Greeke* Words almoſt were given to *Iſydore*, whoſe they were, and the Remnaunt to the *Latines:* to which Buſineſſe was appoynted the Mayſter of the Trenchmen, called *Calepin*, with the courteous Capitaine *Anthonie* of *Nebriſſe*. The intermixed, rotten, and ſecret hidden Words were given him, and ſo they permitted him to go his Way with his Aſſe lighter laden than before: nevertheleſſe they forbad him at any Tyme ever after, to be ſo hardie as to call hymſelfe a Gramarian, except among the rude and barbarous People. In theſe buſie Buſineſſe, one *Priſcian* a very renoumed Man, and of great Honour in the Lande of *Grammer*, for that he coulde not ſuffer the ſaide Lande to runne in totall Ruine through civile Warre and Contention, haſted toward the Campe in Poſt to make an Agreement, and being taken, was ſpoiled and ſore beaten of the feloniſh Felowſhip of *Catholicon*, and was ſo wounded on the Heade, that there was no Salve able to heale him. Shortly after, among theſe Felowes was taken one who falſlely and ſhamefully ſayde that he was an Hiſtoriographer, and had gathered togither a great Bundell of jeſting foliſhe Gaudes in a great Volume, called *Supplementum Chronicharum*, who forced thorowe Queſtion, confeſſed that all they were ſtollen Things: and ſo he was exiled for ever into the Lande of Ignoraunce. As theſe Things were doing, certaine of the *Verbes* Anomales, as *Sum volo fero*, with three Companies of their Handmaides, made an Aſſault and toke away a Priſoner of the Capitaines of the *Nounes* named *Cæter*, which was of the Race of Relatives, and they toke him hidden with his Fellowes in an Embuſh, in what Cave I knowe not, neare to the by path way of the Conjunctions *Quod* and *Quam*, and him they ſlue with all his Singulers, his Plurals ſeing the Daunger they were in, made a Vowe to *Jupiter*, to ſacrifice him the Remnant of their Goods, and ſo they eſcaped hole and ſounde miraculouſly. When Tidings hereof were told to King *Poeta*, he was marvellouſly mooved, and it greatlye greeved him to loſe ſuch a Capitayne: for this *Cæter* was very ſtout and ful of Stomacke even to the uttermoſt, and in Feates of Warre he had no Peere.

The King of *Nounes* therfore feeling himſelf greatly endomaged with the Loſſe of *Cæter* and his Singulars, diligently awayted Occaſion whereby he might render double the lyke to his Enimies. But Fortune, who can in all Thinges do very muche, and chiefly in Warre, gave hym ſhortly after the Way to revenge him of the Wronge. For in thoſe Dayes many Legions of *Verbes* of no ſmall Authoritie were taken Priſoners by certayne lyght Horſmen

of the *Nounes*. Among whom was *dice*, *face*, *fere* and *duce*, of the Bande of the Imperatives and Commaunders. From whom thorough great Ignomie was cutte away by the Kings Commaundement, the hynder Skirtes of their Garments, ſo that they ſhewed their Buttockes, and ſo ſent them away againe, ſo that ever ſince they were called only *dic*, *duc*, *fac* and *fer*. Afterward he commaunded that the Priſoners ſhould be ſlayne, namely, *fuo*, *ſpecio*, *leo* and *pleo*: whoſe Goodes were by the King of *Verbes* given to their lawful Children, diſcending of them in right Line, as *fui*, *fueram*, *fuiſſem*, *fuiſſe* and *futurus*. And to the Children of *ſpecio*, who were a great Number, as *aſpicio conſpicio* and ſuch like: and alſo to them of *leo* and *pleo*, as *doleo impleo compleo ſuppleo repleo expleo oppleo*. At the very ſame Seaſon was bewraied a great Treaſon to the Hoaſt of the *Verbes*, how certaine horribe Hooreſons of the Stocke of Preterperfectes, being Souldiers, to cloake their Treaſon, and not to be knowen, were diſguiſed after the Maner of the *Greekes*, though they were of the *Latin* Tong, and beyng taken, had two Heades. Theſe had conſpired and layd Watch for the King of *Verbes*: but being taken and convict of the Fact, were declared Traytours, and condemned of Treſpaſſe againſt the King, they were called *momordi cecidi cucurri pependi ſpopondi pepigi didici popoſci tetuli cecini peperi tutudi pepuli fefelli memini pupugi* and *tetigi*, from whom was cutte of one Head at that preſent: ſo that wheras they were before time called, *momordeo cecido cucurro*, they be nowe called *mordeo cedo curro*; and ſo of the reſt. From *tetuli* were cutte of both Heades, as well of the Preter, as of the Preſent Tenſe: albeit that *Terence* through Pitie thought to ſimon on the ſame agayne of the Preter Tenſe with Baulme, but it helde not. Now as the Time of Fighting drew neare, the ſayd King ſet up in the hygheſt Place of their Hoſt, a red Cloake, to advertiſe the Souldiers that they ſhoulde ſhortly joyne together in Fight, that they might prepare and propoſe them ſelves thereto, takyng their Repaſt, and whetting their Weapons, might ſharpen their Munitions ready, with all other Thinges pertayning to ſuche Affairs. In the Morning, after the Souldiers had dined, on both Sids without any Noyſe makyng, the whole Hoaſt aſſembled to the ſayde Place. Then when they had all raunged in Battayle Aray with diſplayed Aucientes, the ſaid Kings beſought and required their Souldiers earneſtly to behave them ſelves wel and worthily: but it was no neede, ſeyng that they of themſelves were already fired ynough. For al as mad Men ſhooke their Pikes with ſo great and ſtout a Stomacke, that they taried for nothing but to ſtrike, and awayted nought but the Signe of the Onſet and Alarme: and herupon, behold, the Trumpettes blewe the Onſet on both Sides. On the other Part the Earth reſounded and rang againe, and in both Hoaſtes were made great Shoutes and Cries, the Heades of both Hoſtes made great Vowes to God, and every of them ſtomacked and cheered up their Souldiers. Then every one dyd what he coulde and knewe to be done, they ſtrake together with great handy Strokes of Swordes, brake their Pikes, that the Ayre rang againe of the Cry of the Fighters. In the Ayre was nothyng ſeene but Cloudes of Smoke and Brymſtone: on both Sides were great Store wounded and of dead Corpſes plenty. O there was a goodly

goodly Sight to ſee the *Verbes* Defectives (among the reſt) fighting againſt the *Nounes* Heteroclites. Theſe *Nounes* accompanied with their Nominative Caſes, with their Genders, alſo with their Genitives and Plurall Numbers, dyd fiercely lay upon their Enemies. The *Verbes* Defectives did ſtoutly and couragiouſly withſtande and put apart theſe *Nounes* Heteroclites, with their Indicatives, accompanied with their Preter perfect Tenſes, ſo that by their Conjugations they brake thorowe Force, the Numbres and Genders of the other.

Of theſe *Verbes* there was one called *aio*, who uſing ſingular Hardineſſe, did for a long Space reſiſt two *Nounes* Heteroclites, ſo long that in the End being no more able to withſtande their furiouſe Forces, loſt diverſe of his Perſons, Modes, Tenſes and Numbres, and then reſted only unto hym, *ais*, *ait*, *aiunt*, *aiebam*, *aiebas*, *aiebat* and *aiebant:* the reſt paſſed thorough the Sworde.

As the Hoaſtes were thus in Fight there was ſuch a Mixture, that one knewe not an other, and they were al ſo fiered and fleſhed to fight, that none of them al once perceyved the feareful Earthquake that was at that preſent, and in the ſame Country there: yea ſuch a one, and ſo great, that it deſtroyed the Townes nere therto, turned the Streames of mightie Rivers the other Way upſide downe, and thruſt the Sea into the Floudes, and with his hideouſe Roaring, overthrewe the hygh Mountaynes with a mighty Fall. But let ſuche be ſtyll, that accompt that for a Tale: the Accident that happened in that ſame ſharpe and harde Warre, wher the *Romayns* were ſo trounſed by the *Penoys*, neare unto the Lake *Traſimene*, the Citie of *Croton* yeldeth ſufficient Teſtimonie, whiche (as *Lucan* ſaith in the Booke of true Narrations) was before ſituate on the Brynks of the Shore of *Traſimene*, at the very preſent, thorough a Tempeſt of a Whirlewind was tranſported into the Mountayne, where it is at this Day. Doubtleſſe of this and ſuch like Examples lately befallen, *Titus Livius* may wel glorie in, for that he hath ſo great a Teſtimonie to have ſayd Truth: for that it is ſufficient to confirme the Thinges that he hath written. The Ayre was obſcured and made darke with the Arrowes that the Numbers Singulars and Plurals ſhot. The Shot of the Figurs Compoſite and Decompoſite flew whiſtelyng ſo rounde and rightely into the Eares of every one, that they were all as deafe. A great Number were hurt by the Dartes of the Kindes of Primatives, and Derivatives. The Trumpettes lykewyſe that went on every Side ſounded a fearefull and terrible *Taratantara*, ſo that the Sounde thereof encouraged the Fighters marvellous ful of ſtomacke and hardy, to beare the Blowes and ſturdie Strypes of their Enemies. And theſe troublous rayling Women, the Interjections that went about the Arayes, vexed and ſore troubled them all, through their moved and fickle Affections: Among whom for the moſt parte ware often hearde theſe pitiful and dolorous Cries, *heu* and *hei oh ah eh*. Notwithſtanding this Warre was more fierce and cruel than long in fighting, and had it not bene for great Aboundaunce of Rayne, that thorough a ſodayne Storme and Tempeſt which fell from the Cloudes even at that preſent, made the Medley to depart and breake off. Then doubtleſſe had there bene an Ende of al the Forces of *Grammer*. Such and ſo great was the furious Rage that

they

they had every one of them, one againſt another, yea untill that Pointe, that albeit the Trumpettes ſounded the Retraict on both Sides, and they all greatly encombred with the Water, might nevertheleſſe be unmingled and ſeparate aſunder one from another, to returne them under their Enſignes.

The Victorie aboade doubtfull and incertayne, neyther was it knowen of any, whether had the better or the worſe, for on both Sides there was a marvellous many, as well of ſore wounded as of ſlayne, not only of common Souldiours, but alſo of the hie and chiefe Captaynes. It is not poſſible for any to tell the great Loſſes that were ther on both Sides. Notwithſtanding I will aſſay to ſhewe playne and manyfeſtly, and in the openlieſt Maner I may, that which ſome did winne or loſe there, (though I can not ſay of every one in particular) this will I do, to this End, that they that come after, may therto take Heede. Firſt the Parte of the *Verbes* Defectives, in Fight loſt all them that were deſcendent from him, all his Genders, Tenſes, Modes, Perſons and Numbers that were of the Fourth Conjugation, of Figure Compoſite, and of the Singular Number. He hymſelfe (as God woulde) eſcaped ſafe, for ſeying hym ſelfe in Perill, he made a Vow, that of no Conjugation of Mariage, he wold after any more beare the Livery: and therefore he was at that Brunt ſo ſore feared, that ſince he hath bene very ſeldome ſeene publikely in the Land of Grammer. *Fore* was bereft and robbed of al his Goods, exeept *fores foret* and *fore*, which are of the Optative Mode, of the Third Conjugation, *vale*, *ave*, *ſalve*, of the Kindred and Stocke of the Imperatives (loſt a great many of their Fellows) which are yet lyving, the reſt were loſt. *Faxo* of the ſame Stocke of Actives eſcaped only with three of his, al the reſt of his Band after him were ſlayne, except *faxis faxit* and *faxint*, who ſaved them ſelves with him by flighty Footing. *Inquio* of the Stocke of the Neuters, kept *inquis inquit inquiunt inquam inquies inquiet inquient inque* and *inquam*. The reſt periſhed in the Warres. *Inquiens* at that Time was with the Participles wherof he happened well. *Apage* and *apagite* when they had loſt all their Fellowes, eſcaped alone. *Diet* loſt alſo all his Fellowes except *dieſcit*. *Facio* was put from his Sonne *facior*, who notwithſtandyng before he dyed, dyd conſtitute by knightly Teſtament an Heire *fio*. *Poſco diſco metuo timeo renuo reſpuo compeſco urgeo linquo*, and all they of the Race of the Actives, loſt their Supins. Some *Verbes* loſt their Pretertenſes of the Thirde Conjugation, and in Place of them, they after recovered the Pretertenſes of the Fourth Conjugation: among whom was, *cupio peto quæro arceſſo faceſſo* and *fero*. Some *Verbes* having loſt their Future in *am*, to the Ende that they woulde not thencefoorth wholy loſe the Hope that was to come, bought other Futures in *bo* at the Faires of *racana*, as *eo queo* and *veneo* (but *Horace* by his Auctoritie gave to *lenio lenibo*,) al *Verbes* belonging to Beautie loſt all their Supins, among whom was *luceo fulgeo ſplendeo polleo* and ſuch like. *Fulcio* uſing a ſingular Hardineſſe eſcaped out of Peril, and held his *fultum*, but ſeyng we have recounted and told of them that receyved Loſſe, it is not mete to holde of no Accompt theſe *Verbes*, that behaving them ſelves wel and worthily had both Spoiles and Dignities, whiche they receyved of their King, beſide theſe others that they firſt had and enjoyed: among other were elevate

and

and ſet up in great Honor, *cæno juro careo mæreo nubo* and *prandeo:* for beſide their owne Preter-Tenſes, they receyved alſo the Preter Tenſes of the Paſſive Voice. *Redimo* was enriched in his five Senſes of Nature, and at that preſent obteyned foure Significations, as to deliver, to leade and governe, to decke and ornate, and to take to ferme. *Solor* wan three Significations, as to be alone, and to comfort and exhort, *explicat*, beſide his own Senſe which is to explicate and ſhew foorth playnly, receyved, that he might declare, ſhew, that he might drawe, that he might repreſent and deliver. *Valeo* beſide his owne Senſe, which is to be in health and whole, wan ſo much, that when he ſayd *vale*, that he might ſalute alſo, and ſometime curſe too. *Preſto* had foure Significations as, to lend, and to be aloft, to do good, and bold Promiſſe, with divers other Significations. *Haurio* was as much enritched, for he had foure Significations, as to draw out, to wounde, to heare and ſee and diverſe other ſuch lvke, and all they when Neede is are reduced in one. *Paſco* receyved two Underſtandinges, to feede, and bring up. *Vaco* albeit he meddled not much among the Fighters (for as *Socia* ſayth in *Plautus*, the fiercer they fought the faſter he fledde) nevertheleſſe Fortune that oftentymes giveth Rewarde to the ſlouthfull, woulde enriche his Cowardiſe with the beſt of the Spoiles: for as he eſpied certaine of his Enimies that wer fled and gone away, he crept out of his Cabin and cloked them in his Fiſt: who after bought them againe with a great Summe of Silver, and he wan beſide his owne former Senſe ſeven other, to wete, to underſtande, to leave of, to ſerve, to be ſuperfluouſe, to be lawfull, not to have, and to be empty. *Studeo* wan three Significations, as to ſollicite, to deſire earneſtly, and to be very paynfully buſied. *Pango* receyved three Senſes, as to ſing, and hath given to *panxi* in his Preter Tenſe to make Truces, and hath gyven to *pepigi* to faſten and joyne together. *Sapio* from that Day had two Senſes, to wete, to give Knowledge, and to be wiſe. *Fero* one of the foure Anomales gayned three Senſes, as to upholde, to deſire, and to beare. *Confiteor* had three Senſes, to praiſe, to purge, and to make manifeſt. *Supero* receyved ſeaven Senſes by reaſon of the great Aucthoritie that he had among the *Verbes:* as to remayne in part, to overcome, to be neare, to go further, to eſcape, to overlive and exceede. Some *Verbes* there were, whiche havyng loſt their owne Preter Tenſes, had of their King the Goodes of other *Verbes* Paſſives whiche were ſlayne at the Battayle: as *audeo fido gaudeo ſoleo* and *fio*. Theſe peſtiferous and perillous lying *Verbes*, whiche alwayes have in their Heart and Minde other than in the Mouth, albeit they had no parte of the Praie, yet ought not they and their Names to be left in Oblivion, but ſpoken of, to the Ende that every one might know them, and ſo beware: ſeyng that alwayes under the Colour and Cloake of doing, they beare the Paſſive Voyce: they are called *exulo veneo nubo liceo* and *vapulo*. This laſt of all is the moſt wily and ſubtilleſt: and therfore ſo muche wyſer as the Boy is, ſo muche the more Heede wyll he have to decline his wily Ambuſhes, yf he have good Care to kepe his Buttocks. Now ſeyng we have already ſhewed as well as we are able, that which happened to the *Verbes*, it ſeemeth good in our Accompt that we ſpeake alſo of the *Nounes*. Overſight was made in and thorowe the

Hoaſt

Hoaſt of the *Nounes*, and it was found howe Fortune had bene as muche diverſe to one Parte as to an other. And to the End that we begin by the Poſitives, there was certaine of them, that beyng hurt in their Comparatives, receyved Dreſſing and Cure through the Diligence of certayne expert Phiſitians, as *melior minor dexterior ſiniſterior plus magnificentior*, and *munificentior* al irregulate, and deſcending of the ſecond Declenſion. But *pius arduus egregius tenus* and ſuch lyke, loſt their owne Comparatives. The *Nounes* ending in *er*, loſt *imus*, in their Superlatives: and for the ſame they had *rimus*, as *tener*, and *ſaluber*. To others for that they had loſt *ſimus* was given *limus*, as *humilis facilis gracilis ſimilis agilis*, and to *vetus* was geven *veterrimus*. Among Trees were certayne *Nounes*, that quiting them ſelves manfully, by a ſodayne Miracle chaunged altogether at once their Kinds, becoming of Females, Males, every one aſtonied at the ſodayne Caſe, demaunded whence came ſuche Transformation to them: of them were *rubus* and *oleaſter*, which *Titus* ſayth were evyll and unluckie Tokens, and therfore affirmed he that they ought to be caſt into the Bottome of the Sea, or elſe to be exiled out of the Lande of *Grammer*. But the King *Poeta* jeſtyng at the fonde Superſtition that they had in the Miracles, dyd prohibite all and every of them, to harme, or any way to hurt them: ſaying that it was not an evyl Signe, or unhappy Accident to be chaunged from Women into Men: ſayng that out of a noughty and croked Kind, they were turned into a good and better. From certaine *Nounes* Heteroclites, fighting againſt the *Verbes* Defectives, were cutte away both Coddes and Cullion in the Plurall Numbre (from whiche Peryll God ſave us) ſo that afterwarde there was in that Number founde neither Man nor Woman but chaſt Neuters: whiche doubtleſſe is a Thyng greatly to be pitied. Their Names were *ſibilus avernus infernus menalus ſupparus baltheus tartarus dindimus*, other had better Chaunce: for when in the ſame Number they were Neuters, wer glad forth with to ſee them become Males: as *porrum raſtrum frenum* and *cælum*. But theſe ſayde *porrum* and *raſtrum*, as they went thorowe *Rome*, founde in the Markets of *Agona* their Neuter Plurals, and there they bought them againe with a great Summe of Money, and gyving leave to the Males, loved better to hold them to them there. *Balſamum* among all *Nounes* and Trees abode only a Neuter: by reaſon wherof ſeyng that he coulde not beget nor bring foorth yong, is in ſo great Scarſitie that he is no where ſeene but in the Lande of *Juda*, which is the Cauſe (as ſorowefull) he yeldeth his Fruict all in Teares: as for other *Nounes* that were bereft of their Plurall Neuter, receaved the Feminine for Amendes, as *epulum oſtreum veſper* and *cepe*. But Truth is, of all Creatures the Oyſters only were Neuters: but above al Auctthors *Plinie*, and the Poetes holde them for Neuters, wherefore *Ovide* ſayeth thus: *Oſtreaque in conchis, tuta fuere ſuis*, ſo that afterwarde they gayned ſo, that they became as muche Feminine as Neuters: others that were of the doubtfull Gendre, receyved the Maſculine in their Plurall Numbre, as *Cardo*, *bubo*, and ſuche lyke, other that were ſpoyled of all their Caſes Plural, abode ever ſince diſmembred and maymed: among whom, were *fumus limus funus pulvis ſanguis mundus pontus*

tus ſol ſal and *uvus*, all of the Maſculine Gendre. Hardly is ſeene any tyme more than one Sunne in the Firmament, but when it happeneth ſo, it is not naturall, but rather wonderful, likewiſe alſo certayne Feminines loſt their Plurall Caſes, as *lux ſitis labes mors vita fames tabes gloria fama ſalus pax humus lues tellus ſenecta ſoboles juventæ indoles proles.*

Theſe fought ſo febly in the Hoaſt,
That all their Plurals there they loſt.

Other Feminines loſt at the ſayd Conflicte their Singular Number, as *argutiæ habenæ bigæ blanditiæ cunæ delitiæ exequiæ excubiæ exuviæ phaleræ facetiæ genæ gades inſidiæ induciæ caleridæ lachrymæ latebræ minæ*, and many others. Other Neuters were ſpoyled of all their Plurals, as *cœnum fœnum avus ſolum pus* and *virus*. Furthemore other wer put from al their Singuler Frends: as *arma caſtra exta cunabula conchilia crepundia paſcua mœnia mapalia magnalia ilia ſeria precordia* and *ſponſalia*, yea and almoſt all the Names of Feaſtes, as *Saturnalia Dioniſia Aphrodiſia Bacchanalia, Floralia* and *Neptunalia*, and all the Names of Metals, eſpecially *aurum* and *argentum*, which every one laboured to take Priſoner, and likewiſe *aes ſamia* and *æra* in three Caſes. In lyke Maner for the great Heate and Alteration of the Combat, the Meaſures were ſpoyled of the Pluralitie of their Liquors, except of Wines, and Honies, which in the Plurall Caſes were ſpared, to the Ende that they myght do Kyng *Poeta* Service with newe Wines: for that he loved them well. *Oleum* and *frumentum*, by like Misfortune were ſo gluttonnous, that thorow the great Scarſitie that was in the Hoaſt, they wer not found in Pluralitie. Other aboad ſhortened in the Ende of their Genitives and Datives Plurall, as *jura thura æra maria* and *fora*. Yet neverthelefſe all *Nounes* had not the worſe Part: for divers of them had of the Spoyle of their Enimies: by reaſon wherof they were of greater Authoritie than before, ſo that ſome receyved other Nominative Caſes beſide their former: as *arbor* which alſo hath *arbos: honor* which hath *honos: odor* which hath *odos: cucumer* which hath *cucumis: ciner* which hath *cinis*, and *pulver* which hath *pnlvis*. Notwithſtandyng they occupy theſe not alwayes, but kepe this Share for hie Feaſtes, as for trim and nice decking for Honor Sake. *Plaga* albeit through hurting he bled, yet wanne he foure other Senſes without Accompt of the firſt, (that ſignifieth a Wound or Hurt:) as when he would ſay the arming Cord of a Ner, alſo a great Space of the Heaven and Earth (called *Clima*,) alſo a great kind of Linen, ſuch as the old Matrones of *Rome* ware when they went in the Citie, and alſo for a Bed, or any part of a Bed. *Opus* the ſame Day wan there three Senſes: for *Opus* ſignifieth Earth: under *Opus* he giveth Ayde, under *Opibus* Riches. The Gerundes and Supins, bicauſe they were ſo often fled to the Enimy, were amerced to fine after the Treatie of Peace was made betweene both the ſayde Kings, through the earneſt Complainct and Supplication of *Demoſthenes* who alleaged the Lawes of *Solon*, by which it was commaunded, that ſuch wer to be put a part from all Honor and Offices, that in any Sedition had not helde the Part of the one nor the other: for that ſuch a one thinketh altogether of his own Buſineſſe, and recketh not of the Common

wealth: the greateſt Part then in the Lande of *Grammer* lyved after the Lawes of *Athens*. Afterwarde therfore the King of the *Verbes* left to the Gerundes no more but only three Caſes, takyng away from them for the Treſpaſſe of their Default al their other Caſes. To the Supins only were reſerved but two: whiche greatly greved all them of *Grammer*, ſharpely blaming ſuch a ſort of fooliſh Preceptes of *Solons* Lawes, as much as the fonde Reaſons of *Demoſthenes*, whom they jeſted at, ſaying, that he had left (his Cunnyng at home) his Diſtaffs Bandes and Woull, and that he had not fained ſquint eied Diſeaſe in vaine, to have yerely Revenues and Preferment: bycauſe he hoped not to have ſo much Money of the Gerundes and Supins, as he ſometime had had of *Harpalus*. Surely yf I woulde deſcribe forth all the Loſſes and Misfortunes orderly as they ought to be, and alſo all the Conqueſtes of the Worthineſſe of every one that changed in that Day, my Matter would be to long. And therfore I will here make an Ende, and this may ſuffice, that what ſo ever is found loſt, waſted, or joyned to, and growen up through all the Lande of *Grammer*, and his Borders and utter Limites, is wholy proceeded thorough the ſame harde, hideous, and mortall Fight among them. In the ſame Tyme of the Warres ſprang up many new Wordes, and ſundry olde were put apart and rejected. And had not three honeſt Perſons ben choſen for Arbitrers (of whom we wil ſpeake hereafter) whiche by their Power and Abilitie withſtoode the Naughtineſſe of certayne Grammatiſtes or ſlender Grammarians, ſo great Barbarouſneſſe had then ben mixed thorough the *Latin* Tong, and the ſame then ben ſo myngled with fooliſhe Woordes, that all Hope had ben loſt ever to reſtore the ſame againe in his Honor, and comely Beautie. Therefore after that the Retraict was blowen of both the Hoaſtes, and that they had numbred as well the wounded as the ſlayne, and had knowne the great Loſſe that was of the Hoaſtes, they all began and fell to ſighing: and the Sight of ſuche a Slaughter of their People greatly greeved them, through Deſire of Superioritie. Wherefore every of them repentyng, ſought nowe nothing elſe than to make Peace. And firſt of all *Poeta* Kyng of *Nounes* after he had called his Souldiers (but not without Teares) ſayde theſe Wordes. I thinke well that you knowe (O my Fellowes) how dolefully, and againſt my Will, I have taken Armes to defend and uphold the Honor (as ever ſithens I thought) and the Authoritie of the *Nounes*, againſt our Brethren the Souldiers of the *Verbes:* and in how many Kindes I have aſſayed to deferre and put of long from betweene us the Warres, and they to leave us quyet in our Eſtate. But when I thinke not only of our owne Loſſe, but alſo of theirs, againe when I beholde the dead Corpſes on both Sides, I have greater Deſire to lament than to ſpeake. Therefore it behoveth us to remember that, which ſome of our good olde Citizens and Burgeſes wrote of the Diſcorde and civile Warres, as well of the *Romaynes* as the *Grekes*, and howe with great Reproches they blame and deteſt the Ambition of them. In good Fayth if we had thought of this at the firſt, we never had gone to ſo great Folly, neither had we alſo as blinded with Anger and Rage frantikely and as voyde of Reaſon, torne our proper Fleſhe ſo with our owne Handes as we have. But (as an other ſayth) that which is done and paſt, is eaſier to

be

be reproved than amended: nevertheleſſe it is better to ſtay thus than to followe on a noughty Beginnyng: for yf we wil be ſo mad as to fight with our ſelves thoroughly to the Ende, doubtleſſe then is the Principalitie of *Grammer* utterly come to Confuſion, and then ſhall be gyven ſo great an Overture and Entrie into the ſame to the barbarous and ignorant People, that as they will they ſhall rule all: ſeyng none ſhall reſiſt them, and go before to prevent them. By reaſon wherof (O my Fellowes) for the Comoditie of both Realmes I am willingly determined to aſke Peace with the King of *Verbes*, and of myne own free Will, will go toward him and give him my Hande. Notwithſtanding, thinke not hereby that I ſpeake it for that I have loſt Stomacke, or for that I am timorous: but bycauſe there is nothyng more ſure that the Affayres of the *Nounes* and *Verbes* can continue, unleſſe they be Friends together knit and quiet in one: of my ſelfe I do mine Office, not doubting but that I teache you that, which ſerveth to the continuing Benefite and Commoditie of every one in general, being ready willingly to do what your Wil is. God graunt you Aid in al your Enterpriſes. The profitable Oration, and no leſſe neceſſarie Saying of the King, greatly pleaſed all the Aſſembly, and all the Crewe of the Souldiers cried aloude, that that which the King had ſo wyſely ſpoken might be right diligently done. So there was ſent from the Campe of the *Verbes* for Ambaſſadours certayne of the Wyſeſt of them: and ſo lykewyſe of the Chiefe of the *Nounes:* who havyng firſt made without much Difficultie a Truce, finally came in ſuch Agrement with the King of *Verbes*, and his greateſt Lordes, that three Perſonages ſhoulde be choſen which ſhould be exactly ſeene, and well underſtanding in all Cuſtomes, Rules and Termes of *Grammer:* and that at their Award and Arbiterment, (after a ſolemne Othe ſworne theron) both Parties ſhoulde hold them and their reſt without any Contradiction. Great was the Difficulty, and much more was the Diſputation, to whom the Charge ſhoulde be gyven to make the Treatie of the Peace. Many procured Meanes to have the ſame Office on them, and to divers was the Voyce gyven, and other againe toke it from them: In the Ende it was agreed by *Priſcian*, *Servius* and *Donalt*, and alſo by al the others conſenting, that thoſe undernamed, ſhould have the Charge and Authoritie to knitte and make ſure the Articles of the Peace: that is to wet, *Phedra*, *Volatteran* Chanon of St. *Peters* Churche, a Man of great Eloquence, and better Knowledge. Item *Peter Marſe* Chanon of Sainct *Laurence* in *Damaſcon*, a ryght learned Man, and *Raphael Lippe* Florentine, and a great Orator, who beyng ſent for, came to the Campe, and having there hearde the Reaſons on both Sides, and diligently waying the Buſineſſe of the Matter, in the End pronounced this Sentence. To the Kinges of *Grammer*, to their Gentlemen, to their Citezens, and to all Studentes to their good Happe and Commodities be that which now is diſcuſſed. We three Men deputed to take away the contencious Diſcords, put a part from us all the Slaunders, Wrongs and Domages that heretofore have come uppon the Kinges of *Grammer*, and their Souldiers, all which we revoke, take away, and blot out: whiche if they may not be forgotten, at the leaſt our Decree is that they be never hereafter more ſpoken of. Item that hencefoorth when a

ſolemne Oration commeth to be made, that then both the Kinges of *Grammer* in good Agrement with their Subjects come together, as *Verbe*, *Noune*, *Pronoune*, *Participle*, *Adverbe*, *Conjunction*, *Prepoſition* and *Interjection*. Item we appointe that in common and familiar Speache, the *Noune*, and the *Verbe* only do beare the Burden, takyng for their Helpe whether of them they will, but to leave the other by, to the Ende that beyng put to often in Worke they be not moleſted. Item we ordain that the *Noune* ſerve to the *Verbe*, and when he goeth formoſt as touchyng the Caſe, ought alſo to be governed of the *Verbe*, but in Speach, that the *Noune* be before the *Verbe*, and the ſame beyng after ought therfore to governe the *Noune* touching his Caſe: but concerning his Perſons and Numbres, the *Verbe* ought to give Place to the *Noune*, *Pronoune*, or *Participle*. Item we appoint that the *Participle* beare Reverence to the *Noune* and the *Verbe*, and have the Governement of the *Verbe* before hym firſt, and that of the *Noune* after him laſt. Furthermore we permit the *Verbe* to make Oration himſelfe alone in the ſeconde and thirde Perſon, and to put out a part certayne *Verbes* of Action if Neede require, for that he repreſented not the *Noune*, but that he repreſented him ſelfe only. This Sentence was gyven and publiſhed in the Preſence of both Parties, and it pleaſed very well all the Aſſemble, and hath ſince ever bene obſerved of all the Inhabitantes of *Grammer*. Alſo the Studie of *Italie* have approved it: and in eſpeciall the learned Univerſitie of *Boloigne* the moſt loving Mother of good and forwarde Mindes: whiche hath given to the Court of *Rome* not only ſo many other great Perſonages, but alſo even in this Tyme that ſame ryght learned *Alexander Zambecco*, whiche never fleted from the right Point, thorowe Hope or Feare. The Univerſitie of *Paris* obſerving the reſt, craved then for hir Studentes, that they might pronounce *Nounes* and *Verbes* at their Pleaſure, and that without any Regarde of the Quantitie of Sillables. But bicauſe betwene the Relatives and Antecedentes, betwene the Adjectives and the Subſtantives, betwene the Word Regent, and the Governed, betwene the Determinant, and Determined, and alſo betwene perfect Speache and imperfect was an olde Quarel, ſtrivyng whether of them were chiefe and greateſt: it was alſo concluded to joyne them in Unitie, that the Relative of Subſtaunce identitale, ſhoulde agree in Gendre, Number, and Perſon, with his Accident. Item that the Adjective ſhould obey to his Subſtantive in Caſe, Gendre, and Number: and that the governed Worde ſhoulde followe the Nature of the governing: and that the Relative of the Accident ſhoulde onely repreſent the Antecedent in ſuch Accident or Propertie, in what Maner the Referred, and the Referrent agreed by Rule of Diverſitie with the Antecedent: and that the Speache imperfect ſhould depende upon the perfect, and the ſpecified Worde, of the ſpecifieng, and betwene two Adjectives, two Subſtantives, two *Verbes* of the Infinitive Mode two perfect Speaches, and betwene two Imperfects to be no Bonde of Service. Furthermore the ſaid *Peter Marſe* would, that betwene Sayings and Doinges might be made a Peace and Agreement: but the Adviſe of *Phedrus* was, that if that Diſcord wer once taken away, the Barbor Surgions and Taverne Kepers, ſhoulde not have wheron to be occupied, wherfore they left that Thing

Thing even as they founde it. All Sudentes of Ignoraunce, with theſe Buſſards of Barbary were by Commaundement exiled for ever out of all *Grammer*. The Barbarouſe were chaſed beyonde the *Alpes* into their Cities and Borough Townes: but the Ignorant thorough the Favour of ſome Princes are bred not onely in and through *Italie*, but alſo in *Rome* that Mother of good Letters: and there whether ſhe will or no, do they continue: among whom there are ſome beyng pourveyed of fat Livings ſo dull headed and doltiſh and ſo ignorant in good Letters, that if ye aſke them *Amo que pars?* they wil ſay, *parlate Italiano chio ut intenda*, ſo much in aſſery they ſurpaſſe in Ignoraunce the great Mules whereon they are ſo highly got uppe. Moreover there was given irrevocable Power to the deputed by the ſtrong and firme Counſell of them al to ſearch out, to puniſh, and exile (as Things of Nature counterfaict) all evylfavered Maſters of *Grammer*, as halfe *Latins*, halfe *Grekes*, and they to do all Thinges that they thought to be profitable to the Honor and Advauncement of al good Letters. And to the End that they might the eaſier and more lightly execute their Charge, were commaunded forthwith to go and follow the *Romayne* Court wheras more Filthyneſſe and Ordure, and more miſchevous noughty Pranckes are diſplayed, than godly and honeſt People ſpring on thoſe Parts, which Power is knowen and ſtrengthned by great Priveledges of Emperors, and learned Biſhops, and eſpecialy by *Julius* that reverent Father, the Succeſſours of whom God vouchſafe to make his beloved Children.

A briefe Diſcourſe of the Aſſault committed upon the Perſon of the moſt noble Prince, WILLIAM, Prince of ORANGE, Countie of NASSAU, Marques DE LA VERE, &c. by *John Jauregui* a *Spaniard*.

MY Lord the Prince of *Orange*, after he had heard the Sermon in the Church on *Sonday* the xviii. Day of *March* 1582. repaired to his Houſe, in the Place where ſometime the Caſtel of *Antwerpe* ſtoode, accompanied with manye Lords and Gentlemen, of whom ſome dined with him. Immediatelie after he dined openly (as he was wont) in the great Hall of the ſayd Houſe, my Lordes the Counties *de Hohenlo*, my Lords his Children, and two of his Nephewes, Children of my Lorde the Countie *John* of *Naſſau*, the Lords of *des Pruneaux*, and other Gentlemen accompanying him. The Dinner was paſſed and ſpent with many honeſt Communications and Speeches, amongſt all others, was ſome Speeche had of the Cruelties committed by the *Spaniardes* in theſe *Low Countries*. A little after Dinner, the ſayde Prince repayred into his withdrawing Chamber, intending to go into his Bedde Chamber with the ſayd Lords and Gentlemen, and as he paſſed by, ſhewed them a Peece of Tapiſtrie, wherein were livelye

ſet forth the *Spaniſh* Souldiours. At the ſayd Inſtant, a yong Man of low Stature ſhot at the ſayd Prince with a Dagge, charged with one only Pellet, the Shot wherof hit him under the right Eare, and paſſed through the Pallet of his Mouth and came forth at his left Cheeke, neere unto his upper Jaw Bone: the ſaide Lorde (as ſince he hath ſaid many Times) did not know what it was, but thought that ſome Parte of the Houſe had fallen, for he felt not himſelf to be ſtricken: notwithſtanding his Sighte was a little while dazeled. Immediatelye ſome of the Lords and Gentlemen then next at hand, ſtroke the ſaid yong Man twice or thrice into the Bodie with their Swordes, and ſo the ſayd Princes Garde drawing nigh, made an End of him with their Haulberds. In the mean Time the ſayd Prince being advertiſed what had happened, and the rather by feeling the Fyre that had taken hold of his Haire, and hearing the Noiſe about the Murderer, cried out, kil him not, I forgive him my Death: and ſo turning to ſundrie *French* Lords, ſaid unto them: O how faithfull a Servaunt doeth his Highneſſe loſe and ſo was ſtraight ledde betweene two (that helde him up by the Armes) into his Chamber: for he coulde goe, and fell not with the Blow. The Brute hereof wente preſentlye over all the Towne, which brought moſt Men into a Maze, by reaſon of ſo ſodaine and unloked for a Matter, and that in the Perſon of ſuch a one, as among all Men was holden and reputed for a Deliverer of the Countrie, further, becauſe the Murderer was preſently dead, all Men judged that the Way to verifie and juſtifie the Facte, was quite ſhut up. Many and and dyverſe were the Speeches hereof: ſome through Suſpition accuſing others, and few hitting upon the Truth and attributing the leaſt to them who were the very Authours indeede: ſo as if ſuche a Deede had bene committed in manye Townes where the People have the Bridle at Libertie, and may at their Pleaſure run from Place to Place, it had bene likelie that ſome great Miſchief and Inconvenience might have enſued: But in the Town of *Antwerp* (ſuch is the Order and Obedience that all Men do yeeld to their Magiſtrates, Coronels and Captayns) immediately al the Citizens withdrew themſelves to their Enſignes ech one in his Quarter, and the Chaines being drawne, and the Body of the Gard filled, there was no way lefte for any to departe from his Garde but the Capitaines. My Lord the Duke of *Brabant* was ſpeedily advertiſed of this Miſhappe, and beeing at the firſt certifyed of no other than Death, he was greatly aſtonied, and ſighing verye deepely, complained to himſelf of the extreme Loſſe which thereby he ſuſtained: repeating oftentimes, that if the King his owne Father had bene alive againe, he could not have bene more ſorie for his Death, than for the Death of the ſaid Prince: where on the other Side the Prince bewayled him no leſſe, rehearſing oftentimes theſe Wordes: Alas poore Prince, alas poore Prince, what Pains muſt thou yet take? Whiles moſt part of his Servants that were preſent, as alſo thoſe which at the Brute of the Newes were come in, employed themſelves about the ſaide L Princes Perſon, his Sonne the Earle *Maurice*, notwithſtanding his heavie Mourning, departed not from the dead Corps which he cauſed to be ſearched: and firſt they light upon the Dag which was fallen out of his Hands, that cauſed them to thinke that he had

no

no Meanes to uſe a Dagger, which they found naked in his Breeches. In the meane Seaſon the Earle of *Hohenlo*, for Feare of further Inconvenience, cauſing the ſayd Princes Gard and diverſe Gentlemen to follow him, ſeaſed upon the Doores of the Houſe, ſo to keepe all ſuche as were not verye well knowne, from comming in or going forth. The dead Corps being further ſearched, they found about him certaine Papers and Pamphlets which were delivered to the ſaid Erle *Maurice*, the which at that Inſtant finding one of the Servants of my Lord his Father ſhewed him the ſaid Papers, and weeping ſaide, behold what the wicked Wretch had about him: who anſwered him, my Lord be not diſcomforted, God is mightie and able to preſerve my Lord your Father, but keepe theſe Papers wel, for we are greatly troubled about diſcovering ſomewhat of this curſed Wretche: for otherwiſe in this Town we ſhal incur great Peril. To the which he did replie, alas I am afrayde leaſt here be ſome Villaine that may take them from me, this yong Lord being the rather moved to ſay ſo, becauſe there went a Speeche through the Hall, given foorth by ſome, that thoſe which had killed the Murderer, were Partakers of the Fact, and that Men might be aſſured of it, ſo that the Daunger beganne to fall likewiſe upon the beſt Friendes of the ſaid Lord Prince, and uppon his Houſhold. Upon this Talke of the ſayd yong Erle, the ſaid Servaunt tooke him under his Cloke, and ſaid unto him, my Lord go with me, and I will lay your Papers in Safetie, whiche hee did, bringing him into the Rooffe of the Houſe, where committing the ſaid Papers to ſafe Cuſtody, he perceived that they were written in *Spaniſh*, wherefore he ſaid to the Earle, My Lord, there is no Danger to be feared on your Part, returne and cauſe further Searche to bee made: as for me I go to my Lord: which was done. Then the ſaid Servant began to certifie every one, that it was a *Spaniarde*, and that Men ſhould leave the miſſconceived Suſpition which they had. A while after returned the ſayd yong Earl, bringing mo Papers, Croſſes, and an *Agnus Dei*, with a greene wax Candle, and two Pieces of Skin, like unto a Beavers: which occaſioned many to be of Opinion that he had about him ſome Toades and Enchantments. The ſaide Servant began to reade the firſt Papers: whiche he founde to be, partlye Praiers, and partly Vowes, and then he brake the Cover of a Packet of Letters, and found that it was written in *Spaniſh*, by one *Spaniard* to another, of the whiche he did certifie everie Man, but would not open the reſt alone. A little after came the Lord *de S. Aldegonde*, who had alreadie bene with his Highneſſe, and being returned, ſaide to the ſame Servant, we muſt take Adviſe what is to be done, for there is great Trouble in the Town: wherunto he anſwered, my Lord, if it pleaſe you, let us withdraw our ſelves for a while to communicate therof, I thinke you ſhal finde Counſell readie: and then they wente by themſelves becauſe of the great Preaſſe of People that was about them, and the ſaide Lord did open the reſt of the ſaide Packet, in which were founde two Letters of Exchaunge, the one of 2000 Crownes, and the other of 877, with Letters of Advice, all in *Spaniſh*, and by *Spaniards:* the Bookes were of Services to be performed at certain ſet Hours: alſo one Jeſuits Catechiſme and a Paire of Tables written from one Ende to the other. Then praiſing God, that had given

given them ſuch Light of the Matter, the Lord *de S. Aldegonde* reſolved to go ſtraight to the Town Houſe, and paſſing by the Gard, to aſſure them that it was done by *Spaniards*, whiche he did hope to verifie: and would carrie with him the Writing Tables and the moſt Parte of the Writings: appointing others to go to his Highnes with the other Part, to advertiſe him, and not to depart from his Perſon: which was done. In paſſing by, the ſaid Lorde of *Saint Aldegonde* went alſo in to his Highneſſe, and ſhewed him the ſayde Papers. In the mean time was the firſt dreſſing. And the Prince was layde in his Bedde, and afterward ſuch as were next about him and moſt ſkilfull, began to conceive ſome Sparke of Hope, by reaſon he had his Sight and ſpake well, eſpecially becauſe his Underſtanding and Judgement was very certaine, alſo that being forbidden much Speech, he wrote ſtedfaſt and quicke. While theſe Things were in doing, there came in one of the Captaines of the Towne, named *Lion Petit*, demaunding whether he were alive or deade, who, when the ſaid Servant requeſted him to let the ſayde L. Prince take his reſt for that Time, affirming that he hoped of his Recoverie, anſwered that the People would never be content unleſſe he aſſured them that hee had ſeene him: Whereupon he was cauſed to enter in: Then after ſome Speeches, demaunding what it pleaſed the L. Prince to commaund him, he ſaide: Commend me hartily to the People, and will them not to trouble themſelves, and if it pleaſe God to take me to him ſelfe, that they obey and faithfully ſerve this Prince, for I know none in the Worlde better or more meete for them. His Highneſſe having ſeen the Letters of Exchaunge and other the Writings brought unto him, commended them to *Martini* the Recorder of the Town, who then was with him, to cary them to the Magiſtrate of the Towne, and to examine thoſe to whome the Letters of Exchaunge were directed: In the meane Time having aſſembled the Counſel of Eſtate, he diſpatched a Commiſſion directed unto the general Eſtates, the Counſell of Eſtate, the Magiſtrates of the Towne, the Coronells, Captaines, and Wardens of Occupations, with all Diligence to procede, commaunding all Men under Paine of Death to declare what they knewe concerning the ſayd Murderer. Nowe had the Magiſtrate in the meane Time (who already had begun to proceede herein, and by the ſayd Papers and writing Tables had found that the Murtherer was of the Houſe of a *Spaniard*, named *Jaſper d'Anaſtro*) taken Order that all that were in the ſayd Houſe ſhould be committed to Priſon, which was done. But they found that the ſayd *Anaſtro* himſelfe departed the *Tueſday* before toward *Bruges*. Then were the Coronels and Captaines advertiſed by the Magiſtrate, as alſo all the Inhabitants by their Governours, that all this Webbe was woven by the *Spanyards*: wherupon the whole Towne grew to Quietneſſe, remainyng nevertheleſſe in Armes, for the Aſſiſtance of Juſtice. At the firſt Examination of *Antony Venero* they could not finde any great Matter, but this onely, that they knewe the Murtherers Perſon: Howbeit for that he confeſſed that the ſame Day Maſſe had bene celebrated ſecretly in the ſayd *Anaſtro* his Houſe, at all Adventures upon Suſpition they apprehended one *Antony Timmerman*, of the Order of the white Friers. Nevertheleſſe it was decreed, that the Mur-

derers

derers Body ſhould be ſet upon a Scaffold in the Towne to ſhew it to the People, to the End to know it, which Thing was done: but ſo ſoone as he was ſeene in the great Market Place, every one knew it preſently to be the Body of *John Jauregui* a *Spaniard*, the Servant of *Jaſper Anaſtro:* yea the ſayde *Venero* ſeeing him dead, knew him. The next Morning the xix. of *March*, as all the Gates of the Towne of *Antwerp* were diligently kept, in the Morning the Poſt of *Bruges* arrived, who having ſhewed his Letters to the Garde of the River Gate, there were found Letters of the ſayd *Anaſtro* directed to *Venero*, which were caried to his Highneſſe and to the Magiſtrate of the Towne. Further, the Magiſtrate appointed, that the ſame Day the Murtherers Body ſhould be quartered, and his Head ſet upon the Bulwarke toward *Ril*, and his Quarters upon the foure principall Gates, which was done. The next Day his Highneſſe and the Counſell of Eſtate decreed, that throughout all the Churches there ſhould be extraordinarie Prayers unto God for the Health of the ſayde L. Prince. Alſo by the Magiſtrate of the Towne his Apointment, the next *Wedneſday* being the 21. of the ſayd Moneth, was by Trumpet proclaimed throughout the Towne a generall Faſt, with Common Prayers: alſo Commaundement was given that every Man ſhould that Day leave all Worke, to the Ende to attend Faſting and Prayer. *Annaſtro* his Letters were ſhewed to *Venero*, who ſeeing himſelfe thereby confounded and convicted, and being, as by his Confeſſion it appeareth, admoniſhed by one of the Coronels and others, required Paper and Inke, and with his owne Hand wrote and ſigned his ſecond Confeſſion. The Prince thinking the Houre of his Deceaſe to drawe neare, diſpatched the L. *S. Aldegonde* with Letters directed to the generall Eſtates, wherein, as his laſt Counſel, he wiſhed them to perſiſt in his Highneſſe Obedience declaring unto them that he judged him to be the onely Prince that was moſt fit for them, according to the Tenure whereof, the ſayde Lordes ſent their Deputies to his Highneſſe, to advertiſe him of their faithfull Affection. Upon *Wedneſday* following was the Faſt with extraordinary Prayers celebrated, and that with ſuch Multitude and Concourſe of People, in all the Churches of both Languages, as Time out of Mind the like Numbers of People have not bene ſeene in the Churches of *Antwerp* neither ſo many weeping Eyes. Howbeit for that the Phiſitions and Surgeons began to conceive ſome Hope of the Recoverie of the ſayde Prince, the Prayers were partely mixed with Thankeſgivings for this good beginning, with humble Supplication, that it might pleaſe God to accompliſh his Health. Now began the ſayde L. Princes Perſon to drawe to amendment, and dayly did his Highneſſe carefully viſit him, who ſeemed, and indeede did take great Care for him, as likewiſe the L. Prince did for him, uppon everye Occaſion commending his Service. On the other Side, the Magiſtrate was as diligent in proceeding againſt the Offendors: ſo as finally he atteyned to the Truth of the whole Matter, as it wil appeare in the Depoſitions of the ſayd Offendors. But the L. Prince hearing that they purpoſed to proceede to definitive Sentence, did by writing expreſlye commaund the L. of *S. Aldegonde*, to requeſt the Magiſtrate to puniſh them with the eaſieſt Death that might be: which was done: for by the Magiſtrates Sentence the

Wedneſday 28 of the ſayd Moneth they were ſet at a Stake upon a Scaffold in the middeſt of the great Market, over againſt the Towne Houſe, and by the Hangman ſtrangled, their Bodies quartered, and hanged over the chiefe Gates of the Towne, and their Heades pitched upon two of the great Bulwarkes which heretofore were part of the Caſtle. *Antony Timmerman* the white Frier the ſame Day exhibited his ſecond Confeſſion, wherein he acknowledged that he had bene of Opinion that the ſayd *Jaregui* might with a ſafe Conſcience execute the ſayd Enterpriſe; but that nowe being better inſtructed by ſuch good Admonitions as had bene given him, he confeſſed that he had erred, and therefore beſought the Lords of Juſtice not to forget his ſayd Proteſtation, if ever this Proceſſe were publiſhed.

Within few Dayes after the ſayd Execution, his Highneſſe received from ſundry Places Letters which the Prince of *Parma* had written to the Townes, wherein he endevored to perſwade them to withdraw themſelves from his Obedience, laying his Foundation uppon the Death of the ſayd L. Prince, whereupon the ſayde Townes beſought his Highneſſe of Counſaile. Theſe were the Townes: *Bruſſels*, *Gaunt*, *Bridges*, *Malines*, *Ipres*, *Audernarde*, *Dunkirk*, *Berghe*, and ſundry others. Finally the Towne of *Antwerpe* alſo received the like Letters. *Annaſtro* alſo ſent Letters to the Towne of *Gaunt*, tending to the ſame Ende, which *Venero* his Depoſition doth containe: ſo that he wrote to all Places where he had any Acceſſe. All the ſayd Letters, as well from the Prince of *Parma* as from *Annaſtro* were grounded upon the Aſſurance which they had conceived of the Death of the ſayd L. Prince, whom God hath hitherto nevertheleſſe preſerved, and will ſtill of his Mercie keepe and preſerve, if he pleaſe.

Hereafter followe:

The Copies of the Writings found about the Murderer.
The Depoſitions of the Offendors.
The Letters of *Annaſtro* and the Prince of *Parma*.

The Copies of the Writings founde about the Murtherer.

JESU CHRISTO Nueſtro Sennor, y la Virgen ſancta *Maria* nueſtra Sennora ſean en mi ayuda en eſta reſolucion hecha para ſu ſanctiſſimo ſervicio.

QUE ſu Magiſtad tiene dada eſta orden por el amor que tiene à eſtos Flamencos, *y por librarlos de las oppreſſions en que eſtan.*

Si eſto ſe haze, recibira el Sennor à eſte pueblo en miſericordia, y hara con el las capitulaciones en toda ventaja d'ellos.

Offreſcer les he, que dentro de ocho dias que ſe haga, los vendra a tomar a miſericordia, mediante que al que hiziere eſte hecho, le traten bien que ſera ganancia della villa hazerlo aſſi, y perdonarle la vida, pues la ha empleada tan en ſervicio de Dios, y de ſu Ygleſia, y de ſu Rey, y en honera de toda ſu nacion: y el que me regalare y tratare bien, ſe lo pagara ſu Mageſtad ſu muy cumplidamente.

mente. Perſuader los que ſe ſuffran, y tengan paciencia quatra o ſeys dias, haſta que ſe le paſſe la alteracion, que deſpues todo ſe hara tan a contento de la Villa, como nunca ellos pudieren deſſear. Yo ruego a eſtos ſennores, que miren lo que hazen en tratarme bien porque en hazar lo que he hecho, todas las naciones lo attribuyran a virtud, y nobleza de my nacion. Y pues a qui ſon todos tan virtuoſos, tengan attencion a tratarme bien, haſta tomar mis confeſſiones muy d'eſpacio, y por ſu orden. Y ſobre todo, yo me encomiendo en la miſericordia de Dios.

JESUS CHRIST *Our Lorde, and the holie Virgin S.* Marie *our Ladie, aſſiſt mee in this my Determination, which I have undertaken for his moſt holie Service.*

HIS Royall Majeſtie hathe ſette downe this Order for the Love he beareth to theſe Flemings, and to deliver them from the Oppreſſions wherein they are.

This being accompliſhed, the Lorde wil receive theſe People to mercie, and he will graunt them Articles tending to their uttermoſt Advantage.

I will promiſe them, that within eighte Dayes after the Deede, they ſhal be received into Favour, conditionally, that they do wel entreate him that ſhall have done this Deed. That the Towne ſhall reape Commoditie by ſo doing, alſo to pardon him his Life, conſidering he hath ſo employed it in the Service of God, of the Church, and of his King, and to the Honour of his whole Nation: and hys Majeſtie will moſt liberally rewarde anye that ſhall furniſhe him of Things requiſite, and well entreate him.

They muſte bee perſwaded patiently to beare for foure or ſixe Dayes, until thys Alteration be over: whiche being paſte, all Thinges ſhall be ordered to as great Contentation of the Towne, as themſelves could ever wiſhe.

I beſeeche theſe Lordes well to weigh what they doe in wel uſing of mee: becauſe that, accompliſhing this Deede that I have done, all Nations will attribute it to the Vertue and Nobilitie of my Countrey.

In ſo muche therefore, as all Men here bee ſo vertuous, they muſte determine, wel to entreate mee, yea, ſo farre forth, as at Leyſure, and as Order requyreth, to take my Confeſſions. And above all Thinges, I commend me to the Mercie of God.

JESUS MARIA.

A Vos Redemptor y Salvado del mundo, Criador del cielo y de la tierra, Sennor Dios Jeſus Chriſto, *ſiendo ſervido concederme eſta victoria a mi todo miſero, muy infelice peccador, y vueſtro ſiervo, por a quellas precioſiſſimas cinco ilagas y la preciociſſima corona de ſpinas y los vueſtros precioſiſſimos grandiſſimos trabaios, anguſtias, arraſtradas, bofetadas, maldezires: e hiel y vinagre ſobre aquello beuiſtes, vos todo poderoſo Sennor Dios* Jeſu Chriſto *Redemptor y Salvador del mundo, Criador del cielo y de la tierra, todo por ſalvar a los peccadores del mundo, y a mi todo muy infelice peccador: y como a tal os ſupplico muy*

humilmente ſeays ſervido concederme eſta victoria contra eſte Pagano, Violador de vueſtro Templo divino, Ruina de vueſtra religion, ſancta catholica y Romana y el que es occaſion de tanto deſſaſſoſſiego a la vueſtra Chriſtiandad, y peſtilencia que no attiende ſino en ſuſtentar maldades, vellaquertas y ruynas. O todo poderoſo Sennor Dios Jeſu Chriſto Redemptor y Salvador del mundo, Criador del cielo y de la tierra a vos os ſupplico muy humilmente ſeays ſervido no permitir que eſte malvado uſe de mas ruinas, y conceder a mi muy indigno peccador la gracia, animo y valor, paraque deſpues de las vueſtras precioſiſſimas manos pueda ſer acabado por mi. De manera que ninguno de quien yo voy vencerle, deſpues de vos Sennor Dios Jeſu Chriſto Redemptor y Salvador del mundo, Criador del cielo y de la tierra pueda aver poder contra mi. Pero deſpues ſiendo vos altiſſimo Sennor Dios Jeſu Chriſto Redemptor y Salvador del mundo, Criador del cielo y de la tierra ſiendo ſervido de que yo dexe aqui eſta miſerable vida, ſoy muy contento ſe a aſſi, y ſiempre como vos Sennor Dios Dios fuere des ſervido. Y aſſi os ſuplico de todo coraçon todo poderoſo Sennor Dios Jeſu Chriſto, por a quella vueſtra precioſiſſima paſſion ſeays ſervido concederme conſtancia y paciencia, paraque yo miſero muy infelice peccador pueda ſobrellevar y ſuffrir qualquier genero de pena que me dieren, que a todo (como ſoy obligado) preſtare muy humilde cora on, ſiendo vos todo poderoſo Redemptor y Salvador del mundo, Criador del cielo y de la tierra ſervido.

JESUS MARIA.

TO the Redeemer and Saviour of the Worlde, Creator of Heaven and Earth, Lord God, Jeſus Chriſte: If it pleaſe thee to graunte this Victorie unto me moſte miſerable wretched Sinner, and thy Servaunt, for the Love of thy five moſt pretious Woundes, and thy moſte pretious Crowne of Thorns, and thy moſt pretious grevous Labours, Anguiſhes, Torments, Stripes, and Injuries, and the Gall and Vineger, which beſides all thys thou diddeſt drinke, even thou the Almightie Lord God, Jeſus Chriſte, the Redeemer and Saviour of the World, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and al to ſave the Sinners of this World, and among the reſt, me, the moſt unhappie Sinner: and as ſuche a one I doe moſte humbly beſeeche thee, that it maye pleaſe thee, to grant me this Victory againſt this Heathen, Defiler of thy holy Temple, and Subverter of thy holy Catholik Romane Religion, who is the Cauſe of ſo many Diſquiets throughout thy Chriſtendome, and ſuche a Peſtilence as is buſied only in upholding Wickedneſſe, Villanies, and Diſſolations. O moſt mightie Lorde God Jeſus Chriſt, Redeemer and Saviour of the World, Creator of Heaven and Earth, I do moſt humbly beſeech thee, that it maye pleaſe thee no longer to ſuffer this Wretch to worke farther Deſolations: Farther, that thou wilte graunte unto me an unworthye Sinner, ſuche Favour, Courage and Valiancie, as by thy moſte pretious Handes I maye accompliſhe this Thing, in ſuche wiſe, as none of thoſe that doe belong to him, whom, (with thy Helpe, Lorde God, Jeſus Chriſte, Redeemer and Saviour of the World, Creator of Heaven and Earth) I purpoſe to overcome, may have any Power againſt me. Howbeit in as much as thou arte the Supreme Lord God Jeſus Chriſt, Redeemer and Saviour

viour of the Worlde, Creator of Heaven and Earth, if it pleaſe thee, that I leave this miſerable Life, I am well content, that it be ſo, and ever Lorde God, thy Will be done. Thus moſt mightie Lord God, Jeſus Chriſt, I beſeech thee with my whole Hart, for the Love of thy moſt pretious Paſſion, that it may pleaſe thee to graunte me Conſtancie and Patience, that I moſt miſerable Sinner may beare and endure whatſoever kinde of Tormentes maye be laide upon me, whereunto I will have, as I ought, a moſt humble Heart: if ſo it ſeeme good unto thee O moſt mighty Redeemer and Saviour of the World, Creator of Heaven and Earth.

Al Angel ſan Gabriel *me encomiendo con todo mi ſpiritu y coracon, paraque agora y ſienpre me ſea mi interceſſor a nueſtro Sennor Jeſu Chriſto, y a ſu hijo precioſiſſimo, y a la Virgen ſancta* Maria, *y a todos los Sanctos y Sanctas de la corte del cielo de guardarme y encaminarme y tenerme de ſu bendita mano ſin que yo ſea muerto ſubitamente, y me de gracia paraque pueda conſeguyr el buen zelo que tengo de ſaler con aquel effecto. Yen memoria deſto prometo de ayunar toda una ſemana entera (deſpues de ver me libre deſto) a pan y agua, y de rezar, &c.*

In the tenth Page.

I do with my whole Minde and Hearte, commende me to the Aungell Sainct *Gabriel*, to the Ende, that nowe and ever he may be my Mediatour to our Lorde Jeſus Chriſt and to his moſt pretious Sonne, and to the Virgin *Mary*, and to all he Saincts and ſhe Saincts of the heavenly Court, that he will keepe and conduct me, and with his bleſſed Hand uphold me from ſodaine Death, and to graunt me Grace to attaine to the Effect of my good Zeale. In Remembraunce whereof I doe promiſe, that if I eſcape free from this Deede, I will for one whole Week faſt Breade and Water, and pray.

De ayunar todos los Viernes a interceſſion de la paſſion de nueſtro Sennor Jeſu Chriſto, y todos los Sabados a invocation de nueſtra Sennora la Virgen Maria, paraque yo ſea guardado deſte tranſito, y me encamine a dar fin a eſte effecto.

In the fourteenth Page.

To faſt everie *Fryday* in Commemoration of the Paſſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and everie *Saturday* for the Invocation of our Ladie the Virgine *Marie*, to the Ende I may be preſerved from this Perill, and that ſhe may guide me to the Ende of this Enterpriſe.

Hecho en la carcel deſta villa de *Anveres* à veinte de *Marco*, del Anno 1582. En preſentia del S. *Malgrave*, *Godefrido Montens*, *Jacomo Zuerio*, y *Ludovico Blomarte* Eſclavines d'ella.

ANtonio de Venero *preſo*, *hijo de* Juan, Eſpannol *naſcido de* Bilbao *en* Biſcaia, *de edad de dies y nueve à veinte annos tentendo los libros de* Gaſper d'Annaſtro, *mercador* Eſpanol, *dize aver morado con el dicho* Anaſtro *mas de dos annos.*

Preguntado

*Preguntado s'y no ſave quien ha eſcrito un papel o bilete mueſtrado à el declarante hallado ſobre el muerto, el qual el domingo paſſado ha tirado con un piſtolete la perſona de ſu Excellentia, el Principe d'*Orange, *commençando el dicho billette: Nueſtro Sennor Jeſu Chriſto, &c. Dize ſer eſcrito por mano de* Juan de Jaureguy.

Preguntado quien es el dicho Juan de Jaureguy? *Dize ſer* Eſpanol *de* Bilbao *en* Biſcaya, *ſobrino de* Pedro d'Oroſco, *mercader* Eſpannol *en* Brujas, *el qual* Juan *vino morar con el dicho* Anaſtro *cerca el mez de* Julio *paſſado, aviendo mientres eſcrito y copiado las cartas del dicho* Anaſtro *y lo que le mando.*

Stendo al declarante mueſtrado el muerto y preg', ſi aquel es Juan de Jaureguy *ſobredicho? Dize que ſi, y que el aviendo el dicho Domingo oydo la miſſa ſalio de caſa cerca las onze horas antes de comer, y avia entrado y ſalido la caſa tres o quatro vezes.*

Preguntado quien avia dictado al dicho Juan *el dicho billette? Dize que eſta cierto que ſe lo deve de aver dictado el dicho* Anaſtro, *por que el no tenia Juyzio para hazerlo de ſi.*

Seyendo preguntado ſi no conoſcia el piſtolete, que le fué moſtrado, con el qual es herido ſu Excellentia por el dicho Jaureguy? *Dize aver viſto el miſmo piſtolete o ſemejante à el, paſſado ſeis mezes en caſa del dicho* Anaſtro, *y que dicho* Anaſtro *ha embiado otros tres como ellos en* Eſpanna, *el uno à Don* Fernando de Arieta, *y el otro à Don* Diego d'Alva, *y el tercero à* Pedro Lopez d'Arieta, *ſin que ſabe quien los pueda aver fecho, quanto coſtaron, o quien les pago, ſea el dicho* Anaſtro *o ſu caxero.*

Preguntado donde vienne, y quien ha hecho la vela de çera verde en que eſta ab axo imprimido el ſenal de la crux, que el dicho Jaureguy *tenis ſobre ſu cuerpo nudo con una medailla del Salvador y la Imagen de Nueſtra Sennoro* Maria *todo mueſtrado à el declarante? Dize que es una de las velas que ſe da à algun paſſagero viſitando el Monaſterio en* Burgos *en* Eſpana, *adonde eſta el Crucifixo, y la Imagen eſta hecha de los Jeſuites en* Madrid: *pero no ſave como el dicho* Jaureguy *ha cobrado lo ſobredicho.*

Preguntado que fueron las poſtreras palabras que el dicho Juan *ha tenido con el declarante? Dize que la poſtrera vez que le hablo dixo que eſtava muy bien determinado para executar y accomplir ſu empreſa, pues que ſe avia confeſſado, y que por eſſo ſeria bueno que el declarante te ſalvaſſe, ſobre que el declarante le reſpondio que non ſavia adonde yr, o ſalvar ſe: por eſtar cargado de los libros y papeles del dicho* Anaſtro *ſu amo, y que por eſſo quedario cereo dellos como le avia prometido.*

Preguntado à quien el dicho Jaureguy *ſe avia confeſſado? Dize à cierto frayle llamado Padre* Antonio.

Preguntado ſi el dicho Padre Antonio *non ha ſavido d'eſtu empreſa, quando, y parquien? Dize que el declarante no ha comunicado delle con el Padre* Antonio, *ny ha ouydo que ninguno en publico, ny ſecreto aya comunicado con el ſalvo que el dicho* Juan de Jaureguy *le dixo que ſe avia confeſſado con el dicho Padre* Antonio, *y tratado d'eſto negocio, y que eran en el* Anaſtro, Jaureguy *y el declarante, y que le avia abſuelto dello.*

Preguntado

Preguntado ſi no ſave ſi el dico Gaſpar de Anaſtro *o otro uvieſſe ſemejante empreſa ſobre la perſona de la Sereniſſ. Reyna de Inglaterra, o ſobre la del Sereniſſ. Ducque de* Anjou? *Dize que pienſa quo non.*

Preguntado ſi conoſce la carta eſcrita en Dunquercque *à* xvi. *de* Março, *donde la ſobreſcription y tenor le fue preleydo? Dize que ſi, y ſer eſcrita por las proprias manos del dicho* Anaſtro: *y tambien la otra carta ſerrada en ella es ſuya, y por el eſcrita.*

Preguntado ſi la carta eſcrita en Grevelingues *à* xvii. *d'eſte mez de* Março *eſtat tambien eſcrita por el dicho* Gaſpar Anaſtro? *Dize que ſi, y todo eſſo para que ſe effectuaſſe eſta empreſa como pareſce por el contemdo d'ellas.*

Preguntado ſi el dicho Jaureguy *no tenta alguncavallo preſto, o otro remedio para ſalvar ſe deſpues de aver cometido el delito? Dize, que no: pero que eſtava determinado de morir aviendo hecho el dicho efeto; y que era tan induzido del dicho* Annaſtro *para hazer dicho efeto, que pareſçia, que era encantando, y que yva muy alegremente, para hazerlo fuera la caza del dicho* Anaſtro *deſpues que avia oydo la miſſa, y aviendo almorzando bibido un golpe de Baſtardo.*

Preguntado quien era el hombre à cavallo teniendo de dieſtro otto cavallo enſilado paſeando ſe al tiempo del dicho efetto delante la corte de ſu Excell. Dize dello no ſaber nada y que libramente declarara lo que dello ſupiera, pues que tiene declarado lo que mas importa, y ſennaladamente no ſabe d'ello coſa alguna.

Seyendo propueſto al dicho declarante que ovieſe de nombrar y moſtrar todos los que conoſcia, o ſabia que podrian aver ſabido de la dicha empreſa. Dize que perſona del mundo, ny de denitro ny de fuera d'eſta villa ſabe hablar de la dicha empreſſa, mas que dicho declarante, y el dicho Jaureguy *y* Gaſpar d'Annaſtro *y* Juan de Yſunca, *y ſu hijo* Pedro de Yſunca.

Done in the Priſon of this Towne of Antwerpe *the* 20. *of* March 1582. *in the Preſence of my Lorde the Marcgrave,* Godfrey Montens, James Zuerius *and* Lewes Blommart, *Shirifes of the ſaid Towne.*

ANthony de Venero Priſoner, the Sonne of *John*, a *Spaniard* born in *Bilbao* in *Biſcay*, of the Age of nineteen or twenty Yeres, Keeper of the Booke of Accompts of *Jaſper* of *Annaſtro* a Marchaunt and *Spaniard* borne, ſaith, that he hath dwelt with the ſayd *Annaſtro* about two Yeares.

Being aſked whether he knew who writ a certaine Paper, or Remembraunce which was there ſhewed to the ſayde *Anthonie*, which Bill was founde about the dead Bodie of him who the *Sunday* before had diſcharged a Dagge againſt the Perſon of his Excellencie, the Prince of *Orange*, which Bill beganne, Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, &c. He ſaith that *J. Jaureguy* writ it with his own Hande.

Being demaunded what that *J. Jaureguy* is? He ſaith he is a *Spaniard* of *Bilbao* in *Biſcay*, the Cooſin of *Peter* of *Oroſco* Marchaunt and *Spaniard* borne, remaining at *Bruges*, which *John* came about the Moneth of *July* laſt paſt, to dwel with the ſaid *Annaſtro*, where hitherto he hath bin emploied in copying the Letters of the ſayd *Annaſtro*, and in whatſoever elſe he commaunded him.

The

The dead Corps being ſhewed to the ſayd Deponent, and he aſked whether it were the aforeſayd *John Jaureguy?* He ſayth yea, and that the ſayd *John* having the *Sunday* before heard Maſſe, departed out of the Houſe about Eleven of the Clocke before Noone, after he had three or foure Times gone out and in at the ſaid Houſe.

Being demaunded who penned the ſaide Bill for the ſayd *John:* he ſayth that the ſaide Bill ſhould ſurely be, of the penning of the ſaid *Annaſtro*, bicauſe the ſaid *John* was not of Underſtanding ſufficient to have done it.

Being demaunded whether he knew not the Dagge which was ſhewed him, and wherewith the ſayd *Jaureguy* wounded his Excellencie: He ſayth that he hath ſeene the ſame Dagge or the like of it above ſixe Monethes ſince in the Houſe of the ſayd *Annaſtro*, who ſent three others like the ſame into *Spaine*. One to *Don Ferdinand* of *Arieta*, an other to *Don Diego* of *Alva*, and the third to *Peter Lopes* of *Arieta*: but he knoweth not who made them, how much they coſt, either who payed for them, whether the ſayd *Annaſtro* or his Purſebearer.

Being demaunded, from whence came or who made the greene Waxe Candel, upon the nether Ende whereof the Signe of the Croſſe was painted, which the ſayd *Jaureguy* bare upon his naked Bodie together with a Quoine of the Saviour, and the Image of our Ladie *Marie*, all which was ſhewed to the ſayd Deponent, he ſaith that it is one of the Candels which uſually are given to Pilgrimes when they viſite the Monaſterie where the Crucifixe of *Burgos* in *Spaine* doth ſtand: and that the *Jeſuites* made the Image at *Madrid*, but of whom the ſayd *Jaureguy* had them he wotteth not.

Being demaunded what were the laſt Words that the ſaid *John* uſed unto the ſayd Deponent: He ſayeth that the laſt time he ſpake with him he ſayde unto him, that he was fully determined to execute and accompliſh his Enterpriſe, conſidering he was alreadie ſhriven, wherefore it were good that the ſayd Deponent ſaved himſelfe. Whereunto the ſayde Deponent aunſwered, that he wiſt not whether to goe or where to ſave himſelfe, for that he ſtoode charged with his ſayd Maſter *Annaſtros* Bookes and Writings, and therefore that according to his Promiſe he woulde remaine with them.

Being demaunded to whom the ſayde *Jaureguy* was ſhriven, he ſaith to a certaine Monke named Father *Antony*.

Being demaunded whether the ſayd Father *Anthony* knew of their Enterpriſe, when or by whom: he ſaith that he this Deponent never conferred with the ſayd Father *Antonie*, neither knew that any other conferred with him either ſecretely nor openly, except that the ſayde *John Jaureguy* tolde him that he had confeſſed himſelfe to the ſayd Father *Anthony*, and had conferred with him of this Matter, whereunto *Annaſtro*, *Jaureguy* and he the Deponent were privy, and that he had abſolved him.

Being demaunded whether he knewe, whether the ſayd *Jaſper Annaſtro* or any other had framed the like Practice againſt the moſt noble Queene of *England*, or againſt the moſt noble Duke of *Anjou?* ſayth that he thinketh no.

Being

Being demaunded whether he knewe the Letter written from *Dunkirke* the 16th of *March* the Superſcription and Tenure whereof were red unto him, ſayth, yea, and that *Annaſtro* wrote it with his owne Hand. Alſo that the other Letter incloſed therein, is of the ſame ſort, and likewiſe written by him.

Being demaunded whether the Letter written from *Graveling* the 17. of this Moneth of *March* were wrote by the ſayd *Annaſtro*, he ſayth yea, and that all was done for the attayning to the Execution of this Enterpriſe, as is evident by the Contentes of the ſame.

Being demaunded whether the ſaid *Jaureguy* had any Houſe readye, or any other Meane to ſave himſelfe after the Execution of this Treſpaſſe, he ſayth, no: but that he was fully reſolved to die after he had broght this Offence to paſſe: for the ſayd *Annaſtro* had ſo perſwaded him to doe this Deede, that he ſeemed even bewitched: in ſuche wiſe as after he had hearde Maſſe, and broken his Faſt, having drunke a good Cuppe of Baſtard he departed very cheerefully out of the Houſe of the ſayd *Annaſtro*.

Being demaunded what he was who being on Horſeback and leading a ſpare Horſe ſaddled walked up and downe before his Excellencies Court at the ſame Time that this Deede was done: he ſayth, that he knew nothing thereof: alſo that freely he would ſhew whatſoever he knewe, conſidering that he hath alreadie declared unto them Matters of greater Importance: and that hereof eſpecially he is ignorant.

The ſayd *Venero* being willed to name and reveale all thoſe whome he knewe or thought to be privie to any Thing concerning the ſayde Enterpriſe: he ſayeth that neither one nor other, neither in the Towne nor other where, are able to ſpeake any Thing of his Enterpriſe, but himſelfe, this Deponent, *Jaureguy*, *Jaſper* of *Annaſtro*, *John* of *Hunca*, and his Sonne *Peter* of *Hunca*.

La Depoſition de *Antonio Venero:* la quelle de ſon propre mouvement il a faicte, & voluntairement eſcript & ſouſſignée de ſa propre main.

YO Antonio de Venero, *vezino de* Bilbao, *hijo de* Juan de Venero, *de edad de diez y nueve a veynte annos poco mas omenos, aſſiſtente en la caſa y negocios del* Gaſpar de Annaſtro *vezino de* Victoria, *deſde veynte dias del mes de* Enero *del anno de* 1580. *haſta treze de* Março *de* 1582. *declaro lo ſeguiente que me ha acconteſcido con el dicho* Gaſpar de Annaſtro, *ſiendo preguntado dello del Senor* Malgrave, *Burgomaeſtre, y Eſclavineo deſta villa de* Anberes, *diziendo la verdad ſobre juramenta, y ſobre mi alma y mi conſcientia, promettienno dezir toda la verdad ſin encubrir coſa alguna, por averme prometiendo los dichos Sennores* Malgrave, *Burgomaeſtre, y Eſclavines a interceſſion del Sennior* Eſtevan Roquen *Coronel de la diche villa de* Anberes, *de diziendo todo lo que me conſta, de darme muerte honroſa y a medita de mi deſſeo y contentamiento, y Saſerdote para confeſſarme y comulgarme por lo que roca à la honra de mi linnage. E yo el dicho* Antonio de Venero *confiando en la palabra y nobleza de los dichos Sennores de que aſſi lo cumpliran, digo lo ſeguiente.*

Primeramente, es, que Juan do Yſunca *vezino de* Victoria, *proveedor de fue de las armadas en eſtos eſtados, eſcrivio al dicho* Annaſtro *una carta de* Liſbona, *aura diez meſes poco mas menos, en que le pedia diverſos menages, ſin aerle eſcripto haſtæ entonces, diziendole que teria por coſa nueva el aver carta ſuya, mas que lo hazia por eſtar en* Liſbona, *ſupplicandole le embiaſe lo que pedia. Y el dicho* Gaſper de Annaſtro *le reſpondio con palabras corteſanas, eſcuſando ſe de no embiar ſelos, aviendolo hecho por no averle embiado dineros, y por verſe a la ſazon rico, y ſin gana de fiarle lo que le pedia. Y el dico* Juan de Yſunca *reſpondio à eſtio, rogandole ſe los embiaſſe, porque le hazian mucha falta, hallandoſe en* Liſbona *por conſervar ſu autoridad, atento que entendia que ſu Mageſtad le queria dar un cargo muy honroſo, y que lo hizieſſe, porque le communis certa un negocio de grandiſſima importancia, y que redondaria en gran bien, honor, y beneficio ſuyo. Otra vez le reſpondio con nuevas eſcuſas, y d'eſtilo corteſano, y en effecto jamas le embio dichos menajes: pero le eſcrivio que que negocio podia ſer el que lo cometia, y de tanta importancia, y que ſe lo aviſaſſe. Eſtas des cartas arribavi yo el dicho* Antonio de Venero, *y deſpues vino la reſpueſta d'eſta carta, en que el dicho* Juan de Yſunça *declaro el negocio, y leyo la carta: y de entonces aca me ordenò a mi el dicho* Antonio de Venero *que no le abrieſſe ninguna carta que vinieſſe cerrada à la corte ſana. Y en eſte tiempo, que pudieron ſer cinco o ſeys meſes, poco mas o menos, anduvieron los dichos* Juan *de* Yſunça *y* Gaſpar *de* Annaſtro *en demandas y reſpueſtas, eſcrimendo ſe cartas unos a otros con mucho ſecreto, y el dicho* Gaſpar *de* Annaſtro *le reſpondia en ſu camara ſiempre de ſu mano, cerrando las cartas con lacre, y lo mas disfraçado que podia. En todo eſte tiempo eſtuve yo el dicho* Antonio de Venero *innocente de tal caſo echando imaginacion, que le tratava caſamiento con la hija de* Juan Ruyz *de* Vergara, *hermano de* Franciſco Ruyz *de* Vergara, *que ha vivido en* Anberes, *por averſelo eſcripto al dicho* Gaſpar de Annaſtro *donna* Maria *de* Yſunça *ſu madre, y que como ſabian eſtava rico, qui era de los mas qualificados de dicha* Victoria, *ſe la darian con muchos ducados. Y como digo yo el dicho* Antonio *de* Venero *entendi que eſtos ſerian los ſecretos y que tardauan en reſolverſe, porque pediriæ el dicho* Annaſtro *aun mas dote de lo que offreſcian, por gozar con mas largueſa de ſu gravedad. Deſpues parece ſer que ſe perdieron dos naos* Flamencas *que yvan a* Laredo, *y que fue robada en* Plemua *la nao de* Philipe Dorio *que yva tambien à* Biſcaya. *En las quales dichas tres naos tuvo muy grueſſas perdidas, de que el ſe vio con grandiſſimo trabajo y deſcontento de eſpiritu, ſin ſaber que hazerſe para poder paſſar adelante con ſu honor. En eſte inſtante eſcrivio el dicho* Juan *de* Yſunça *al dicho* Gaſpar *de* Annaſtro, *ſin ſaber lo yo tampoco, yera que hizieſſe matar a ſu Excellencia el Principe* d'Orange, *y que lo tenta tratado con ſu Mageſtad en grandiſſimo ſecreto, ſin que nadie lo ſupieſſe, ſino entre los dos: y avia hecho hazer à ſu Mageſtad una capitulacion firmado de ſu mano, en que leprometia, deſpues de ſabido la nueva cierta de la muerte de ſu Excellentia, ochenta mil ducbados en dinero, o el valor d'ellos en renta, y un habito de* Sanctiago, *y que eſto eſtava por eſcrito, y que aun haria otras muchas coſas, de darle cargos honroſos: porque avia dicho y aſſegurado el dicho* Juan *de* Yſunça *à ſu Mageſtad, que el dicho* Annaſtro *era un hombre de muy claro entendimiento, y de muchas prendas. En eſte inſtante ami el dicho* Antonio *de* Venero *no me conſta*

conſta que eſte negocio lo ſupieſſe perſona naſcida: antes me aſſeguro al parecer mio, que por ninguna coſa del mundo ſe deſcubriera el dicho Gaſpar *de* Annaſtro *de ninguna nacion eſtrangera para tal caſo. Y pueſto caſo que en* Anberes *no ay* Eſpannoles *à quien poder lo deſcubrir, torno à dezir, que verdaderamente me parece que no lo dixo à perſona ninguna, y eſto affirmo aſſi por poder penetrar de otra coſa. Aora traceſte tiempo, aura como un mes, tuvo recelos de otra deſgracia nuevamente, de que devian de eſter attaiados de haziendo de mercaderes, con quien el tentamuy grueſſo intereſſe, de qui antidad de nueve mil quinientas libras de grueſſo, poco mas o menos de mercaderias qu'el le avia embiado, y cargazones que avia hecho para embiar à ellos, por cuenta de algunos,* Ingleſes *de* Londres, *y par letras de canbio que avia acceptado y pagado llanamente por ellos. Y viendo ſe in tantos trabaios, y que d'eſte ultimo el no tenia culpa alguna, pues ſi a el le hazias bancoroto con tanta ſumma, el no lo podia remediar en ninguna manera, de ſe auſentar tambien. Y en eſte inſtante me llamó à ſu camara a mi el dicho* Antonio *de* Venero, *y encargandome mucho el ſecreto, y llorando muchas lagrimas, me dixo la ſubſtancia declarada, y de lo tratado con el dicho* Juan *de* Yſunca, *y me moſtro algunas cartas de las qu'l dicho* Juan *de* Yſunça *le avia eſcripto, en que le hazia buenas todas las promeſſas ſuſo decluradas, y las cartas venian eſcriptas diebolica e ingenio ſamente ſin firma, y el dicho* Juan *de* Yſunça *pareſce ſer que dio cuenta del negocio en* Eſpanna *a un hijo ſuyo que eſtava en* Madrid, *llamado* Pedro *de* Yſunça le Queytio, *y eſte miſmo tambien le eſcrivia por muy buen termino, aſſegurandole la miſma ſubſtancia con muchas prendas, y firmandoſe en la firma* Apodaca. *Eſtas cartas quemo en el apoſento deſpues de averme moſtrado (como digo) la ſubſtancia d'ellas. Y en eſto comenſo à diſcurrir con migo, dizendo, que no queria verſe a reſiſtir tantas affrentas, como ſe le aparetavan, y que ſe queria encomendar à Dios de todo coraçon, y matar el miſmo à ſu Excellencia el Principe de* Orange: *y que ſi le acavaſſen, por cierto que el queria quador alli, por que era meior morir, que no vivir (ſiendo el quien era) en affrenta, de que le dixieſſen por el en la bolſa de* Anberes, *mirad aquel hombre que a hecho bancaroto, y que llegandolas coſas a eſte termino ninguno, conſideraria à que no era la culpa ſuya: ſino echarle mucha culpa quando no la tuvieſſe, y que devia muchos dineros en* Anberes *a los principales, y que tenian mando en la tierra, y le perſeguirian cruelmente, y que aſſi determinava de morir, y que y a ſabia que llevava la muerte tragada: pero que coneſto ſe encubriria, y que no ſe attribuyria a dar nombre de bancaroto à ſu deſgracia. Todo lo dezia llorando. E yo viendole tan deſconſolado, llorava mucho mas, y le roguè, que por amor de Dios no buſcaſſe con ſus manos la muerte, y que tuvieſſe patiencia de las coſas que Dios hazia, y que pues no era ſuya la culpa, reſiſtieſſe al trabaio que le ſobrevenia, moſtrando roſtro a ſus acreedores, y la raſon en la mano, que le deſtruyan* Pedro Nunnez *de* Arbulu, *y* Pedro *de* Cubiaur, *y que con eſto ſe ſuffrieſſe. El me reſpondia, que no ternia roſtro para mirar à nadie, y que aſſi eſtava en ſu propoſito, e yo ſe lo contradezia mucho, diziendo otra vez, que lo encomendaſſe todo à Dios y aguardaſſe à la deſgracia. En eſtas platicas (que eran undia de labor à la tarde, deſpues de la bolſa) entro en ſu apoſento* Andres de la Maça *que vive en caſa, innocente de todo, y aſſi ſe quedo eſto aſſi ſin hoblar mas d'ello a quello noche por reſpecto della venida del dicho* Andres *de la* Maça. *Otro dia*

à la mannana (eſtando en ſu camara) me embiè à llamar, y dixo, Pues como os va, Antonia *hermano? y le reſpondi, que con mucha triſteza: y me comencò tratar otar vez de lo paſſado, y que ſi el no matava à ſu Excellencia, no ſabia à quien encomendarſe ſi yo no fueſſe pronar laventura con* Juan *de* Jaureguy, *vezano de* Bilbao, *cryado ſuyo, que ayudava à eſcrivir en el contador, porque le pareſcia moço determinado para qualqui era coſa, y pobre. E yo el dicho* Antonio *de* Venero *le reſpondi, que ſeria grandiſſimo cargo de conſciencia, que el dicho* Annaſtro *dieſſe occaſion que murieſſe el dicho* Juan *de* Jaureguy *mala muerte, porque (como querian tanto à ſu Excellencia en toda la tierra) quando lo acabaſſe de hazer, le harian pieças. El dezia, que no, ſino prenderle, y ſaber del à que fin lo avia hecho, y que en eſto ſe paſſarian ocho dias, deſpues que el vuieſſe hecho el effecto, y que para eſto podia partir el dicho* Annaſtro *de* Anberes *quatro dias antes que el lo hizieſſe, y yria à* Cales, *y de alla deſpacharia un correo à* Ravayn, *que es* Pedro *de* Yſunça le Queytio, *hijo de* Juan *de* Yſunça, *en que aviſaſſe à ſu Mageſtad, que avia ſalido para tal effecto, y que quedava concertado, y que de* Cales *yria al campo del Principe de* Parma. *Y quando ſupieſſe la nueva de la muerte, embiaria aca deſde el campo una trompeta, pidiendo ſalvaſſen al dicho* Juan *de* Jaureguy *la vida, y que el meſmo* Gaſpar *de* Annaſtro *e ſcreviria ſobre el negocio, declarandoſe à algunos canigos de la villa, pidiendo do la vida del dicho, y embiando firmas en blanco del Principe de* Parma, *paraque eſtos Sennores pidieſſen lo que quiſieſſen en ſu vontaya de la religion-frera, y todo lo demas, y que con eſto auria paz deſpues de muerto el Principe de* Orange. *En eſto, entro à lacramara un muchacho* Flamenco *del dicho* Gaſpar *de* Annaſtro, *que le llevo conſigo, llamado* Juanico, *y lo dixo, que llamaſſe à* Juan *de* Jaureguy *et qual eſt ava eſcriviendo en el contador y vino, y quando entró, me dixo à mi que me ſalieſſe del apoſente, y quedo con el en el apoſente platicando. Y de alli un rato me llamò à mi, y dixo que* Jaureguy *queria hazer aquello por amor d'el, y porſu honra, y que le avia moſtrado un punnal con que lo avia de matar, eſtando en la tabla, o en converſacion, y meterle el punnal por detras de la oreja, y paſſarle, y que el* Jaureguy *lo queria hazer de buena gana: à mi me dixo que que me pareſcia, y le reſpondi, que miraſſe por lo que tocava a la conſciencia, y que ſi tal fueſſe, padecerian muchas muertes los* Eſpannoles *que eſtavan en* Anberes, *de peſar de ver muerto, al Principe ſi le mataſſen, y que yo me queriayr de la tierra por no peligrar de la vida: y me dixo, que nó tuvieſſe miedo, que como el* Jaureguy *dixiſſe la verdad claramente, no tocarian en la caſa, nó harian coſa ninguna. En eſto aconſejo ad* Jaureguy *que por amor de ſu honra y d'el, que quedaſſe reſuelto el hecho, y que aquel miſmo dia fueſſe à eſpiar como comia ſu Excellencia, y aſſi lò hizo tres o quatro vezes: y dezia, que tenia gran eſperança de hazerlo, y aqui tenia grandes platicas con el* Jaureguy, *como perſona que avia de acometer tal coſa. Y penſando mas en ello, à la poſtre eſtuvieron en duda, de ſi ſeria con punnal, o piſtolete. Y el* Jaureguy *dezia que nunca avia tirado piſtolete, ni ſabia como tirarle: y le dixo, que lo fueſſe à provar en alguna parte con algun amigo, diziendo que el dicho* Jaureguy *fueſſe* Flamenco, *y que no hablaſſe otra lengua: y le dixo, de ſi, como lo hizo. Andando en eſto, llego cartade* Londres, *en que dezian, que* Pedro *de* Cubiaur *era auſentado, y con eſta occaſion le tomo grangana de yrſe, y ſe de ſpedio en*

la

la bolſa de algunos, y ſe fue arrebatadamente. El Martes, *ò* Miercoles *deſpediendoſe de todos los de caſa innocente mente para bolver luego (ſalvo del dicho* Juan Jaureguy, *y de mi el dicho* Antonio *de* Venero) *y me eſcrivio deſde* Bruias *dos cartas, la una general, y la otra d'eſte negocio: de que la general moſtre à* Mortin de Varron, Pedro de la Penna, Antonio Spinola, *y à algunos otros, y deſpues la queme, y di la otra carta al dicho* Jaureguy, *y la leyó, porque dezia le pareſcia fueſſe con piſtolete, y el otro dixo que eſtava bien, y que aſſi lo haria y lo dezia con mocha alegria, y quemo tambien la otra carta, y me dixo, que ſe queria confeſſar, y ſe fue fuera de caſa à hazarlo, ſin que yo preguntaſſe al dicho* Jaureguy *con quien, y me dixo ſe avia confeſſado y comulgado, y deſpues eſtava ya preſto para hazarlo quando el qui ſieſſe, ſin aguardar à nada. Y aſſi eſte Domingo paſſado, diez y ocho d'eſte oyo Miſſa en caſa como à las onze horas, y deſpues ſe fue, e hizo loque parece ſer, que cierto aun yo lo no ſe. Y para de ſcargo de mi conſciencia digo que no me conſta que tenga ninguno otro culpa en eſte negocio: y que aſſi los que mas eſtan preſos deven ſer ſueltos y libres, por hallarlos yo innocentes. Y ſi à mi el dicho* Antonio *de* Venero *(por aver deſcubierto mi coracon, y dicho quanto he podido y ſe me ha accordado) quiſieren V. S. hazer miſericordia de ſalvarle la vida (pues el que hizo el mal es muerto, e yo no fuy auctor d'ello) lo reconoſcere toda mi vida.*

El dicho Gaſpar *de* Annaſtro *nos prometio al dicho* Juan *de* Jaureguy, *y à mi el dicho* Antonio *de* Venero, *qui ſi a quello ſe hazia, nos ternia por proprios hijos, y que no auria coſa partida, ſino que ſu hazienda ſeria nueſtra propria: y otras palabras deſta manera. Y el dicho* Jaureguy *dixò, que no queria ninguna coſa, y que lo hazia por amor d'el, y por aver comida ſu pan, e yo le quité el ſombrero tremblando, y dandole à entender como temia de la muerte, y el me aſſegurava que no me tocarian en un pelo de la cabeca.*

Soubſigné.

Godefridus Montens. Zuerius. Blomart.

ANTONIO de VENERO.

Siendo eſta confeſſion preleyda al dicho declarante fuera de la carcel debaxo del cielo, ha perſiſtidio en ella, liendo aſſi verdad en preſentia de los Eſclavines aqui abaxo firmado fecho á xxvi. de *Marco.* 1582.

Zuerius. *Blomart.*

The Depoſition of Anthonie Venero, *which of his owne Motion he made, and willinglie writ and ſubſcribed with his owne Hande.*

I *Anthonie* of *Venero*, borne in *Bilbao*, the Sonne of *John* of *Venero*, of the Age of 19. or 20. Yeares little more or leſſe Aſſiſtant in the Houſe and Affaires of *Jaſper* of *Annaſtro* borne in *Victoria*, from the 20. Daye of *Januarie*, 1580. unto the xiii. of *March* 1582 do as followeth declare, what hapned unto me with

with the fayd *Jasper* of *Annastro*, being thereof examined by my Lordes the *Marcgrave*, Borowmaisters and Shirifes of this Towne of *Antwerpe*, and do promise uppon my Oathe, Soule and Conscience, to shew the whole Truth thereof: not to cloke or conceale anye Thing, wherupon the saide Lordes, the *Marcgrave*, Borowmaisters and Shirifes, have by the intreatie of the Lord *Stephen Racquet Coronel* of the saide Towne of *Antwerpe*, promised me, that confessing whatsoever I do knowe, they wil grant me an honorable Death, agreeable to my Desire and Contentation, with a Priefte also to confesse me and to conferre withall, because it concerneth the Honour of my Stock: I *Anthonie* of *Venero* reposing myselfe upon the Word and Nobilitie of the saide Lords, touching the Accomplishment thereof, do say as followeth.

First that *John* of *Ysunca* borne in *Victoria*, aforetime Commissioner over the Furniture of the Armies in these Partes, writte a Letter to *Jasper* of *Annastro* of *Lisbone*, aboute ten Monethes since, wherein he requested of him certaine Goods, whereof he had never before written unto him: he saide it woulde be Newes to him to see any of his Letters, and that he did this, that so he mighte be at *Lisbone* requesting him to sende him that whiche he demaunded. Hereunto the saide *Jasper* of *Annastro* aunswerrd in friendlie Wordes, excusing himselfe for not sending them, as well upon that he had not sent Money, as because he founde not himselfe of Wealth sufficiente, and so could not trust forth that which he demaunded. Whereto *John* of *Ysunça* answered, requesting him to sende the saide Moveables, for that at *Lisbone* he stoode in greate Neede of them for the Conservation of his Auctoritie, considering that his Majestie woulde committe unto him a verie honorable Office: and that therefore he woulde doe it: for hee woulde communicate unto him a Matter of verie great Importance, which would redound to his great Benefite and Honour. To the whiche the said *Annastro* replied againe with newe Excuses and Curtesies, but in deede sente him not the said Moveables, only he desired to understand what Matter of so great Importance it might be that he would communicate unto him, wherof he desired him to advertise hym. These two Letters aforesaid did I the said *Anthony* of *Venero* see, afterward came the Answer of this Letter wherin the said *J.* of *Ysunca* opened the Matter, and when *Annastro* had red the saide Letter, he commaunded me *Anthonie* of *Venero* aforesaid from thenceforth not to open any Letter comming sealed after the Maner of the Court: from that time, which might be about 5 or 6 Monthes since, the saide *John* of *Ysunca* and *Jasper* of *Annastro* have prosecuted their Purposes and Answeres, each writing to other verie secretlie, and the saide *Jasper* of *Annastro* still answering his Letters with his owne Hande, in his Chamber closing his Letters with harde Waxe the moste closliest that might be. All this while was I *Anthony* of *Venero* ignoraunt of this Facte, imagining that it was some Marriage Matter with the Daughter of *John Ruiz* of *Vergara* the Brother of *Fraunces Ruiz* of *Vergara*, who had dwelt in this Towne of *Antwerpe*, and the rather because her Mother the Ladie *Marie* of *Ysunca* hadde written to the fayd *Jasper* of *Annastro*, also that knowing him to be wealthie and of the best qualetied in *Victoria* they would

would beſtow her upon him with ſome good Number of Duckats. And as I ſay, *Anthony* of *Venero* ſuppoſed theſe to be the Secretes, and geſſed that they deferred the finall Reſolution, becauſe the ſayd *Annaſtro* required for her Dowrie and for the Maintenaunce of her Porte, more than they did offer: It afterward (as I remember) fell ſo out, that two *Flemiſh* Veſſels ſayling towards *Laredo* wer drowned, alſo that at *Plemue* the Barke of *Philip Dorio* which was bound to *Biſcay* was robbed, in which three Veſſels he loſt much, whereby he grewe into great Care and Anguiſh of Minde, as one ignorant howe to behave him ſelfe to ſave his Credit, at which Inſtant the ſayd *John* of *Yſunca* writ to the ſayd *Jaſper* of *Annaſtro* unwitting to me: the Effect whereof was, that he ſhoulde procure the Slaughter of the Prince of *Orange*, his Excellencie: wherof he had delt with his Majeſtie verie ſecretlie, in ſuche wiſe, as none but they two were acquainted therewith: alſo that he had procured his Majeſtie to ſit downe a certaine Capitulation whiche alſo he had ſigned with his owne Hande, wherein his ſaide Majeſtie promiſed upon the certaine News of his Excellencies Death, to give to the ſaid *Annaſtro* 80000 Duckets in Silver or the Value therof in Lands, togither with a Commandership of *S. James*. That this was ſet downe in writing, alſo that he woulde beſtow on him great Benefittes with ſundrie honorable Offices: for the ſaide *John* of *Yſunca* had told and aſſured his Majeſtie that the ſaide *Annaſtro* was a Man of verie good Capacitie, and greate Wealth. All this while, I *Anthonie* of *Venero* doe not thinke that anye one was able to ſpeake thereof, but rather in my Opinion I durſt aſſure my ſelfe that in any wiſe the ſaid *Annaſtro* woulde not make any of whatſoever Nation or Condition, privie thereunto: ſo that as in *Antwerpe* there be no *Spaniards* able to detect him, ſo do I againe affirme, that certainely I thinke he diſcloſed it to none: which I doe the rather verifie, becauſe I can not otherwiſe thinke. Now ſhortly after this, and as it were a Moneth ſince he had ſome inckling of an other new Miſchance, namely of two Merchants, that were aboute to break, by whom he was in Hazard of 9500 *l.* Sterling, or thereabout, for certaine Merchandiſe that he hadde ſent them, and other Goods upon Accompts of ſundrie *Engliſhe* Men of *London:* as alſo by Reaſon of certain Billes of Exchaunge whiche he had accepted and faithfully payed to their Uſes: whereby ſeeing himſelfe entangled in ſo manye Troubles, alſo, that of this laſt Loſſe he was in no Default, and not knowing any Remedie, but by abſenting himſelfe, conſidering they had played Bankerupte with ſo greate Summes of his: he cauſed me *Anthonie* of *Venero* to be called into his Chamber, and charging me verie ſore to be ſecreate, wyth Teares running down his Cheekes, he declared unto me the Subſtance of the aforeſaide Treatie with *John* of *Yſunca*, ſhewing mee certaine of thoſe Letters, whiche the ſaide *John* of *Yſunca* had written unto him, wherin he aſſured him of all the Promiſes above ſpecified, which Letters were written diveliſhly and ſubtilly without any Subſcription, and it ſeemed, that the ſaide *John* of *Yſunca* hath imparted this Matter to a Sonne of his who remained at *Madrid* called *Peter* of *Yſunça le Queytio*, who alſo writte to him in verye good Speeches, aſſuring him of the Subſtance of al the Premiſes diverſly naming himſelfe in the Subſcription *Apodaca*.

Theie

Theſe Letters, having as I ſaide, ſhewed me the Subſtaunce of them, did he burne in his Chamber: and thereuppon entred into Diſcourſe with me, ſaying, that he neither woulde ne could digeſt ſo manye Shames as were provided for him: therfore that commending himſelfe to almightie God wyth all his Hearte, he would with his own Hands ſlay my Lord the Prince of *Orange* his Excellencie, and that in Caſe he were ſlaine about the Execution therof, yet in Trueth he had rather periſh in the Place, as coveting rather to die than to live ſo diſhonorably, that it ſhoulde be ſaide of him in the Burſe at *Antwerpe*, ſee, yonder Man is become Bankerupt: whiche, if it ſhoulde ſo fall out, no Man woulde judge where the Faulte is, but would rather impute it unto him, thoughe he were not faultie. Alſo, that he ought much Money in *Antwerpe* even to the beſte, and to ſuche as there bare Authoritie, who would with Rigour, proceede againſte hym, and therfore that he determined to die, yea, and that alreadie he had digeſted Death, but that by this Meanes he ſhould cover and get Glorie to his Bankeruptſhip and Diſcredite. All this ſpake he with Teares: whereupon I ſeeing him ſo diſcomforted, wept much faſter, and beſought him for Gods Love not to ſeke his Death by his own Hands, but to be patient in Gods Doings: and ſeeing the Fault was not in himſelfe, to withſtand ſuche Adverſities as might happen in ſhewing a good Face to his Creditours, and to let them know the Reaſons, how *Peter Nunnes* of *Arbule*, and *Peter* of *Cubiaur* undid him, and that hee ſhoulde repoſe himſelfe upon this, whereto he aunſwered, that he had not the Face to looke upon anye Man, and therefore that he was determined to perſiſte in his Purpoſe: wherein I contraried him ſtiffely, ſundrye Times willing him to refer al to God, and to attend better hap. Upon this Communication (which paſſed in an Evening upon a working Day after Burſe time) *Andrewe de la Maça*, who notwithſtanding he remaineth in the ſame Houſe, is innocent of al, came into his Chamber, ſo that by Reaſon of the ſaide *Andrewes* comming in, we brake off Talke for that Night. The next Morning the ſaide *Annaſtro* being in his Chamber, ſent for me, and ſaid: Now, Brother *Anthony*, how doe you? I anſwered, but heavely: hereuppon he began againe to reenter into the former Matter, ſaying, that if he himſelfe ſhoulde not ſlaye his Excellencie, he wiſt not to whom to commit the Doing thereof, excepte peradventure to his Man *John Jaureguy*, borne in *Bilbao*, who holpe to write in the Counting Houſe, becauſe he ſemed a ſtaied and reſolute yong Man to any Intent whatſoever, and poore withall. Then I *Antony* of *Venero* anſwered, that it woulde be a great Burthen to his Conſcience, if the ſaide *Annaſtro* ſhould procure the ſaide *Jaureguy* any vile Death: for ſeeing his Excellencie was ſo well beloved throughout the whole Towne, he coulde no ſooner have done the Deede, but he ſhould be hewen in Peeces. Nay, ſaid *Annaſtro*, but they wil rather apprehend him, to the Ende to learne for what Purpoſe he did it, ſo as 7. or 8. Dayes after the Deed, would be ſpent before any Execution, and that therefore the ſaide *Annaſtro* mighte departe from *Antwerpe*, four Dayes before the Deede, and ſo go to *Calais*, from whence he might diſpatch a Poſte to *Apodoca*, who is *Peter* of *Yſunça le Queytio*, the Sonne of *John Yſunça*, to the Ende to give his

his Majeſtie to underſtande, that he was departed from the Purpoſe agreede uppon, then that from *Calais* he woulde goe to the Prince of *Parma* his Campe, and thence having Newes of the Slaughter, he would ſend a Trumpet to begge the Life of the ſaide *John* of *Jaureguy:* Alſo, that *Jaſper* of *Annaſtro* himſelfe would write concerning that Matter, and open himſelf unto ſundrie hys Friends in the Towne, requiring the Life of the ſaid *Jaureguy*, and ſending Blanckes ſigned by the Prince of *Parma*, to the Ende theſe Lords might aſke what they liſte for theyr own Advantage concerning the Religious *Vreed*, and all other Matters, alſo that therewithal after the Prince of *Orenges* Death they ſhould enjoy an aſſured Peace. Hereupon a *Flemiſh* Boy belonging to the ſaid *Annaſtro* named *Joannico*, whom he hath taken with him, came into the Chamber, whom he commanded to call *John Jaureguy* who was writing in the Counting Houſe, when he was come he cauſed me to depart out of the Chamber, then having a while talked with him, he called me again, and ſhewed me that *Jaureguy* for his Sake and Honor would do it, alſo that he had ſhewed him a Dagger wherewith he ſhoulde kil him either at the Table or in any other Companie by thruſting in the Dagger and wounding him behinde the Eare: that *Jaureguy* would doe this with a verie good Will, wherupon he aſked my Opinion: I anſwered that he ſhoulde looke well unto it, becauſe it touched his Conſcience: further, becauſe that if this Matter were broughte to paſſe, they would ſlaie all the *Spaniards* in *Antwerpe* for Sorrow of the Princes Death, and that therfore I had rather forſake the Town than venture my Life. But he willed me not to feare, ſaying that although *Jaureguy* ſhould openly confeſſe the Truth, yet would no Man medle with his Houſe, neither wold ther be any further purſuite: and therfore he counſelled the ſaide *Jaureguy* in that Matter to continue ſtedfaſt for the Love of his Honour and himſelfe: alſo the ſame Day to go to eſpie in what Manner his Excellencie did eate, whiche he did three or foure Times, ſo that he ſaide he was in good Hope to bring his Purpoſe to paſſe. After this he uſed much Speeeh with the ſaid *Jaureguy*, as with the Man who ſhould commit ſuch a hainous Fact. Finally, having better conſidered of the Matter, they began to doubte whether it were better to be done with a Dagger or with a Dagge: for *Jaureguy* ſaid, that he never ſhot in Dagge, neyther knewe howe to diſcharge it, the other willed him to repaire to ſome Friend of hys to trie it, and to counterfeite himſelfe to be a *Fleming*, and not to uſe anye other Language, whereto he graunted, and did ſo. During theſe Practices there came Letters from *London*, importing, that *Peter* of *Cubiaur* had abſented himſelfe, upon which Occaſion he thought beſt to departe, ſo as having diſpatched ſome at the Burſe, ſodainely uppon a *Tewſday* or *Wedneſday*, having taken his Leave of all the Houſholde, he wente his Waye, ſeeming as if he would ſhortly come againe, except to the ſayd *John* of *Jaureguy* and me *Antony* of *Venero*, and from *Bruges* he writ to me two Letters, the one generall, the other concerning this Matter: The generall Letter I ſhewed to *Martin* of *Varron*, *Peter de la Penna*, *Anthony Spinula* and ſome others and ſo burned it. The other I delivered to *Jaureguy* who read it, becauſe therin he ſaide that he thought the Dagge readieſt: the

other ſaide that he could well doe it ſo, the which he ſpake verie cheerefully and then burned this Letter alſo, and tolde me that he woulde be ſhriven, and ſo went forth of the Doores, neither did I ever aſke him to what Confeſſour he woulde goe. Afterwarde hee tolde me that he was ſhriven and houſeled, and that now he was readie upon anye Opportunite without any Lette to execute hys Purpoſe. Thus, upon this laſt *Sunday*, the 18. of this Moneth, about Eleven of the Clock he heard Maſſe in the Houſe and ſo departed, and did that which ſeemeth to be done, not that I doe certainely know it as yet: wherfore for the Diſcharge of my Conſcience I doe ſay, that I cannot perceive any other to bee guiltie of this Deede, and therefore that the others who are apprehended, ought to be releaſed and delivered, becauſe in my Conſcience they be innocent. Nowe therefore, if youre Lordſhips would graunt to me *Anthony* of *Venero* Pardon, and to ſave my Life, as having opened the verie Botome of my Heart, and ſaide all that I knowe, beſides that, he who committed the Miſchiefe, is dead already, I ſhould be bound to you all my Life long.

Moreover, the ſaide *Jaſper* of *Annaſtro* promiſed unto us the ſaide *John* of *Jaureguy*, and me *Antony* of *Venero*, that this being accompliſhed, he woulde accompte us as his own naturall Children: alſo, that nothing ſhould be parted betweene us, but that all ſhoulde be our owne proper Goodes, and ſuche like Speeches. The ſaide *Jaureguy* anſwered, that he woulde have nothing, but that that which he did, he did for his Love, and becauſe he had eaten his Breade: and I quaking, putte off my Hatte, giving him to underſtande how ſore I feared Death, wherupon he aſſured me that no Man wold once touch any Haire of my Head.

This Confeſſion being red unto the ſaide Deponente without the Priſon uppon the Bridge openlye, hee perſiſted in the ſame his Confeſſion, confirming it to bee the Trueth. Given the 26. *of* March 1582. *in the Preſence of the undernamed.*

Zuerius. *Blomart.*

An other Examination taken the 24 of the ſame Moneth of *March* 1582.

SEyendo el dicho Antonio *de* Venero *(pueſto ſobreiel atormentando) preguntado quien podrian mas haver ſabido d'eſta empreſa? Dize ningunos otros, que los por el aqui delante nombrados.*

Preguntado ſi d'eſta impreſa no han ſabido Andres de la Maça, Petro d'Oroſco, Pedro de la Penna, *o* Valentin de Meurs? *Dize que no.*

Preguntado ſi no ſe acuerda que (eſtando à la menſa del dicho Annaſtro *ſu amo ſe platicò y diſputoſi era licito dematara ſu Excell. por zelo de la fee) el Clerigo* Antonio Timmerman *entonces declarò: que ſe podria hazer ſin pecado? Dize que d'ello no ſa acuerda.*

Preguntado

Preguntado ſi no ſabia quien era el que eſtava à canallo junto al caſtillo quando el dicho efeto era complido? Dize que no.

Yera dicho Examination firmada por los dichos Sennores Eſclavines, *J. Zuerius, L. Blomaert.*

THE ſaid *Antony* of *Venero*, being upon the Racke examined what other Perſons might have hadde Intelligence of this Enterpriſe, ſaieth, no other than thoſe whome he hath aforenamed.

Being demaunded whether *Andrew de la Maſſa*, *Peter* of *Oroſco*, *Peter della Penna*, or *Valentine de Meurs* knew nothing of the ſaide Enterpriſe, he ſaieth, no.

Being demaunded whether he remembreth not that when ſome Speeche and Argument paſſed at the ſaide *Annaſtro* his Maiſters Table, whether for Zeale of Religion it were lawfull to ſlay his Excellencie, the Monke *Antony Timmerman* didde then affirme, that it might lawfully be done without Sinne. He ſaieth that he remembreth it not.

Being demaunded whether he knoweth not who he was that was on Horſebacke before the Caſtle when the Deede was executed? He ſaith, no.

This Examination was conferred before the ſaide Lordes Shirifes, John Zuerius, *and* Lewis Bloemart.

The Examination of Anthony Timmerman, *taken in the Preſence of the Lords the Markgrave*, Godfrey Montens, *M.* James Zuerius, *and* Lewis Bloemart, *Shirifes of the Towne of* Antwerpe *the* 18. 19. *and* 23. *Day of* March 1582.

ANtony Timmerman born in *Dunkirke* of the Age of one and thirtie Yeares, ſometimes Monke of the Order of the White Friers, having his Chamber in the long Newſtreete at the Golden Horſe.

Being demaunded what Acquaintance he hath in the Houſe of *Jaſper* of *Annaſtro*, ſayeth that divers Times he hath ſaid Maſſe in the Houſe of the ſaid *Annaſtro*, alſo that he hath ſent others thither for the ſame Purpoſe, and that therefore he had his finding as Chapleine to the *Spaniſh* Nation, and that the ſaide *Annaſtro* paide him.

Being demaunded what private Communication he hathe had with one *John Jaureguy* a *Spaniard* of *Biſcay* in the Houſe of the ſayde *Annaſtro*, ſaith, that the ſaide *Jaureguy* upon *Friday* laſt came to him to ſhrift, deſiring alſo to receive the Sacrament at his Hande, whiche he miniſtred unto him, for the which the ſaid Party gave him two double Piſtolets of Gold, deſiring the ſaid Confeſſour to pray for him. Alſo that according to the Deſcription of his Stature and Apparel that he ware, it ſeemeth to be the ſame Perſon, who uppon *Sundaye* at Noone diſcharged a Dagge againſte his Excellencies Perſon.

Being demaunded, what the ſaide *Jaureguy* gave him to underſtande concerning this Deede, either in his Confeſſion, or before or after the ſame: alſo whether he did not ſhewe him what he was promiſed for the Performance of that Act, ſaith, that the ſaid *Jaureguy* did confeſſe unto him, that the ſaid *Jaſper* of *Annaſtro* woulde himſelfe have done it, if he could not have perſwaded him thereto: ſaying moreover that he woulde execute the ſaide Deede the ſame *Frydaye* at Dinner, and that onlie for the Glory of God, and becauſe his Father being an olde Man ſhould be releeved.

Being demaunded, whether he told not the ſayd Confeſſor in what Place he was purpoſed to doe this Deede, and with what Weapons: ſayth, that he told him that he purpoſed to doe it at the Table as he thought, but ſhewed him not with what Weapons.

Being demaunded, whether the ſayd Confeſſor did finally abſolve the ſayd *Jaureguy*, ſo as he might execute his pretended Deede, which afterward he committed againſt the Perſon of his Excellencie: Confeſſeth that he abſolved the ſayde *Jaureguy* in this Manner: That if he did not execute it for Lucre of Money, but onelie for the Glorye of God and of a Zeale to the Catholike Romane Religion, that then it was lawful for him to doe it, giving him thereupon Abſolution, having nevertheleſſe before repreſented to his View all ſuche Daungers as might ſpring forth of the ſayd Deede.

Being demaunded, whether he enquired of *Jareguy* if any other were able to utter the Pretence of the Execution of the ſayd Deede: ſayth, that he ſhewed him that no Man was able to ſay any Thing thereof, but onely the ſaid *Jaſper Annaſtro*, *Antony* of *Venero*, and an other Man a *Spanyard*, whome he named not, either by Name or Surname: but that the ſaide Confeſſor geſſeth that it was a young Man, whome he had often ſeene aboute the ſame Time comming and going to the ſame Houſe: the ſaide young Man being reaſonable tall of Stature, with a blacke Bearde cut after the *Spaniſhe* Maner, of a browne pale Colour, long and leane viſaged, aboute 24. or 25. Yeares of Age, as it ſeemed, wearing ordinarily a *Spaniſh* Caſſock of a gray Ruſſet, and a blacke Cloake.

Being demaunded, what Speech paſſed betweene the ſaide Confeſſor and the ſaid *Jaſper* of *Annaſtro*, touching this Deed committed againſt his Excellencie, ſaieth, that the ſayde *Annaſtro* never ſpake any Thing therof, either in Shrifte, or otherwiſe.

Being demaunded, whether the ſaide *Jaureguy* ſhewed him not, that *Valentine de Meurs*, *Anthony Waechmans*, and *Anna Haecht*, Servantes in the ſaide *Annaſtroes* Houſe, knewe nothing of the Practice or Effecte of the ſaide Deede attempted againſte his Excellencie, ſaieth, that the Perſons aforenamed, knewe nothing thereof as the ſaid *Jaureguy* tolde him, and declared in his Confeſſion.

Being demaunded, whether the ſaid *Annaſtro*, *Jaureguy* or *Antony* of *Venero*, ſaid not unto him, that the King hadde by *John* of *Yſunça* made greate Promiſes to the ſaid *Annaſtro*, for the performing of the Deede againſt his Excellencie, ſaith, that he never knew or heard that of any Body.

Being

Being demaunded, whether he the ſaid Confeſſor hathe not aforetime bene in the Houſe of the ſaid *Annaſtro*, when ſitting at the Table, he was demaunded, whether it were lawfull for any Manne without Offence, to ſlay his Excellencie: what aunſweare was made thereto, when it was, and who were there preſent, declareth, that the ſaide *Annaſtro* hath ſundrie Times moved that Queſtion to him: and namely at the Table in Dinner Time, or ſo ſoone as the Table was taken up, either the firſte or ſeconde *Saterday* before *Candlemaſſe*, and that there were then preſent *Andrew* de la *Maça*, *Antony* of *Venero*, and *Valentine* de *Meurs:* and that hee this Confeſſor anſwered, that no particular or private Perſon mighte doe it, but that it pertained onely to the Juſtice. Whereto the ſaide *Annaſtro* (as he remembreth) replied, that the King being a publike Perſon might commaund an other to doe it: whereuppon this Confeſſor ſaide, that it was not lawfull for any Man with Money to buy an others Life. He declared farther, that about foureteene Dayes ſince, he the ſaide Confeſſour being at the Table, or elſe ſoone after they were riſen, hearde the ſaide *Annaſtro* uſe theſe or ſuche like Wordes: *Valla me dios no at en eſta tierra Flamenco que ſe atreva a eſte Principe de Oranges ?* whereto he the ſayde Confeſſo replied, ſaying: *Los Flamencos no ſon tan furioſos como vos otros*, where the ſaid *Maça* was not then preſent, but was departed into *Holland.*

This Confeſſion being read before the ſaid Confeſſour uppon the Bridge of the Borow, under the open Element, he being looſed and undone, he perſiſted in the ſame in the Preſence of the Shirifes this 26. *of* March 1582.

Subſcribed Zuerius, *and* L. Bloemart.

Here enſue the Copies of the Letters, written by the ſaide *Annaſtro*, and the Prince of *Parma*, *&c.*

Sennor Hermanno,

DE Brujas *os eſcrevi ayer, y aura dos horas que llegue aqui, y no he podido hallar à* Pedro de Cubiaur, *ni ſaber d'el, mas de que un maeſtro duze, que paſſo de* Doura *à* Cales *ocho dias a un hombre caſi de ſus ſennas. Yo paſſo do mala gana à* Cales, *por el tiempo que pierdo en bolver a caſa: y a demas eſto, el viento es contrario, y no podre partir oy, pero ſera mannana* Sabado *plaziendo à Dios. Al Sennor* Antonio Eſpinnola *beſo las manos, y que tengo gana deboluerme. Al Sennor* Andres de la Maça *beſo tambien las manos. Yo os encomiendo que tengays cuenta de lo que haz que hazer haſta que yo buelva: de papeles y aſſignaciones como de lo demas, que yo me dare laprieſſa que pudiere. Pagareys luego à* Hernando *de* Nagera *las* 402 *libras que* Baltaſar *de* Burgos *eſcrivió ſe le dieſſen, porque de* Cales *le tengo de eſcrevir que eſtan pagadas, embialde quintança dello. A* Valentin *me encomiendo, y a* Jaureguy *dezid que os ayude en lo dela eſcritura, y nueſtra Sennor, &c. En* Dunquerch, 16. *de* Março 1582.

El

El ſubſcripto era, *Vueſtra hermano* ANNASTRO.

El ſobreſcripto era, *Al Sennor* Antonio *de* Venero *mi hermano* Anvers.

Al porte 4 *Florins, dando lo a las ocho horas de la manana & lunes que es* 19. *de* Março.

ANNASTROS *Letters written from* Dunkirke.

GOOD Brother, Yeſterday I wrote unto you from *Bruges*, and I arrived heere two Hours ſince, but cannot yet finde *M. Peter of Cubiaur*, either heare anie other Newes of him: but that a Maſter of a Ship ſhewed me, that about eight Daies ſince there was one like him that paſſed from *Dover* to *Callis*. Very unwilling I am to goe to *Callis* leaſt loſing my Time I ſhal not come ſoone inough home. Beſides the Wind being contrarie I cannnot depart this Day, but to morrow being *Saterday*, if it pleaſe God I ſhal. I humbly greete Maſter *Anthonie Spinula* and am very deſirous to returne home. I alſo humbly greete *Andrew Maſſa*. I pray you ſet to your Hand to any Thing that is to be done before my Returne, as well for Writings and Aſſignations, as for any other Matter. For my part I will make as much Haſt as I may. You ſhall preſently pay *Ferdinand* of *Nagera* the 402. Pounds that *Baltaſſer* of *Burgos* hath written to be delivered him: for from *Callais* I will write that they be paid. And ſend him the Acquaintaunce. I commend me to *Valentine*, and will *Jaureguy* to helpe you in your Writings, Our Lord, &c. At *Dunkirck* this 16. of *March* 1582.

The Subſcription was, Your Brother ANNASTRO.

The Superſcription was, To my Brother *Anthony* of *Venero* at *Antwerpe*.

To the Poſt 4 Florins ſo that he deliver them upon *Munday* at 8. a Clocke in the Morning, which ſhall bee the 19. of *March*.

SENNOR,

PARA pagar à Baltaſar *de* Burgos *las quatro cientas y dos libras, no hallo otro remedio, por la brevedad d'el tiempo ſino dezir a* Hernando *de* Nagera *que tenia yo orden del dico* Burgos: *para que ſe dieſſen a el dichas quatrocientas y dos libras, y que ſe las querays pagar luego, y que* Valentin *ſe las de, y quittal de luego dos quitanças una copia de otra, en que diga que ſe las days por orden de* Baltaſar *de* Burgos, *y que ſe obliga a hazer las buenas el dicho* Baltaſar *de* Burgos, *y d'eſta manera el dicho* Burgos *ſe podra valer dellas con ſu commodidad. Hazelde luego a la hora que eſta recibays, antes que ſe haga el empleo: porque de otra manera no veo orden de que vengan a mannos d'el dicho. Y aſſi os ruego mucho que eſto ſe haga luego el miſmo* Lunes. *Dira* Nagera, *què no tiene aviſo: direyſle vos, que es hombre trabaioſo, y que no quereys aguardar a eſſo, porque yo os lo ordiné aſſi, y* Burgos *eſta deſproveydo de dineros. En el empleo me parece bien lo que ay le eſcrevi de* Brujas, *que ſe haga de la mercaderia*

que

que pide Diego Carreno, *provando la primero algunas vezes, y al tiempo del effecto ponerſe una medida, y dos rodondas: y d'eſta manera compara con mas ſeguridad, y menos ambaraço: y para aquel veſtido tomarle la medida por detras. Eſto tengo por mejor que lo otro, y de menos embaraço, y mas ſeguro: y tambien puede ponerſe lo otro, para en caſo de neceſſidad. Penſad en ello, y mirad quanto va en que el emple ſeacierte Hazed cuenta, que yo me detendre en* Cales *el* Sabado *por todo el dia, para eſcrevit à* Apodaca, *y deſpachar le correo, y deſpues he meneſter tres dias para aſſentar mi cuenta con aquel hombre, y dezirle lo que conviene, por que vaya todo per orden: y deſpues ſe podra hazer quando el corredo quiſiere, y dezilde que le Dios buena dicha, y que conſideres bien lo mucho que importa, que el empleo ſea bueno.*

En la Margen eſtava eſcripto.

Otra vez torno à dezir lo de Nagera, *porque* Baltaſar *de* Burgos *eſta falto de dineros, y embialde luego la una cedula del dicho* Nagera, *y por eſto doy eſta ventaja de* $13\frac{1}{4}$ *libras. A* Valentin *y* Jaureguy *me en comiendo mucho.*

El ſobre ſcripto era: *Para* Antonio *de* Venero.

S I R,

I Can finde by reaſon of the Shortneſſe of the Time no other Remedie how to pay *Baltaſſar* of *Burgos* the 402. Pounds, but to ſhewe *Ferdinande* of *Nagera*, that I had Commiſſion from the ſaid *Burgos* to deliver him the ſaid 402. Pounds, and that you will preſently pay him: and let *Valentine* pay him the Mony, taking of him two Acquittaunces, the one copied out of the other, wherin he muſt confeſſe that you doe deliver the ſame unto him by the Appointment of *Baltaſſar* of *Burgos*, then binde him to make them good to the ſaid *Baltaſſar* of *Burgos*, and ſo may *Burgos* helpe himſelfe to his owne Commoditie. Doe this immediatly, and even ſo ſoone as you have received theſe Preſents, before the Matter be performed, for I ſee no other Meanes how they may come to his Hands, wherefore I praye you heartelye let this be done this preſent *Munday*. *Nagera* will ſay that he hath no ſuch Warrant: then ſhall ye aunſwere him that the Man is Troubleſome, and that you wil not ſtay for that, ſeeing I have ſo commaunded you, and that *Burgos* is deſtitute of Money. It ſeemeth good to mee the Exploit and Matter were performed in ſuch ſort as Yeſterday I wrote from *Bruges*, and that with ſuch * Merchaundiſe as *Diego Carreno* requireth, having firſt tried it ſundrie Times: and at the Time of the Execution therof to give it a good Meaſure, and two Rounds: and in this wiſe it may be the more ſurely bought, and performed with leſſe Hinderaunce. As for the Garment, you muſt take Meaſure behinde. I thinke this a better Way than the other, of leſſe Hinderaunce and moſte ſafe. Alſo for further Aſſuraunce, the other † may be added for Neceſſities Sake. Conſider heereof and marke of what Impor-

* Under this Talke of Merchandiſe he meaneth the Piſtol, Powder and two Bullets, wherewith the L. Prince ſhoulde be ſlaine. † His Dagger.

taunce

taunce the Execution of this Exploit is. Make your Account that I will ſtay at *Callais* all *Saterdaye*, there to write to *Apodaca*, and to diſpatch the Poſt. And afterward I ſhall neede three Daies to make up my Account with this Man: Tell him alſo what is needfull to be done, that all Things may proceede orderlye. After which the Matter may be diſpatched when the * Courtier will, and tell him alſo that I pray God graunt him good Succeſſe, and that I would have him marke howe neceſſarie it is that this Exploit be performed.

In the Margent was written.

Once againe I ſpeake to you of *Nagera*. For *Baltaſar* of *Burgos* needeth Money: ſende therefore to him immediatly one of *Nagera* his Letters: for this I give him the Intereſt of 13. lib. 4. ſ. I commend me heartelye to *Valentine* and to *Jaureguy*.

The Superſcription was: For *Antonie* of *Venero*.

Other Letters of the ſaid ANNASTRO.

Sennor Hermano,

DE Bruias *y de* Dunquerch *os eſcrevi, yo me detuve en* Dunquerch *dos dias, bien deſguſtado, por ſer el tiempo tam fuerte y contrario que non pude paſſar: y aſſi me a conceſejo el Governador de* Dunquerchque *paſſaſſe portierra, y que era mejor: y aſſi me robo el un paſſa porte de* Gravelingas, *y aqui, dos horas ha, en eſta villa de* Gravelingas, *y mannana me y re por agua à* Cales, *à lo que entiendo, porque de aqui a* Cales *por tierra eſta todo lleno de* Franceſes, *que roban los que paſſam, y mas haran, ſiendos* Eſpannoles. *Ha me dicho un tal Quadra que eſtà aqui, que* Pedro *de* Cubiaur *eſtuvo aqui quatro dias ha, y que entendiò que era y do a* Cales, *podra ſerque alli le hallare, entre tanto hazelos lo meior que pudieredes. Y eſſe empleo de las mercaderias ſe puede hazer a cada hora, y ſea tan bueno que los duonnos no ſe quexen. No tengo mas que eſcrivir, Nueſtro Sennor, &c. En comiendo me a* Valentin *y* Jaureguy. *All Sennor Marça beſo las manos, y Nueſtro Sennor, &c. En* Gravelingas 17. *de* Março 1582. *Harta ventura ha ſido aner eſcapado en el camino, legum andan los* Franceſes. *Yo ſere alla lo mas preſto que pudiere, que y a queria ſer buelto.*

El ſubſcripto era: Veſtro buen hermano *Annaſtro*.

Other Letters of the ſaid ANNASTRO.

MY Lorde and Brother I writ unto you from *Bruges* and *Dunkirke*. Two Daies I abode at *Dunkirke* though farre againſt my Minde, becauſe the Weather was ſo rough and contrarie that I could not paſſe: wherefore the Governour of *Dunkirke* counſailed mee to goe by Land (as the better way) and ſo he made me a Paſport for *Graveling*, whether I came two Houres

* He meaneth *Jaureguy*.

ſince,

ſince, from whence I will to morrow depart by Water, (as I thinke) to *Callais*, for that betweene this and *Callais* the Waies be peſtered with *French* Men that doe robbe the Paſſengers, whereunto they would bee more readie if they ſhould meete with any *Spaniards*. A certaine Quadra that is heere tolde me that *Peter* of *Cubiaur*, was taken foure Daies agoe, and that he heard that hee was gone to *Callais*, it may bee that I maye finde hym there. In the meane time doe the beſt you can concerning the Exploit of Merchaundiſe, it may be done at al Times, and let it be ſo well done, that the Maſters finde no Fault. I have no more to write. But our Lord, &c. commend me to *Valentine* and *Jauregui*. I humbly ſalute the Lord *Maſſa*. Our Lord, &c. From *Graveling* this 17 of *March* 1582. It was a great Chaunce that I eſcaped all the Waye, the *Frenche* doe ſo range up and downe. I will be there ſo ſoone as I may, for I would with a good Will be at Home alreadie.

The Subſcription was, Your good Brother *Annaſtro*.

After the which was written,

Give this Poſt, whoſe Name is *Coppenhaghen*, that which is written upon the Letter for guiding me hither.

His Excellencies Letter, written with his owne Hande.

MY L. of *Aldegond*, I heare that to morrowe the ij. Priſoners, his Complices that ſhot at me, ſhall be executed. For my owne Parte I doe willingly forgive them whatſoever they may have offended againſt me: and if peradventure they have deſerved ſome ſore and ſharpe Puniſhment, yet be a Meane to my Lordes the Magiſtrates not to ſuffer them to abide any great Torment. But rather if they have ſo deſerved, to content themſelves with ſome ſpeedie Death. Hereupon I bidde you good Night.

Your very good Friend to do you Service,

WILLIAM *of* NASSAU.

Done in the Priſon of the Towne of Antwerp *in the Preſence of my Lordes*, Leſcouttet, *M.* James Zuerius, *and* Lewis Bloemart *Shirifes, the* 28. *of* March, 1582.

MAiſter *Anthonie Timmerman* Priſoner, readie to receyve his Death wherunto he was Yeſterdaye before Noone condemned in the *Vierſchale* by the Borrowmaiſters and Shirifes of this Towne, ſaith and declareth in Forme following.

Firſt, he ſayth, that having better called that whiche was ſpoken at the Table in the Houſe of *Jaſper* of *Annaſtro*, when the ſaide Deponent dined there, the ſaid *Annaſtro* propounded and argued: Whether by Vertue of the

Proſcription whiche the King of *Spaine* hathe publiſhed, anye Man may lawfullye ſlaye his Excellencies Perſon, in Trueth he cannot ſaye whether *Andrew Naſſa* were preſent or not, either thys Speeche paſſed aboute the Ende or after Dinner, adding moreover, that he is well aſſured and certaine, that *Valentine* of *Meurs* ſate at the Table that Dinner, but was then gone awaye. Moreover the ſaide condemned Perſon acknowledgeth his great Overſight and Error whiche he helde, in thinking that by Vertue of the ſaide Proſcription it was lawfull to ſlay his Excellencies Perſon: Being therefore now better informed by learned Men concerning the ſaide Opinion, and having further conſidered of the Matter, he doeth by this preſente revoke the ſame. Wherefore he requeſteth the Lordes Magiſtrates of this Towne to pardon him hys ſayde Offence alſo to adde this to his former Confeſſion, and if the other be publiſhed, to publiſh this withal, to the End no Man thinke that he dyed in ſo wicked an Opinion.

Subſcribed Zuerius.

The Prince of PARMA *his Letters.*

Alexander *Prince of* Parma *and* Plaiſance, *Lieuetenaunt*, *Governour*, *and Captayne Generall.*

RIGHT deare and wellbeloved, woulde to God you knew as well as the Inhabitants of theſe Partes, with what Zeale and Affection I have alwaies proceeded and procured the Weale, Quiet and Tranquilitie of theſe Countries generallie, wherof I ſeek no greter nor more evident Teſtimonie, than the Paines that I have taken, the Dueties which I have yeelded, and the Perils and Daungers which I have incurred in ſeeking to reſtore the whole to hir auncient Brightneſſe and Felicitie, wherewith theſe Provinces were wont to floriſh. According whereunto, God having uſed the Death of the Prince of *Orange*, (the one and only Inſtrument and Author of ſo many Miſeries and Calamities whiche you have endured) as a Meane to open the Way unto you, I hope he hath likewiſe taken from before your Eies the Vaile, which ſtopped and kept you from knowing, or more neerely conſidering the Sleightes, Suttleties, and Inventions, wherewith the ſaide Prince nouriſhed your Miſtruſts, and through his owne Covetouſneſſe and Ambition continued your Miſeries, yea ſo farre foorth, that to the ſame Ende he ſought to bring you into the Subjection and intollerable Yoke of thoſe, from whom in former Worlds you have received ſuch Domages and Enmities. Thus much I thought good to write unto you, to thende to advertiſe and aſſure you, that in Caſe you wil prevaile in this Occaſion and Commoditie whiche God dothe offer unto you, you ſhall not finde anye Man in this Worlde that will aide and aſſiſte you wyth more Sinceritie, Readineſſe and Affection, than I wil: offering unto you to the ſame Effect whatſoever I may by Vertue of the Authoritie and ſpecial Power unto me given by his Majeſtie, of whome I am well aſſured that you ſhal reape no leſſe Grace and Favor, neither any worſe Entertainement, than thoſe

thoſe have tried, who truſting wholly in the naturall Clemencie wherewith hee is endued, have willingly caſte themſelves into the Armes of his Royall Curteſie and Gentleneſſe. Whereupon I will expecte your Anſweare, which I pray God may bee ſuch as I deſire for your owne Benefite and Quietneſſe, alſo that it may bee ſo ſpeedily, that his Majeſtie may have Occaſion to deſiſte from ſuch Preparation as he maketh for the atteyning to this Ende, by ſome other Meanes peradventure more violent and unprofitable to your ſelves. Thus right deere and welbeloved, God have you in his holy and worthy keeping.

From *Tournay* this 25. of *March* 1582.

Subſcribed, ALEXANDER.

And ſomewhat lower, *F. Garnier.*

The Superſcription was: To our right dere and welbeloved, the Markgrave, Amptman, Borowmaiſters, Shirifes, Counſaile, and Rentmaiſters of the Towne of *Antverpe.*

The like Letters, *mutatis mutandis*, were diſpatched to the Inhabitantes of *Bruxelles*, *Gaunt*, *Bruges*, *Ypres*, &c.

ANNASTRO his Letters written from *Tournay.*

Muy mag. Sennor,

PUes ha querido Nueſtro Sennor que el Principe de Orange *aya acabado ſus dias, ſe ha de creer que es para aver miſericordia de eſtas tierras que eſtavan affligidas, y yo eſtoy aggradado de aver ſido occaſione inſtrumento de ſa muerte, por el ſervicio que devo a mi Rey, y por la quietud y repoſo que deſſéo a los eſtados: y quando mi criado no fuera ſufficiente para hazer lo que hizo, yo tenia determinado de matarle por mi mano, por ſaccat eſta tierra del travajo en que eſtava. He querido eſcrivir a v. m. y al Sr. ſu hermano eſta carta para aſſegurar los que pueden confiar en la miſericordia que ſu Mag. y ſu Alteza del Principe de* Parma *deſſea hazer conlos de eſſa villa, ſin accordar ſe de las faltas paſſadas: ſi no con animo de perdonar las todas, y que todos puedan vivir pacificamente. Y pues que v. m. tiene mano para poder dar a entender à eſſos S. Ses. del magiſtrado eſta buena voluntad, y tomar buen conſejo en eſſe negocio, aſſegurando los que en lo que yo pudiere favoreſcer los lo hare de muy buena gana. Y ſi quiſierem empleara v. m. en ello, y al So.* Laurentio *ſu hermano: y lleguarſe por aca, yo les embiare paſſa porte de ſu Alteza aſſegurando los. Y ſaldre fiador por la ſeguridad de ſui perſonas, y reſpondan me de la voluntad que en eſto tienen, y no ſe ofreſce otra coſa por agora N. Sennor de* Tournay *à* 25. *de* Março, 1582.

Beſa las manos a v^os. m^es.

GASPAR de ANNASTRO.

Noble Lords,

SITH it hath pleased God to end the Prince of *Orange* his Daies, you are to beleeve it to be, to the Ende to shewe Mercie to these Countries which were afflicted, and I rejoice that I was the Occasion and Instrument of his Death, bothe for the Duetie I owe to my King, and for the Reste and Tranquilitie of these Estates. For if my Servant had not beene sufficient to doe that whiche is done, my selfe was resolved with my owne Hand to have slain him, so to deliver this Countrie out of the Trouble it was in. This Letter I thought good to write to you, and to my L. your Brother, to the End to assure you that you may surelie repose your selves in the Mercie which his Majestie, and the P. of *Parma* his Highnesse desire to shew to this Town: as not to thinke upon anie former Faultes, otherwise than fullie to pardon them, so as, all Men maie live peaceably. Further, sith it lieth in you to give the Lordes and Magistrates to understande of this good Will, also to take good Advice concerning this Affaire, assuring them, that in what I may I will moste willingly pleasure them. If in this Matter they will use you and your Brother *Laurence* as Messengers hither, I will send you a Passeport from his Highnesse with all sufficient Assurance, and will my selfe remaine Pledge for the Suretie of your Persons. Let mee understande your Willes herein. Thus not having anie other Thing at this present, our Lorde, &c. From *Tournay* this 25. of March. 1582.

Subscribed,

I humbly salute your Lordships,

JASPER *of* ANNASTRO.

The Superscription was this:

To the noble Lordes DENIS de MEURS, and LAURENCE de MEURS, at *Gant.*

The

The Copie of a Letter to the Right Honourable the Earle of LEYCESTER, Lieutenant Generall of all her MAJESTY's Forces in the United Provinces of the *Lowe Countries*, written before, but delivered at his Returne from thence.

With a Report of certeine Petitions and Declarations made to the QUEENES Majeſtie at two ſeverall Times, from all the Lordes and Commons lately aſſembled in Parliament. And her Majeſties Anſweres thereunto by her ſelfe delivered, though not expreſſed by the Reporter with ſuch Grace and Life, as the ſame were uttered by her MAJESTIE. 1586.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Leiceſter, *&c.*

ALbeit the earneſt Deſire of my Hart (Right Honourable my very good Lord) hath alwayes endeavoured to do your Lordſhip ſome acceptable Service, for the Honour you firſt vouchſafed me from beyond my Cradel, and after confirmed with the favourable Opinion wherewith you have alwayes countenanced me ever ſince, even thus farre onward on my Daies, which alſo together with my Yeres hath increaſed faſter then mine Abilitie to performe, being croſſed in nothing more deepely, then when I was letted by the overmuch tendring of me by my Parents, to attend your Lordſhip in your late Voyage and honourable Expedition into the *Lowe Countries:* yet have I bene ever ſince moſt ſtudious to obſerve and apprehende ſome good Occaſion, or fitte Oportunitie, to teſtifie the duetifull Reverence I beare to your Lordſhip: wherein if hitherto I have beene ſlacke in Performance during your Abſence, it hath proceeded of the Care I had not to entertaine your Lordſhip with Matter either frivolous or vulgar: though Thinges of that Nature might beſt become my Condition, and well agree with my Underſtanding.

In which Cogitation it came to my Minde, that the Report of the Speaches delivered by the Queenes moſt excellent Majeſtie in a late and weightie Cauſe dealt in this Parliament, in Anſwere to the Petitions preſented to hir Majeſtie the 12. and 24. of *November* at *Richmond* by the Lord Chauncelour and Speaker, reſpectively, in the Name and Behalfe of both Eſtates, accompanied with divers of either Sort, would doubtleſſe bee a Thing to your L. moſt gratefull, as one ever pleaſed juſtly to admire the rare Perfections of her Mind, and approoved Judgement, wherewith, according to your Eſtate and Place, deſervedly, your L. hath beene uſually acquainted: as alſo worthie of eternal Monument and everlaſting Memorie, for as much as on the ſodaine they were delivered by her ſelfe, for Anſwere of a Matter propounded, debated,

bated, reſolved, and digeſted, with great Labour and Premeditation, of the greateſt, graveſt, wiſeſt, and moſt choiſe Perſons of the whole Realme. Whereof although I have but ſlenderly purtraied the Lineaments, without expreſſing to Life the external Ornaments of her Royall Speach, accompanied with all princely and gracefull Accomplementes: yet doubt I not but your Lordſhip will eaſily finde her inward Vertues, whereof it is impoſſible for mee to make the leaſt Adumbration.

And becauſe in the dayly Expectation of your Lordſhips Returne, I reſted uncertaine how theſe might come ſafely to your Lordſhips Hands: I did therefore adviſe to have this my Letter with the included Copies to be ready to attend your firſt Arrivall, in Gratulation of the Safetie thereof, which hath bene long deſired. Wherein, as I ſtrive to performe a particular Duetie to your Lordſhip, ſo truſt I you will have that honourable Conſideration, that in the Communication thereof with others, there growe not any Prejudice to me for my Preſumption, in adventuring to be a Reporter of that, which in the Deliverie wrought ſo great Aſtoniſhment to all the Hearers, as it exceeded the Fulnes of every Mans Expectation: and therefore, without ſome favourable Conſtruction of mine Attempt, I might incurre great Blame by my ſlender Maner of Report, ſo to have blemiſhed the Excellencie of her Majeſties Speaches, whereof I humbly beſeech your Lordſhip to have favourable Regard. Thus referring them to your Lordſhips Diſpoſition, and my ſelfe to your favourable Protection, I humbly take my Leave. 25. *Novemb.* 1586.

Your Lordſhips moſt humbly

In all Duetie to commaund.

R. C.

The Briefe of the Lord Chancellers firſt Speach, at the Time when he delivered her moſt excellent MAJESTIE a Petition in Writing, for, and in the Name of the Lordes and Commons.

Which Speaches were of more length then here are by me collected: but ſure I am, the Subſtaunce thereof is here truely expreſſed.

THAT the Lordes and Commons having of long Time to their intollerable Griefe, found, by howe many Practiſes the Scottiſh *Queene had compaſſed the Deſtruction of her Highnes moſt Royall Perſon (in whoſe Safetie next under God they acknowledged their chiefe Felicity to conſiſt) thereby not onely to bereave them of the ſincere and true Religion in this Realme profeſſed and eſtabliſhed, but to bring backe againe this noble Realme into the Thraldome of* Romiſh *Tyrannie, and to overthrowe the happie Eſtate thereof: wherein, although her Highneſſe of her abundant gratious naturall Clemencie and Princely Magnanimitie, hath either lightly paſſed them over, or with no ſmall Indulgence tolerated, notwithſtanding the often and earneſt Inſtances of her Nobilitie and Commons in ſundry Parliaments heretofore: and further hath protected her from the violent Purſuite of her owne People: ſhe yet, as a Perſon obdurate in Malice*

(as

(as it appeares) continued her former Practiſes, as had bene lately manifeſted by certaine wicked Conſpiracies plotted by one Anthonie Babington, *and divers deſperate Perſons, that had combined and confederated themſelves by Vowe and Oth in a moſt horrible Enterpriſe, by Murther, to take away the Life of her Majeſtie: wherein the* Scottiſh *Queene did not only adviſe them, but alſo direct, comfort, and abbette them, with Perſwaſion, Counſel, Promiſe of Reward, and earneſt Obteſtation. Whereupon her Majeſtie, at the earneſt Requeſt of ſuch as tendered the Safetie of her Royall Perſon and the Quiet of the Realme, did direct Commiſſion under the great Seale to ſundrie Lords and others of her Majeſties privie Counſel, and a great Nomber of Lordes of Parliament, of the greateſt and moſt ancient Degree, aſſiſted with ſome of the principall Judges of the Realme, to heare, examine and determine the ſame, according to a Statute in that Behalfe made in the xxviij. Yeere of her Reigne. Who, to the Nomber of* 36. *having attended the Execution of the ſaid Commiſſion, and divers Daies and Times heard the Allegations againſt the ſaid* Scottiſh *Queene in her owne Preſence and Hearing, (ſhee being permitted to ſay what ſhee woulde in her owne Excuſe) did with one Aſſent, finde her culpable both in Privitie and Conſent to the ſaide Crimes objected, and alſo in compaſſing the Queenes Majeſties Death. Which Sentence, by her owne Directions upon the hearing of the Prooves and Proceſſe in Parliament, was judged to have beene moſt honourable and juſt, and thereupon they all beſeech hir Majeſty, that foraſmuch as the ſaid Queene of* Scots, *was the very ground and onely ſubject, whereupon ſuch daungerous Practiſes and Complots had bene founded, againſt hir Majeſties moſt Royall Perſon and the Eſtate of this Realme for theſe many Yeeres, to the Overthrowe of ſundrie of the Nobilitie of the Land, and Danger of Chriſtian Religion, and that they could ſee no Hope of her deſiſting, and her Adherents, but that ſtill her Majeſties Safetie muſt be hazarded, and ſtand to the Event of the like miraculous Diſcoveries.*

Therefore, as moſt humble and inſtant Suppliants, they did upon their Knees at her moſt gratious Feete, beſeech and requeſt in moſt earneſt Maner, that aſwell for the Continuance of Gods Religion, the Quiet of this Kingdom, Preſervation of her Perſon, and Defence of them and their Poſterities, it woulde pleaſe hir Higheneſſe to take Order, that the ſaide Sentence might be publiſhed, and ſuch further Direction given, as was requiſite in this ſo weightie a Cauſe, according to the Purport and Intent of the ſaid Statute. Wherin, if her Majeſtie (purſuing her wonted Clemencie) ſhould nowe be remiſſe, beſides the imminent Danger to hir Perſon, ſhe might by the Stay thereof, procure the heavie Diſpleaſure of Almightie God, as by ſundry ſevere Examples of his Juſtice in the ſacred Scriptures, doth appeare. And ſo he delivered, to her Majeſties owne Handes, the Petition in Writing, which he ſaid, had bene with great Deliberation aſſented unto, by all the whole Parliament.

A ſhort

A ſhort Extract of ſuch Reaſons, as were delivered in Speach by Maſter Sergeant *Puckering*, Speaker of the Lower Houſe, before the Queenes moſt excellent Majeſtie in her Preſence Chamber at *Richmond*, the xii. of *November* 1586. in the xxviii. Yeere of her Reigne, containing divers apparant and imminent Dangers, that may grow to her Majeſties moſt Royal Perſon, and to her Realme, from the *Scottiſh* Queene and her Adherents, if Remedie be not provided.

¶ Firſt, touching the Danger of her Majeſties Perſon.

1. *BOTH this* Scottiſh *Queene and her Favourers, doe thinke her to have Right, not to ſucceed but to enjoy your Crowne in Poſſeſſion: and therefore as ſhee is a moſt impatient Competitor, ſo will ſhee not ſpare any Meanes whatſoever, that may bereave us of your Majeſtie, the onely Impediment that ſhe enjoyeth not her Deſire.*

2. *Shee is obdurate in Malice againſt your royall Perſon, notwithſtanding you have ſhewed her all Favour and Mercie, as well in preſerving her Kingdome, as ſaving her Life, and ſalving her Honour. And therefore there is no Place for Mercie, ſince there is no Hope that ſhee will deſiſt from moſt wicked Attempts: the rather for that her Malice appeareth ſuch, that ſhee maketh (as it were) her Teſtament of the ſame, to be executed after her Death, and appoynteth her Executors to performe it.*

3. *Shee boldly and openly profeſſed it lawfull for her to moove Invaſion upon you. And therefore, as of Invaſion Victorie may enſue, and of Victorie, the Death of the vanquiſhed: ſo did ſhee thereby not obſcurely bewraie, that ſhee thought it lawfull for her to deſtroie your ſacred Perſon.*

4. *Shee thinkes it not onely lawfull, but Honourable alſo and Meritorious to take your Life from you, as being alreadie deprived of your Crowne by the Excommunication of the holie Father. And therefore it is like ſhee will (as hitherto ſhe hath done) continually ſeeke it by whatſoever Meanes.*

5. *That ſhee is greedie of your Majeſties Death, and preferreth it before her owne Life and Safetie: for in her Direction to one of her late Complices, ſhe adviſed (under covert Termes) that whatſoever ſhould become of her, that tragicall Execution ſhould be performed upon you.*

The Danger of the overthrow of the true Religion.

1. *It is moſt perillous to ſpare her, that continually hath ſought the Overthrow and Suppreſſion of true Religion, infected with Poperie from her tender Youth, and being after that a Confederate in that* Holy League *when ſhe came to Age, and ever ſince a profeſſed Enemie againſt the Trueth.*

2. *She reſteth wholy upon Popiſh Hopes to deliver and advance her, and is thereby ſo devoted to that Profeſſion, that aſwell for Satisfaction of others, as for feeding of her owne Humor, ſhe will ſupplant the Goſpell, where, and when ſo ever ſhe may: which Evill is ſo much the greater, and the more to be avoyded,*

as

as that it ſlayeth the very Soule, and will ſpread it ſelfe not onely over England *and* Scotland, *but alſo into thoſe Partes beyond the Seas, where the Goſpel of God is mainteined, the which cannot but be exceedingly weakened, by the Defection of this noble Ilande.*

The Perill of the State of the Realme.

1. *As the* Lydians *ſaide,* Unum Regem agnoſcunt Lydi, duos autem tolerare non poſſunt: *So wee ſay,* Unicam Reginam Elizabetham agnoſcunt Angli, duas autem tolerare non poſſunt.

2. *As ſhe hath already by her Allurements brought to Deſtruction moe Noble Men and their Houſes, together with a greater Multitude of the Commons of this Realme, during her being here, then ſhe ſhould have bin able to doe, if ſhe had bene in Poſſeſſion of her owne Crowne, and armed in the Fielde againſt us: ſo will ſhe ſtill be continuall Cauſe of the like Spoyle, to the greater Loſſe and Perill of this Eſtate: And therefore this Realme neither can, nor may endure her.*

3. *Againe, ſhe is the onely Hope of all diſcontented Subjects, ſhe is the Foundation whereon all the evill diſpoſed do builde, ſhe is the Roote from whence all Rebellions and Trecheries do ſpring; And therefore whileſt this Hope laſteth, this Foundation ſtandeth, and this Roote liveth, they will reteine Heart, and ſet on Foote whatſoever their Deviſes againſt the Realme, which otherwiſe will fall away, die and come to nothing.*

4. *Mercie now in this Caſe towards her, woulde in the Ende prove Crueltie againſt us all,* Nam eſt quædam crudelis miſericordia, *and therefore to ſpare her, is to ſpill us.*

5. *Beſides this, it will exceedingly grieve and in a Maner deadly wound the Hearts of all the good Subjects of your Land, if they ſhall ſee a Conſpiracie ſo horrible not condingly puniſhed.*

6. *Thouſands of your Majeſties moſt liege and loving Subjectes, of all Sorts and Degrees, that in a tender Zeale of your Majeſties Safetie, have moſt willingly both by open Subſcription and ſolemne Vowe, entred into a firme and loyall Aſſociation, and have thereby proteſted to purſue unto the Death, by all forcible and poſſible Meanes, ſuch as ſhe is by juſt Sentence nowe found to be: can neither diſcharge their Love, nor well ſave their Othes, if your Majeſtie ſhall keepe her alive: of which Burden your Majeſties Subjects are moſt deſirous to bee relieved, as the ſame may be, if Juſtice be done.*

7. *Laſtly, your Maieſties moſt loving and dutiful Commons doubt not, but that as your Majeſtie is duely exerciſed in reading the Booke of God, ſo it will pleaſe you to call to your Princely Remembrance, how fearefull the Examples of Gods Vengeance bee, that are there to be found againſt King* Saul *for ſparing King* Agag, *and againſt King* Achab *for ſaving the Life of* Benadad: *both which were by the juſt Judgement of God deprived of their Kingdoms, for ſparing thoſe wicked Princes, whome God had delivered into their Handes, of Purpoſe to be ſlaine by them, as by the Miniſters of his eternal and divine Juſtice: wherein full wiſely* Salomon *proceeded to Puniſhment, when hee tooke the Life of his owne naturall and elder Brother* Adonias, *for the only Intention of a Marriage, that gave Suſpition of Treaſon againſt him.*

Herein we your Majesties most loving and obedient Subjects, earnestly depend upon your princely Resolution, which we assure our selves shall be to God most acceptable, and to us no other, than the State of your Regall Authoritie may afford us, and the approoved Arguments of your tender Care for our Safetie under your Charge, dooth promise to our Expectation.

A Report of Her MAJESTIES *most gratious Answere, delivered by her selfe verbally, to the first Petitions of the Lords and Commons, being the Estates of Parliament, in her Chamber of Presence at* Richmond, *the xij. Day of* November 1586. *at the full almost of xxviij. Yeeres of her Reigne: Whereof the Reporter requireth of all that were Hearers, a favourable Interpretation of his Intent, because he findeth that he cannot expresse the same answerable to the Original, which the Learned call* Prototypon.

THE bottomlesse Graces and immeasurable Benefits bestowed upon me by the Almightie, are, and have bene such, as I must not onely acknowledge them, but admire them, accounting them as well Miracles as Benefites, not so much in Respect of his Divine Majestie, with whome nothing is more common than to doe Things rare and singular: as in Regard of our Weakenesse, who can not sufficiently set foorth his wonderfull Workes and Graces, which to mee have bene so many, so diversely folded and imbroydered one upon another, as in no sorte I am able to expresse them.

And although there liveth not any, that may more justly acknowledge them selves infinitely bounde unto God then I, whose Life he hath miraculously preserved at sundry Times (beyonde my Merite) from a Multitude of Perils and Dangers: yet is not that the Cause, for which I count my selfe the deeplyest bounde to give him my humblest Thankes, or to yeelde him greatest Recognition: but this which I shall tell you hereafter, which will deserve the Name of Wonder, if rare Things and seeldom seene be worthie of Accompt: Even this it is, that as I came to the Crowne with the willing Hearts of my Subjects, so doe I now after xxviii. Yeres Reigne, perceive in you no Dimunition of good Willes, which if happily I should want, well might I breath, but never thinke I lived.

And now, albeit I finde my Life hath bene full dangerously sought, and Death contrived by such as no Desert procured: yet am I therein so cleare from Malice (which hath the Property to make Men glad at the Failes and Faultes of their Foes, and make them seeme to doe for other Causes, when Rancor is the Ground) as I protest it is and hath bene my grievous Thought, that one, not different in Sexe, of like Estate, and my neere Kin, shoulde fall into so great a Crime: yea, I had so litle Purpose to pursue her with any Colour of Malice, that as it is not unknowen to some of my Lordes here, (for nowe I will play the Blabbe) I secretly wrote her a Letter upon the Discovery of sundry Treasons, that if she woulde confesse them, and privately acknow-

acknowledge them by her Letters to my ſelfe, ſhee never ſhoulde neede be called for them into ſo publike Queſtion. Neither did I it of Minde to circumvent her: for then I knew as much as ſhe could confeſſe, and ſo did I write. And if even yet, nowe that the Matter is made but to apparant, I thought ſhe truely would repent (as perhappes ſhe would eaſily appeare in outwarde ſhewe to doe) and that for her, none other would take the Matter upon them, or that we were but as two Milke Maides with Pailes upon our Armes, or that there were no more Dependancie upon us, but mine owne Life were onely in Danger, and not the whole Eſtate of your Religion and well Doings, I proteſt (wherein you may beleeve me, for though I may have many Vices, I hope I have not accuſtomed my Tongue to be an Inſtrument of Untrueth) I would moſt willingly pardon and remit this Offence.

Or if by my Death, other Nations and Kingdoms might truely ſay, that this Realme had attained an everproſperous and floriſhing Eſtate: I would (I aſſure you) not deſire to live, but gladly give my Life, to the Ende my Death might procure you a better Prince.

And for your Sakes it is, that I deſire to live, to keepe you from a worſe. For as for me, I aſſure you I finde no great Cauſe I ſhould be fonde to live: I take no ſuch Pleaſure in it, that I ſhoulde much wiſh it, nor conceave ſuch Terror in Death, that I ſhould greatly feare it: and yet I ſay not, but if the Stroke were comming, perchance Fleſh and Blood would be moved with it, and ſeeke to ſhunne it.

I have had good Experience and Tryall of this World: I know what it is to be a Subject, what to be a Soveraigne: what to have good Neighbors, and ſometime meete evill Willers. I have founde Treaſon in Truſt, ſeene great Benefits litle regarded, and in ſtead of Gratefulnes, Courſes of Purpoſe to croſſe.

Theſe former Remembrances, preſent Feeling, and future Expectation of Evils, I ſay, have made me thinke, *An Evill, is much the better, the leſſe while it endureth:* and ſo, them happieſt, that are ſooneſt hence: and taught me to beare with a better Minde theſe Treaſons, then is common to my Sexe: yea, with a better Heart perhaps, then is in ſome Men. Which I hope you wil not meerly impute to my Simplicitie or Want of Underſtanding, but rather, that I thus conceived, that had their Purpoſes taken Effect, I ſhould not have found the Blow, before I had felt it: and, though my Perill ſhould have bene great, my Paine ſhoulde have bene but ſmal and ſhort: wherein, as I would be loth to dye ſo bloody a Death, ſo doubt I not, but God would have given me Grace to be prepared for ſuch an Event, Chance when it ſhall, which I referre to his good Pleaſure.

And now, as touching their Treaſons and Conſpiracies, together with the Contriver of them, I will not ſo prejudicate my ſelfe and this my Realme, as to ſay or thinke, that I might not, without the laſt Statute, by the ancient Lawes of this Land, have proceeded againſt her, which was not made particularly to prejudice her: though perhaps it might then be ſuſpected, in reſpect of the Diſpoſition of ſuch as depend that Way.

It was ſo farre from being intended to intrap her, that it was rather an Admonition to warne the Danger thereof: but ſith it is made, and in the Force of a Lawe, I thought good, in that which might concerne her, to proceede according thereuhto, rather then by Courſe of common Law: wherein, if you the Judges have not deceived me, or that the Books you brought me were not falſe (which God forbid) I might as juſtly have tried her, by the ancient Lawes of the Land.

But you Lawyers are ſo nice in ſifting and ſkanning every Woorde and Letter, that many Times you ſtand more upon Forme then Matter, upon Sillables then Sence of the Lawe. For in the Strictnes and exact folowing of common Forme, ſhee muſt have beene indited in *Stafford Shire*, have holden up her Hand at the Barre, and bene tried by a Jurie: A proper Courſe forſooth, to deale in that Manner with one of her Eſtate. I thought it better therfore, for avoiding of theſe and more Abſurdities, to commit the Cauſe to the Inquiſition of a good Nomber of the greateſt and moſt noble Perſonages of this Realme, of the Judges and others of good Accompt, whoſe Sentence I muſt approove: And all litle enough: For we Princes, I tel you, are ſet on Stages, in the Sight and Viewe of all the World duely obſerved: The Eies of many beholde our Actions: A Spot is ſoone ſpied in our Garments: A Blemiſh quickely noted in our Doings. It behooveth us therefore, to be carefull that our Proceedings bee juſt and honourable.

But I muſt tell you one Thing more, that in this laſt Acte of Parliament you have brought me to a narrowe Straight, that I muſt give Direction for her Death, which cannot be to mee but a moſt grievous and irkeſome Burthen. And leaſt you might miſtake mine Abſence from this Parliament (which I had almoſt forgotten) although there be no Cauſe why I ſhould willingly come amongſt Multitudes, for that amongeſt many ſome may be Evil: yet hath it not bene the Doubt of any ſuch Daunger or Occaſion that kept me from thence, but onely the great Griefe to heare this Cauſe ſpoken of, eſpecially, that ſuch a one of State and Kin, ſhould neede ſo open a Declaration, and that this Nation ſhould be ſo ſpotted with Blots of Diſloialtie. Wherein the leſſe is my Grief, for that I hope the better part is mine, and thoſe of the worſe not much to be accompted of, for that in ſeeking my Deſtruction, they might have ſpoiled their owne Soules.

And even nowe coulde I tell you, that which woulde make you ſorie. It is a Secrete, and yet I will tell it you, although it is knowen, I have the Propertie to keepe Counſell, but too well oftentimes to mine owne Perill. It is not long ſince mine Eyes did ſee it written, that an Othe was taken within few Daies, either to kill mee or to be hanged themſelves: and that to be performed ere one Moneth were ended. Hereby I ſee your Danger in me, and neither can or will be ſo unthankfull or careleſſe of your Conſciences, as not provide for your Safetie.

I am not unmindeful of your Oth made in the Aſſociation, manifeſting your great good Wils and Affections taken and entred into, upon good Conſcience, and true Knowledge of the Guilt, for Safety of my Perſon, and Conſervation of my Life, done (I proteſt to God) before I heard it, or ever thought

thought of ſuch a Matter, until a great Nomber of Handes with many Obligations were ſhewed mee, at *Hampten Court*, ſigned and ſubſcribed with the Names and Seales of the greateſt of this Lande: which as I doe acknowledge as a perfect Argument of your true Heartes, and great Zeale to my Safetie: ſo ſhall my Bonde be ſtronger tied to greater Care for all your good.

But for as much as this Matter is rare, waightie, and of great Conſequence, I thinke you doe not looke for any preſent Reſolution: the rather, for that, as it is not my Manner, in Matters of far leſſe Moment, to give ſpeedy Anſwer without due Conſideration, ſo in this of ſuch Importance, I thinke it verie requiſite with earneſt Prayer to beſeech his Divine Majeſtie, ſo to illuminate my Underſtanding, and inſpire me with his Grace, as I may doe and determine that, which ſhall ſerve to the Eſtabliſhment of his Church, Preſervation of your Eſtates, and Proſperitie of this Commonwealth under my Charge. Wherein (for that I knowe Delaie is dangerous) you ſhal have with all Conveniencie our Reſolution delivered by our Meſſage. And what ever any Prince may merite of their Subjects, for their approoved Teſtimonie of their unfained Sinceritie, eyther by governing juſtly, voide of all Partialitie, or Sufferance of any Injuries done (even to the pooreſt) that doe I aſſuredly promiſe inviolablie to performe, for Requitall of your ſo many Deſertes.

The Occaſions of the Second Acceſſe.

THIS Anſwere thus made by her Majeſtie, the Lords and Commons were diſmiſſed. And then her Highneſſe ſome fewe Dayes after, upon Deliberation had of this Petition, being (as it appeared) of her mercifull Diſpoſition of Nature, and her Princely Magnanimitie, in ſome Conflict with her ſelfe what to doe in a Cauſe ſo weightie and important to her and the Realme, ſent by the Lorde Chauncelour (as I heard) and by the Mouth of an Honorable Perſon, and a right worthy Member of the Lower Houſe, this Meſſage to both Houſes: moving and earneſtly charging them, to enter into a further Conſideration, whether there might not be ſome other Way of Remedy, then that they had already required, ſo farre diſagreeing from her owne naturall Inclination. Whereupon, the Lords and Commons in either Houſes aſſembled, had ſundry Conſultations, both in their ſeverall Houſes generally, and by private Committees deputed ſpecially, and after Conference had betwixt the ſayd Committees, it was reſolved with Unanimitie of Conſent amongſt them in the Lower Houſe, and by univerſall Concorde in the Upper Houſe (the Queſtion there propounded to every one of the Lords) that there could be found no other ſound and aſſured Meane, in the Depth of their Underſtanding, for the Continuance of the Chriſtian Religion, Quiet of the Realme, and Safetie of her Majeſties moſt Royall Perſon, then that which was conteined in their former Petition. The Reaſons whereof, were ſummarily theſe that followe: which are more ſhortly reported, then they were uttered.

A Briefe

A Briefe Report of the Second Acceſſe the 24. of *November* 1586. and of the Anſwere made in the Name of the Lords of Parliament, to a Meſſage ſent from hir MAJESTIE by the L. Chancelour after hir firſt Anſwere.

THE Lord Chauncelour accompanied with above five or ſixe and twentie Lords of Parliament, came before her Highnes in her Chamber of Preſence, to deliver the Reſolution of all the Lords of Parliament, concerning a Meſſage which he had not long before delivered from her Majeſtie, for further Conſultation, whether any other Meanes could be thought of, or found out by any of them, how the Scottiſh *Queenes Life might be ſpared, and yet her Majeſties Perſon ſaved out of Perill, and the State of the Realme preſerved in Quiet, declared, that according to that he had received in Commandement from her Majeſtie, he had imparted the ſame to the Lordes aſſembled in the Upper Houſe, whome he found by their generall Silence much amazed at the propounding thereof, conſidering the ſame had bene before in Deliberation amongſt them, and reſolved upon, and as appeared by their former Petition exhibited to her Highneſſe, wherein they had expreſſed the ſame Reſolution. Notwithſtanding, for her Majeſties further Satisfaction, they had entred into a newe Conſultation, and for that Purpoſe ſelected a great Nomber of the choyceſt Perſons of that higher Houſe of Parliament, to conferre thereof, either privatly or together with the Lower Houſe: which alſo was done accordingly at ſeveral Times. At all which Conferences it was concluded by them all, and ſo afterwards by the whole Aſſembly of both Houſes, that there could be no other aſſured Meanes for the Preſervation of her Majeſties Life, and Continuance of God's Religion, and Quiet of this State, then by the full Execution of the Sentence according to their former Petition, inſtantly preſſing her Majeſtie with many Arguments and Reaſons tending thereto, all which, though by Diſtance from his Lordſhip I could not wel conceive, yet this I did remember preciſely and eſpecially was one, that as it were Injuſtice to denie Execution of Law, at the Suit of any one particular, and the meaneſt of her People: ſo much more, not to yeelde to the earneſt Inſtance and humble Prayers of all her faithful and loving Subjects. And ſo concluded with earneſt Petition for her Majeſties reſolute Determination and Anſwere, for a preſent and ſpeedy Direction by Proclamation, and otherwiſe alſo, according to the Forme of the Statute.*

A Summarie Report of the Second Speech, uttered by the Speaker of the Lower Houſe, by Direction of all the Commons.

THAT if her Majeſtie ſhould be ſafe without taking away the Life of the Scottiſh *Queene, the ſame were moſt likelie and probably to grow, by one of theſe Meanes following.*

1. Firſt, *that happily ſhe might be reclaimed and become* a repentant Convert, *agniſing her Majeſties great Mercie and Favours in remitting her heynous Offence,*

Offence, and by her Loyaltie hereafter, performe the Fruites of ſuch Converſion.

2. *Or els, by a more* ſtrayght Guard *be ſo kept, as there ſhoulde be no Feare of the like Attempts hereafter.*

3. *Or, that good Aſſurance might be given by* Othe, Bonds *or* Hoſtages, *as Cautions for her good and loyal Demeanour from henceforth.*

4. *Or laſtly, by* Baniſhment, *the Realme might be voyded of her Perſon, and thereby the Perils further removed, that growe to her Majeſtie by her Preſence.*

The Moments wherof being duely pondered, did yet appeare ſo light in all their Judgements, that they durſt not adviſe any Securitie to reſt in any, no not in all of them.

For touching her Converſion, *it was conſidered, that if Pietie or Duetie could have reſtreined her from ſuch heynous Attempts, there was Cauſe abundantly miniſtred to her on her Majeſties Behalfe, when ſhe not onely protected her againſt the Violence of her own Subjects, who purſued her to death by Juſtice, but covered her Honor, when the ſame by publique Fame was touched, and by very heynous and capitall Crymes objected and proved againſt her before certeine Commiſſarie Delegates aſſigned to examine the ſame, more then blemiſhed, and ſpared her Lyfe, when for her former Conſpiracies and Confederacies with the Northren Rebelles, her Highneſſe was with great Inſtance preſſed by both the Houſes in the xiiii. Yeere of her Majeſties Reigne, to do like Juſtice uppon her, as nowe is deſired, and as her treaſonable Practices then, had moſt juſtly deſerved.*

And where the Penaltie of this Acte ſufficiently notified unto her, ſhould have terrified her from ſo wicked Attempts, ſhe hath nevertheleſſe inſiſted in her former Practiſes, as a Perſon obdurate in Malice againſt her Majeſtie, and irrecoverable: ſo as there was no probable Hope of any Converſion, but rather great Doubt and Feare of Relaps and Recidivation, for aſmuch as ſhe ſtood obſtinately in the Deniall of Matter moſt evidently prooved, and now moſt juſtly ſentenced againſt her, and was not entred into the firſt Part of Repentance, The Recognition of her Offence, *and ſo much the farther off from the true Fruites that ſhould accompany the ſame.*

As for a ſurer Guard, *and more* ſtrait Impriſonment, *it was reſolved, that there was no Security therein, nor yet in the other two Meanes propounded of* Bonds *and* Hoſtages: *for aſmuch as the ſame Meanes that ſhoulde bee practiſed to take her Majeſties Life away (which God forbid) would aptly ſerve both for the Delivery of her Perſon, and Releaſe of the* Bonds *and* Hoſtages *that ſhould be given for Cautions in that Behalfe: which being unhappily atchieved, and to our irreparable Loſſe, who ſhoulde ſue the* Bonds, *or deteine the* Hoſtages? *or being detained, what Proportion was there in* Bonds *or* Hoſtages *whatſoever, to countervaile the Value of ſo precious and ineſtimable a Jewel, as her Majeſtie is to this Realme, and to us all?*

But ſhe will ſolemnly vowe and take an Othe, that ſhe will not attempt any Thing to the Hurt of her Majeſties Perſon: Shee hath already ſundry Times falſified her Worde, her Writing and her Othe, and holdeth it for an Article of Religion, That Faith is not to be holden with Heretikes, *of which ſort ſhee accompteth your Majeſtie, and all the Profeſſors of the Goſpel to be: And*

therefore

therefore have we litle Reason to trust her in that, wherof shee maketh so small a Conscience.

As for Banishment, *that were a Step* à malo in peius *to set her at Libertie: a Thing so greatly desired and thirsted for by her Adherents, and by some Princes her Allies, who sought her Enlargement chiefly, to make her a Head to be set up against her Majesty, in Time of Invasion.*

To the which were added some fewe Reasons, collected out of her owne Letters and the Confession of Babington, *her Instrument and chiefe Conspiratour: by which appeared, howe her owne Conscience bewrayed what might justly fal upon her, in Case any of her intended Desseignements came to light: that shee might haply bee shut up in some more close and straite Prison, as the* Towre of London, *if there befell her no worse Thing: and in that she directed* Babington, *in Case he failed in the Action of her Delivery, that he should nevertheless proceede in Residue, which was the Death of her Majestie: who also confessed, that upon Assurance of her Majesties Death, or the Arrivall of Strangers, he intended to proclaime the Queene of* Scots, *and made no doubt of the desired Successe: and therefore, her Majesties Death being so earnestly sought, for Advancement of this Competitor, her Highnes could not remaine in Quietnes or Securitie, if the* Scottish *Queene should longer continue her Life.*

The Second Answere made by the Queenes Majestie, delivered by her owne Mouth, to the Second Speeche, uttered in the Names of the Lords and Commons of the Parliament.

FUL *grievous is the Way, whose going on and end, breede Comber for the Hire of a laborious Journey.*

I have strived more this Day then ever in my Life, whether I shoulde speake, or use Silence. If I speake and not complaine, I shal dissemble: if I holde my Peace, your Labour taken were full vayne. For mee to make my Mone, were strange and rare: for I suppose you shal finde fewe, that for their owne Particular, will comber you with such a Care. Yet such I protest hath bene my greedy Desire and hungrie Will, that of your Consultation might have fallen out some other Meanes to woorke my Safetie joyned with your Assurance, (then that for which you are become such earnest Sutors) as I protest, I must needes use Complaint, though not of you, but unto you, and of the Cause: for that I do perceive by your Advises, Prayers, and Desires, there falleth out this Accident, that *Onely my Injurers Bane, must be my Lifes Suertie.*

But if any there live so wicked of Nature, to suppose, that I prolonged this Time onely, *pro forma*, to the Intent to make a Shew of Clemencie, thereby to set my Prayses to the Wyerdrawers to lengthen them the more: they doe me so great a Wrong, as they can hardly recompence. Or if any Person there be, that thinke or imagine, that the least vayneglorious Thought hath drawen mee further herein, they doe me as open Injurie as ever was done to any living Creature, as he that is the Maker of all Thoughtes, know-

eth

eth beſt to be true. Or if there bee any, that thinke, that the Lords appoynted in Commiſſion durſt do no other, as fearing thereby to diſpleaſe, or els to be ſuſpected to be of a contrary Opinion to my Safetie, they doe but heape upon me injurious Conceites. For either thoſe put in Truſt by me to ſupplie my Place, have not performed their Dueties towards me: or els they have ſignified unto you all, that my Deſire was, that every one ſhould do according to his Conſcience, and in the Courſe of his Proceedings ſhould enjoy both Freedome of Voyce and Libertie of Opinion: and what they would not openly declare, they might privately to my ſelfe have revealed. It was of a willing Minde and great Deſire I had, that ſome other Means might be found out, wherein I ſhould have taken more Comfort, then in any other Thing under the Sunne. And ſince nowe it is reſolved, that my Suretie cannot bee eſtabliſhed without a Princeſſe Ende, I have juſt Cauſe to complaine, that I, who have in my Time pardoned ſo many Rebels, winked at ſo many Treaſons, and either not produced them, or altogether ſlipt them over with Silence, ſhoulde nowe be forced to this Proceeding, againſt ſuch a Perſon. I have beſides, during my Reigne, ſeene and heard many opprobrious Bookes and Pamphlets againſt me, my Realme and State, accuſing me to be a Tyrant: I thanke them for their Almes: I beleeve, therein their Meaning was to tell me Newes, and Newes it is to me in Deede: I would it were as ſtrange to heare of their Impietie. What will they not now ſay, when it ſhalbe ſpread, That for the Safety of her Life, a Mayden Queene could be content to ſpill the Blood, even of her owne Kinſewoman? I may therfore ful wel complaine, that any Man ſhould thinke mee given to Crueltie, whereof I am ſo guiltleſſe and innocent, as I ſhoulde ſlaunder God, if I ſhould ſay he gave me ſo vile a Mind: yea, I proteſt, I am ſo farre from it, that for mine owne Life I would not touche her: neither hath my Care bene ſo much bent howe to prolong mine, as how to preſerve both, which I am right ſory is made ſo hard, yea, ſo impoſſible.

I am not ſo voide of Judgement, as not to ſee mine owne Perill: nor yet ſo ignorant, as not to knowe it were in Nature a fooliſh Courſe, to cheriſh a Sworde to cutte mine owne Throate: nor ſo careleſſe, as not to weigh that my Life dayly is in Hazard: but this I do conſider, that many a Man would put his Life in Daunger for the Safegarde of a King, I doe not ſay that ſo will I: but I pray you thinke, that I have thought upon it.

But ſith ſo many have both written and ſpoken againſt mee, I pray you give me leave to ſay ſomewhat for my ſelfe, and before you returne to your Countries, let you know, for what a one you have paſſed ſo careful Thoughts. Wherin, as I thinke my ſelfe infinitely beholding unto you al, that ſeeke to preſerve my Life by al the Meanes you may: ſo I proteſt unto you, that there liveth no Prince, that ever ſhall be more mindefull to requite ſo good Deſertes. And as I perceyve you have kept your olde Wonts, in a general ſeeking of the lengthning of my Dayes: ſo am I ſure that I ſhall never requite it, unles I had as many Lives as you all: but for ever I will acknowledge it, while there is any Breath left mee. Although I may not juſtifie, but may juſtly condemne my ſundry Faults and Sinnes to God: yet for my Care in this Government, let me acquaynt you with my Intents.

When firſt I tooke the Scepter, my Title made me not forget the Giver: and therefore began, as it became me, with ſuch Religion, as both I was borne in, bred in, and I truſt ſhal die in. Although I was not ſo ſimple, as not to know what Danger and Perill ſo great an Alteration might procure me: howe many great Princes of the contrary Opinion woulde attempt all they might againſt me: and generally, what Enimitie I ſhould breede unto my ſelfe: which all I regarded not, knowing that he, for whoſe Sake I did it, might, and would defend me. For which it is, that ever ſince I have bene ſo daungerouſly proſecuted, as I rather marvaile that I am, then muſe that I ſhould not be: if it were not Gods Holy Hand that continueth me, beyond all other Expectation.

Then entred I further into the Schoole of Experience, bethinking what it fitted a King to do: and there I ſaw, he ſcant was wel furniſhed, if either he lacked Juſtice, Temperance, Magnanimitie, or Judgement. As for the two latter, I will not boaſte, my Sexe doeth not permit it: But for the two firſt, this dare I ſay, Amongſt my Subjects I never knew a Difference of Perſon, where right was one: Nor never to my Knowledge preferred for Favour, whome I thought not fit for worth: Nor bent my Eares to credite a Tale that firſt was tolde me: Nor was ſo raſh, to corrupt my Judgement with my Cenſure, before I heard the Cauſe. I will not ſay, but many Reports might fortune be brought mee by ſuch as might heare the Caſe, whoſe Partialitie might marre ſometime the Matter: For wee Princes may not heare all our ſelves. But this dare I boldly affirme, my Verdit went ever with the Trueth of my Knowledge. As ful well wiſhed *Alcibiades* his Friende, that hee ſhould not give any Anſwere, till he had recited the Letters of the Alphabet: ſo have I not uſed over ſudden Reſolutions, in Matters that have touched me full neere: you will ſay that with me, I thinke.

And therefore as touching your Counſels and Conſultations, I conceive them to bee wiſe, honeſt, and conſcionable: ſo provident and careful for the Safetie of my Life (which I wiſh no longer then may be for your good) that though I never can yeeld you of Recompence your Due: yet ſhall I endevour my ſelfe to give you Cauſe, to thinke your good Wil not ill beſtowed, and ſtrive to make my ſelfe worthy for ſuch Subjects.

And now for your Petition, I ſhal pray you for this preſent, to content your ſelves with an Anſwere without Anſwere: Your Judgement I condemne not, neither do I miſtake your Reaſons, but pray you to accept my Thankfulneſſe, excuſe my Doubtfulneſſe, and take in good Part my Anſwere anſwereleſſe: wherein I attribute not ſo much to mine owne Judgement, but that I thinke many particular Perſons may go before me, though by my Degree I go before them. Therefore if I ſhould ſay, I would not doe what you requeſt, it might peradventure be more then I thought: and to ſay I would do it, might perhaps breed Perill of that you Labour to preſerve, being more then in your owne Wiſdomes and Diſcretions would ſeeme convenient, Circumſtances of Place and Time being duely conſidered.

The HOLY BULL, and CRUSADO of *ROME*: Firſt publiſhed by the Holy Father GREGORY XIII. and afterwards renewed and ratified by SIXTUS V. for all thoſe which deſire full Pardon and Indulgence of their Sinnes: and that for a litle Money, to weete, for two *Spaniſh* Realls, *viz.* Thirteen Pence.

Very plainely ſet forth, and compared with the Teſtimony of the Holy Scriptures, to the great Benefite and Profite of all good Chriſtians.

2 Pet. 2. *verſ.* 18. *For when they ſpeake the great ſwelling Woords of Vanity, they entiſe through Luſts, with the Bayte of Wantonneſſe of the Fleſhe, them that were cleane eſcaped from them, which are wrapped in Errour: while they promiſe them Liberty, whereof they themſelves are the Bond Servaunts of Corruption.*

Imprinted firſt by *Richard Schilders*, Printer to the States of *Sealand:* With Conſent of the States. Given at *Middleborrowe*, the xii. of *September* 1588.

Subſcribed, Ch. Roels.

And reprinted at *London* by *John Wolfe*, dwelling in the *Stationers Hall.* 1588.

The POPE's BULL, tranſlated out of *Spaniſh*, with the Anſwere thereunto out of the Holy Scriptures.

THE *(a)* Bull of the *(b)* holy *(c)* Croſſe newly graunted by our moſt holy Father *Gregory* the Thirteenth, and enlarged with many and very great *(d)* Graces, Pardons, Faculties, and Stations for all the

(a) Bulla, in Lattin ſignifieth a Bubble, which riſeth on the Water, or that which Children doe make with Soape and Water in a Muſſel Shell, and therefore the Lord God by his juſte Judgment hath ordained that this ſhould be termed a Bulle, to the End all Men may be advertiſed, what Benefite is to be expected thereof, unleſſe Men would after the *Spaniſh* Manner call it *Burla*, which is a Jeſte or Mockerie, becauſe they herewith do openly deride and jeſte with God and all the World.

(b) That is called holy, which is appropriated unto God, and ſeperated from all Uncleanneſſe of the Worlde. Now what Holineſſe is contained in the Bulle, all Men may perceive which ſhall examine the ſame with the Word of God.

(c) The Croſſe in Times paſt hath been eſteemed as we eſteeme the Gallowes, and therefore all Manner of Sufferance, Oppreſſion, Shame and Ignomie of the Worlde is called a Croſſe. Nowe whether this be called a Croſſe, becauſe they herewith doe perſecute and deſtroy the poore Members of Chriſt, each one may judge.

(d) By what Authoritie he preſumeth to have Power to graunt theſe Pardons, Indulgences and Advantages, ſhalbe more at large hereafter declared.

Citizens, Inhabitants, and all thoſe which remaine in this Realme of *(e) Spaine* and Ilandes thereabout, of *Sicilia* and *Sardinia*, for the Aide and Aſſiſtance of the *(f)* Wars againſt the *(g)* Faithleſſe and Heretiques *(h)* the Enemies of our holy Fayth and Chriſtian *(i)* Religion, which Bulle is for the *(k)* Sermon of the Yeare *(l)* 1585.

(e) He doeth very well in chuſing thoſe Countries ſpecially for the Utterance and Sale of his Bulles from whence the Goſpell is moſt of all excluded, and where the Truth of the Goſpell is leaſt knowen, fearing leaſt otherwiſe he might be diſcovered and brought to Light.

(f) Here Men may perceive what Pronouncers of Peace and Unitie theſe holy Fathers be, which doe ſell their Bulles for the Maintenance of Warre.

(g) He calleth all thoſe Infidels and Heretikes, which doe acknowledge Chriſt Jeſu onely to be their Mediatour, Saviour, Interceſſour, High Prieſt, Bridegrome, and ſupreme Head of the Church of God, and which doe receive the holy Scriptures of the Prophets and Apoſtles, for the onely Foundation of the perfect Chriſtian Doctrine without reſpecting the Pope of *Rome* in this Behalfe.

(h) That is to ſay, Enemies of the Romiſh Atheiſme, and Antichriſticall blaſpheming of God, wherby they induce Men to beleeve that they are Gods here on Earth, and Vicars of the living God, for to command and prohibite what pleaſeth them: Deſiring moreover that none of the common People ſhould knowe what he beleeveth: But all Men muſt beleeve that which our Mother the holy Church with the Rablement of Munkes and Fryars doe beleeve, without knowing what it is.

(i) A Religion is properly a Service of God, Nowe who they bee which bee Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion: Againe, which onely call upon God in Spirit and Truth, through the onely Mediatour Jeſu Chriſt, or thoſe which beſide the livihg God doe in their Neede, and for their Help invoke or call upon all Maner of deceaſed Creatures, and doe ſerve the Lord not in Spirit and Truth, but in externall Images and Pictures of carved Wood and Stones, and with externall Mumblings and Ceremonies, which they themſelves underſtand not: Theſe Chriſt moſt plainly ſetteth downe in the Doctrine which he hath left unto us, by the Mouth and Penne of his Apoſtles and Diſciples.

(k) Here we ſee howe that in ſteede of Preaching the Word of God, and to inſtruct the People of Gods Mercie obtained in the Blood of Chriſt, they doe ruſh in with their Bulle. Nowe whether the ſame doe agree with the Doctrine and Example of the Apoſtles, their Epiſtle written to the Church of Chriſt (which they had inſtructed with the Preaching of the Worde) doe proove, and ſpecially *Rom.* 10 *verſ.* 14, 15, 16, 17.

And marke when Chriſt ſendeth foorth his Apoſtles, whether he did commande them to thruſt Buls into the Handes of the People in ſteede of Sermons. *Math.* 28. *verſ.* 19. *Mark* 16. *verſ.* 15.

(l) Conſider that this Preparation and League for the extirping and rooting out of all true Chriſtians, hath already been practiſing three Yeares. But the Lorde God can ſuddenly let his Winde blowe over them, even as he did over the People of *Pharao*. *Exod.* 15.

The

(a) THE Title, Name and Dignitie, which was given to King *David*, by reaſon of the great good Succeſſe, which God vouchſafed to graunt unto him, is declared unto us by the holy Scriptures in the firſt Booke of the Kings. Wherunto King *Saul* (through the Wil of God) did greatly exhorte him, promiſing unto him (for Rewarde of the Victories which hee hoped for by his Meanes) his eldeſt Daughter in Marriage, ſaying unto him, behave thy ſelfe like a valiant and vertuous Man, and fight the Battaile of the Lord, by Vertue of which Commiſſion (and truſting on the Helpe of God) hee obtained the Victorie againſt the *Amalechites* and their Adherentes: amongſt the which was greatly renowned and extolled the Revenge which he tooke upon *Siceleg*, which was a famous Cittie, which *Achis* the King of *Beth* delivered unto him. Where he reſtored the great Booties of Women and Children, certayne Dayes before taken Captives of the ſame Towne, which had bene burned by the *Amalekites:* for the which the King *David* was greatly extolled and praiſed, and the People greatly holpen and protected under the Defence of *David*, and through the Mercie and Providence of God, who had elected him for that Service. In Compariſon whereof our moſt holy Father *Gregorie* the Thirteenth, hath not onely *(b)* given the Name or Title of Defendour of the People of God unto the Majeſtie of the King *Don Philip* our Lord, but for the greater Zeale he hath to the Increaſe and Preſervation of the *(c)* holy Catholique Faith, conſidering the great Charges which

(a) This Preface would have ſerved to verie great Purpoſe, if *David* had borne Armes againſt thoſe which onely tooke their Refuge to God in Spirit and Truth, and not againſt the *Amalekites* and other faithleſſe Idolaters, which had their Churches full of dumbe Idols and wodden Saintes, and did by them make all their Prayers to God, and did take all maner of deceaſſed Perſons (being their *Baals*, that is, Saintes) for their Interceſſours and Protectours, even as this holy Father likewiſe doth, howbeit hee will not much deceive the People, for he doth ſufficiently manifeſt in the firſt Attempt what he pretendeth, comparing himſelfe to *Saule*, which gave *David* a good Commiſſion and Chardge to fight the Battaile of the Lord: but whiles hee all his Life Time did nothing els but murther the faythfull Servaunts and Prophets of the Lord, yea and perſecuted *David* himſelf with all his vertuous Adherentes, which repoſed their Truſt on Gods Promiſes, fearing leaſt he ſhould loſe his Kingdome: even ſo this holy Father doth preferre the Battaile of the Lorde, but whiles hee ſeeketh to murther and burne the Prophets and faithfull Servants of the Lorde, and wholy to roote out the true *David*, Chriſt Jeſu, with all thoſe which onely depende on him, and acknowledge him to be the Head and King of the Catholike Church, fearing leaſt his Kingdom of this World might decay, and his Belly-cheere decreaſe.

(b) Here you ſee that he doth appropriate to himſelf that which onely appertaineth unto God, for through him alone Kings do rule, and the Antichriſt doeth here place himſelfe in Gods Throne, attributing to himſelfe the Honour due to GOD, as though he might inſtitute Kings and Protectors of the People of God: which hee ſhall never proove to have beene doone, or purpoſed by the Apoſtles.

(c) The holy Catholike Fayth is here called the Extirpation of the Knowledge of the Truth of the Goſpel, and of the Salvation which we have obtayned in Chriſt. For the Pope doeth ſpecially and above all Things maintaine that the common People ought not to know any particular

which daily arise for the common Defence of *(d)* Christendome, continually fighting the *(e)* Battailes of the Lord, *(f)* purging the Sea from the Incursions and Piracies which the Infidels and Heretikes committe, being very *(g)* *Amalekites*, the same Pope for the Aide and Succour of so rightfull Defence, opening the *(h)* Treasures of the Church, hath given unto him, and newe prolonged the *(i)* Bulle of the holy Crosse, to the Ende that all *(k)* faythfull Christians, which shall accept thereof and give *(l)* the Nomber

ticular Things thereof, but to referre them simply to their Mother the holy Church, which is the Saying of the Monkes and Fryars and other beastly Persons, which doe instruct the People with dumbe Idols, with Crosses, with Garlands, with hallowed *Agnus Dei*, and like Bables, to the Ende to keepe them still in their childish Ignoraunce and Catholike, that is to say, generall Simplicitie. And this holy simple Catholike Faith, their Divines and Doctors doe call *Fides implicita*, that is a Beleefe foulded together, and is like to a Cloth which is foulded, so that no Man may looke within it: which Beleefe the King of *Spayne* through an indirect or blinde Zeale these many Yeares hath sought to defende and protecte with Fyer and Sworde, to the Spoyle of his *Lowe Countries*, yea with Hazarde of his Realmes and Dominions, extirping all those which would plant the true Christian Faith, through the Light of the Gospel, to the End to sever the Truth from Lyes.

(d) Christendome doeth he here terme the Seate of *Rome*, that is, all those which doe acknowledge the Pope for Head, Brydegrome, High Priest, and Father of the Church: For whosoever will onely acknowledge Christ for the same, and not the Pope, he here is accompted among the Turkes and faithlesse Heretikes. Therefore for as much as there may not be two Christes nor two Heads of the Church, but the one must be Christ, and the other Antichrist, you shall not take Christendome in this Place for any other Thing, but the Trayne of the second Christ, who vaunteth himselfe to be Christ, but is very Antechrist in Deede.

(e) You must here take the Battailes of the Lorde, according to the Comparison of *Saul*, (which he himselfe heretofore hath set downe) when he persecuted *David*, and murthered and burned the Prophets and High Priest of *Nobe*, *viz.* the Battailes of our Lord the Pope, for to mainteine his Kitchin well furnished.

(f) That is to say, in making a great and fearefull Army for to overrunne the Countries and Realmes of other Princes, and to roote out all those even to the very Children and Women, which will not acknowledge the Pope to be the Vicar here, and robbe Christ of his Honor.

(g) Who be the *Amalekites*, is here before set downe.

(h) Behold here doth this Antichrist attribute to himselfe the Power to devide or imparte according to his beastly unsatiable Desire to those which mayntaine his Potage pot, the Grace which the Sonne of God by his precious Bloud hath obtained for those which beleeve in him, and call upon him, and doe acknowledge him to be the Head of the Church of God.

(i) Turne to the first *(a)* and *(b)*.

(k) Which signifieth poore ignorant Men, which doe suffer themselves to be led like to a Beare with a Ring in the Nose, not knowing what they beleeve, no more then Beastes: but reposing them in that Behalfe on the holy Father the Pope, and their Mother the Catholike or chief Beast.

(l) This is the whyte they shoot at, to wit, to get Money, and to make Warre therewith. Nowe let each one that hath Eyes see, and he that hath Eares for to heare let him heare, whether this bee the Voyce of *Peter* (whose Successor and Vicar this holy Father vaunteth to be) who sayd to *Simon Magus* (which offered him Money) thy Money perishe with thee, because thou thinkest that the Favour or Grace of God may be obtained with Money. *Act.* 8. *vers.* 20.

of

of *(m)* Almes hereunder declared, doe receive the *(n)* Graces and Abſolutions and Pardons hereafter following.

Inprimis hee doeth give unto all faithfull Chriſtians of theſe Realmes and Dominions dwelling, being reſident in the ſame, and to thoſe which ſhall come there which bee *(o)* inflamed with the Zeale of the Defence and Increaſe of the Holy Catholike Faith, and which ſhall take his Part for to ſerve *(p)* in the Wars under the Power and with the Men which his Majeſtie ſendeth, for the Space of one Yeare for to fight againſt the *(q) Turke*, or to do any other Service, or perſonall Helpe under the aforeſaid Armie, remaining under the ſame untill the End of the aforeſaid Yeare, *(r)* the full Pardon and Forgiveneſſe

(m) This Word Almes is derived of a Greeke Worde *Eleemoſyna*, which properly ſignifieth Compaſſion and Pitie. And behold here the Holineſſe of this Father doeth eſteeme it a Deede of great Charitie, to give Money for to ſpill Chriſtians Bloud, and doth ſo ſhamefully pervert every Thing, that he turneth Charitie into cruell Bloudſheeding.

(n) According to that which before we have repeated of *Simon Magus*, who thought that the Grace of God was to be ſolde for Money, it may playnely appeare that this Marchant is a Succeſſor not of *Simon Peter*, but of *Simon Magus*, whoſe Workes he evidently followeth.

(o) This is ſufficiently ſet downe before.

(p) This is the Trompet of this holy Apoſtle: Chriſt ſayeth to his Apoſtles, I give you my Peace, I leave you my Peace: *Peter* writeth in the Beginning of his Epiſtle, Grace and Peace be multiplied unto you: And again in the End, Peace be with you al which are in Chriſt Jeſus. *Paule* writing of the Apoſtles and their Vocation, ſayeth: howe beautifull are the Feete of them which bring glad Tidings of Peace, *Rom.* 10. 15. But this brave Succeſſor of *Peter* and *Paul*, doeth here founde his Trompet for to induce all the Worlde to Warres, under the Armie of the King of *Spayne*, for to take in, and overrunne by Force, and Murther, the Realmes of other Princes: And for that Effect he doeth ſell his Bulles, Graces, Pardons, *&c.* and doeth drawe the poor ſilly Soules out of his Purgatorie for to helpe thereunto.

(q) This Bull was firſt graunted againſt the *Turke:* For whereas the Apoſtles were wont to convert the Infidels with preaching of the Goſpell, and Examples of Life, the Romiſh Apoſtles will doe the ſame with the Sworde, murthering all thoſe which knewe nothing of the Chriſtian Religion. But they did yet cloake this with the Name and Shewe of a Zeale which they had of the Honor of Chriſt againſt the *Turkes*. But now this Apoſtle hath ſo well inchaunted the King of *Spaine*, that he hath made a Truce or League with the *Turke*, being an Originall Enemy of Chriſt, to the End to aſſayle with all his Power and Might, thoſe which onely call upon Chriſt and God the Father in his Name, and which doe acknowledge none els for the Head, Bridegrome, High Prieſt, Mediator and Peace Maker of the Church of God: For this doeth much more greeve this holy Father, then the Infidelitie of the *Turke:* For he thinketh that by this his Kingdome muſt decay, ſeeing that the Kingdome of Chriſt only thereby is erected, and therfore he hath now changed the Bulles which were made againſt the *Turke*, and made them againſt the poore Members of Chriſt, to the End utterly to extyrpe and roote them out. And in the meane Time, the *Turke* hath Time and Meanes on the other Syde, given him wholy to ſubvert Chriſtendome. And this is the Zeale wherewith theſe holy Fathers are ſo inflamed.

(r) Here we ſee plainely how this Antichriſt maketh an open Jeſt of the Forgivenes of Sinnes, which the Sonne of God with ſo deere a Price, to witte with his Death and Bloodſheeding, hath obtained for us. For he here with his bloudy Trompet

neſſe of all their Sinnes, ſo that they do hartely *(s)* repent and be ſorowfull for them, and do by Mouth make Confeſſion of the ſame, or if they cannot confeſſe themſelves, that they doe with Hart deſire to do the ſame, *(t)* even as they are accuſtomed to give the ſame Pardon to thoſe which goe to helpe to recover the holy Lande, and in the Yeare *(u) Jubileo.* And it is to be underſtoode

Trompet doth pronounce this Remiſſion, not unto thoſe which with an humble Hart (taking their Refuge to Chriſt) doe repoſe all their Truſt and Confidence upon his Satisfaction and Interceſſion betweene God and Man: but to thoſe which either do ſpill Chriſtian Bloud, or give Money to the ſame Effect. And ſecondly, where as he with all his Doctors and Divines, openly doth affirme that the Remiſſion and Pardon of Sinnes, which Chriſt hath obtained for us, can take away but onely the Offence, and not the deſerved Puniſhment or Payne of Sinnes committed after the Baptiſme: for which Effect they have inſtituted their invented Purgatorie, to the Ende there to pay the ſayd Puniſhment and Penaltie: So likewiſe he is not aſhamed to graunt his Pardon ſo amply, that therewith not onely the Offence, but alſo the deſerved Puniſhment is wholy taken away, even as he hereunder in the Forme of an Abſolution plainly expreſſeth: Yea, vaunteth the ſame to be of ſuch Force, that it draweth the Soules of others out of Purgatorie: ſo that he doeth eſteeme his Bulles more excellent and worthier, then the moſt precious Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of the Sonne of God, which according to their Report, is not of ſuch Force that it can deliver us from the Paines of Purgatorie. Whether theſe be not the moſt horrible Blaſphemies, which this Beaſt uttereth againſt God his Name and Tabernacle, whereof *John* in his *Revelations*, 13. *ver.* 6. doeth ſpeake, every vertuous Perſon eaſely may perceive.

(s) This harty Penitence is nothing els but a falſe Color, wherwith this Whore doeth paynte and hyde her uncleane Face. For they doe publikely teache, that no Forgiveneſſe of Sinnes can be obtayned through the Merites of Chriſt, how penitent ſoever Men be for their Sinnes, unleſſe Man himſelfe do ſatisfie for the ſame: And this Satisfaction doe they inferre to the mumbling of *Pater Noſters*, and *Ave Maries*, being babled out in Latin, to Pilgrimages, to Fryars Weedes, to erecting of Cloyſters and other like, which they themſelves without Warrant out of the Word of God have invented, and that which is not cleane ſwept away therewith, they reſerve for Purgatorie, to the Ende to be purged there with Dirges, and other Babels, which they for Mony Sake have invented, in ſteede of the Bloodſheeding of Jeſus Chriſt, ſo that it is manifeſt that a harty Penitence is nothing worth with them, but onely to ſet a Colour on their ſubtill Satisfaction.

(t) It is very well to be credited that the one Pardon is as good as the other, for they be both forged in the Forge of Lyes.

(u) Jubileus is derived from a Hebrew Word, which doth ſignifie a Trompet, wherewith the Yeare of *Jubilee* was declared to thoſe of the Olde Teſtament: For beſides the Sabaoth which God had commanded to be ſanctified on the ſeventh Day of the Weeke, ſo likewiſe he would that Men ſhould every ſeaven Yeares keepe a Feaſte, to let the Country reſt for a Remembraunce of the miraculous Delivery, whereby the Children of *Iſrael* were delivered out of the Tyrannie of *Pharao*, and Bondage of *Egyyt*, by the which was prefigured the ſpiritual and perpetuall Delivery, which ſhould happen through Chriſt: But eſpecially after that the ſeaven Times ſeaven, which is fourty nine Yeares, were expyred, God would that they ſhould withall Thankefulnes keepe holy the next Yeare following being the fiftie Yeare, reſting wholly in the Lord, and giving Libertie to all the *Iſraelite* Slaves, and letting the Countrey or Lande reſte that whole Yeare, untill ſuch Tyme that the ſpirituall

underſtoode that they ſhall receive the like Pardon, which before the Ende of the Diſpatch ſhall happen to *(w)* dye on the Way going towardes the ſaide Forces, or being among the ſame. Item they alſo which by reaſon of Sicknes or other lawefull Buſines which unto them ſhall happen, ſhall be conſtrained to depart out of the Armie. And likewiſe doeth give the ſaid Pardon to thoſe the which (howbeit they ſhall not goe together in Perſon) ſhall nevertheleſſe *(x)* ſend other thether in their Stede and Place, and that in Manner following, that if he which ſo ſhall ſende any other, were a *(y)* Cardinall, a Primate or Patriarke, a Biſhop, the Sonne of a King, Prince, Duke, Marques or Earle, that he ſende ſo many Perſons as he commodiouſly may, to the Nomber of eight, or if he cannot ſende ſo many, that he at the leaſt doe ſende foure. And all other Perſons of what Condition ſoever they be, temporall or eccleſiaſticall, ſhall every of them ſende his Man, unles they were ſo poore that they could not doe the ſame, in which Caſe two, three or

ſpirituall Deliverie in Chriſt (which thereby is prefigured) ſhould be perfourmed: for then by the comming of Chriſt (the very and perfect Fulnes of all ſuch Prefigurations) that Ceremonie ſhould ceaſe, and the right *Jubileus* in the Spirit and Trueth of all faythfull Chriſtians ſhould be kept. But theſe Romiſh Fathers, which in apiſh ſort have againe newe brought up all the Jewiſh Ceremonies (which Chriſt had aboliſhed) have in ſteede of that *Jubileus* induced a very Stage Playe, commaunding that Men not onely everie fiftie, but everie five and twentie Yeares, ſhould come and buye Bulles and Pardons at *Rome*, where they with a golden Croſſe doe knocke upon a hollowe Walle, crying *Aperite portas Principes veſtras?* And the ſame Walle being broken open from without, al they which do creepe through that Hole which they call the golden Gate, in putting a Peece of Money in the Boxe, they doe thereby deſerve Pardon of all their Sinnes, and doe releaſe a great many Souls out of Purgatorie, which is an excellent Way to get Money. And now this Bulman doth promiſe us here the very ſame Pardons, which there are deſerved, if we will here give Mony for to perſecute and deſtroy all thoſe which will not acknowledge him for chief Pope. Now whether this do agree with the Learning of *Peter* and *Paule*, and whether the ſame hath any Part with the Remiſſion of Sinnes which Chriſt hath obtained for us with his Death and Paſſion, each one may judge which is not berefte of his Wittes.

(w) Conſider that they which ſhall dye before this Diſpatche, ſhall receive greater Benefit of their Bulles, if they can cary the ſame whole and uncanceled with Seale and Writing into Purgatorie. For *Lucifer* who no doubt, is a great Friend to the Pope of *Rome*, and would doe much for him, will doubtles let their Soules goe out of his Clawes, if they can ſhewe him theſe Bulles, being ſo ſolde.

(x) Paul ſaith that every one ſhal *Gal.* 6. 5. And that eache one ſhall give Accompt unto God for him ſelfe, *Rom.* 14. 12. and receive according to his owne Works, be they good or bad, *Rom.* 2. 6. and 2 *Cor.* 5. 10. But this Romiſh Apoſtle which alloweth, that one do heare a Maſſe for an other, and that one giving a Peece of Money to the Prieſt, may deliver the Soule of an other out of Purgatorie. He can alſo give Licence that one may goe for an other in this holy Warre, and being contributorie thereunto, alſo to enjoy the Pardon for an other. So that he get Money, he careth not whether he burne in Purgatorie or that he get out of the ſame.

(y) Whether this Exception of Perſons doe in any Manner agree with the Trueth of the Goſpell, or the Doctrine of *Peter* and *Paule*, reade *Acts* the 10. *Chapter*, *Vers* 34. 35. *Rom.* 3. *Vers* 27. and 10. *Vers* 12. Item 1 *Cor.* 1. *Ver.* 26. 27. 1 *Cor.* 11. *Vers* 22. *Coll.* 3. *Vers* 11. *James* 2.

foure of them together, ſhall ſende a Souldiour *(z)* contributing therin every of them to their Power.

Item the Frieries or Deanes of Churches and Cloiſters of * religious Perſons, eyther Men or Women, although they were of the begging Order, which for every ten Perſons of ſuch Deanes, Fryers, and Cloiſters, ſhall ſende one Souldiour, having firſt communicated and concluded the ſame for their Fryerie or Deanrie, ſhall injoy the ſame Pardon, which Pardon they which ſo ſhall be ſent ſhall alſo enjoye if they be poore.

Item the temporall Prieſtes, which with Conſent of their Ordinarie, and the *Regulars* of their Superiour, ſhall come and preach the Worde of God, or do any other vertuous Church Service, which they ſhal be permitted to doe in the ſayd Army, and without incurring Irregularitie, and that they in the meane-whyle ſhall nevertheleſſe injoye their Benefices by ſufficient Deputies, not being any Paſtors, or Vicars or Curates of Soules, for ſuch may not goe without Conſent of his Holines. And the Souldiours which ſhal ſubmitte them in theſe Warres, *(a)* ſhall not be bound to the faſting Dayes, although they by Promiſe or Charge of the Church, were bounde thereunto, if they themſelves were in the Warres. Item his *(b)* Holines doeth permit all the Perſons before ſpecified, and thoſe which ſhall neither goe nor ſende thether, ſo that they liberally doe *(c)* contribute of their Goods, and helpe to this holy Worke with their Almes hereunder written, that they during the ſaide Yeare, which beginneth from the Day of the publiſhing of this Bull, may injoy in all Places all the Graces and Faculties in this Bulle conteined, to wit, that they at the Time of *(d)* apoſtolical or ordinarie Prohibition, may heare Maſſes in the Churches or Cloyſters, or in the *(e)* particular Places of Prayers

(z) It is all for to make this Contribution, which doeth as well agree with the Apoſtles Vocation, as Fyer with Water, and Light with Darkeneſſe.

* The Fryers, Monkes, Nonnes, and other ſpirituall Perſons, which are exempt from all temporall Charge, may not here goe free. For when to ſpill the Bloud of the Chriſtians, and perſecute thoſe which will onely call upon the Name of Chriſt Jeſus, neither Cowler, Coffe nor Coape avayleth, all muſt licke of one Sauce: Yea, the holy ſpirituall Perſons are the firſt and chiefeſt which herein muſt ſhew their Zeale, for it toucheth them the neareſt, and howſoever the Dice runne, the Pope muſt keepe his Crowne on his Head.

(a) Marke howe this holy Father doth take upon him Power to rule over the Conſcience, and to bynde the ſame to his Faſtes, or to diſcharge it thereof, as pleaſeth him: thinke you whether that bee not to place him ſelfe in God's Seate.

(b) This is alſo the very Title and Name of God, who in all Places is called the Holy One of *Iſrael*, as with his own Name. But this heathenly Father, which exalteth himſelfe above all that which God is called by, doeth attribute to himſelfe the Title of the moſt holy, and of Holineſſe it ſelfe.

(c) Of this Contribution, there is ſufficient Rehearſall before: doe but onely marke that they will, that Men ſhall liberally contribute, for a litle may not ſuffiſe ſuch an unſatiable Gulfe.

(d) That theſe Interdictions or Prohibitions may bee eſteemed for Apoſtolicall, we will ſo beleeve, when they ſhall ſhew us out of the holy Scriptures, that the Apoſtles did ever defend to call uppon God in all Places.

(e) Whether this do agree with the Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, who ſayeth that the Father will not be worſhipped, neither upon

Prayers (deſcribed and viſited by the Ordinary) ſaying Maſſes, or other godly Offices, if they be Prieſts, by their owne Perſons, or els cauſe the ſame to be done by others in their Preſence, and of their Familie and Friends or Kinsfolke, and to receive the holy Sacrament of the Lordes Supper, and all other Sacraments, except on Eaſter Day, although it were at the Time when the ſame *(f)* were prohibited, ſo that they be not Cauſe of ſuch Prohibition, or that it have not bene their Fault that ſuch Prohibition hath not bene called on, and conditionally that they alwayes when they imploy ſuch Places of Prayers for the Effect aforeſaid, doe praye and make their Praier, every one according to his Devotion, for the Preſervation of the League of the Chriſtian Princes, and Victorie *(g)* againſt the Infidels.

Item doeth permitte that at the Time of Interdiction the Bodies of the Dead, may be buried in *(h)* hallowed Sepulchres with meane *(i)* Pompe of Buriall.

Item doeth permitte to all Perſons which ſhal accept of this Bul, that they during the ſaid Yeare, may with the Advice and Conſent of both the Doctours of Soule and Bodie, eate Fleſh in the Lent and on other faſting Dayes, and other *(k)* prohibited Dayes, during the ſaid whole Yeare. And that they alſo may freely at their Pleaſure *(l)* eate Egges and other Meate, in ſuch Maner that thoſe which ſhall eate no Fleſh, obſerving in the reſt the Maner of the uſual eccleſiaſticall Faſting Dayes, ſhalbe accompted as having obſerved and kept the aforeſaid *(m)* Faſting. And in this Permiſſion of eating of

upon one Hill, nor at *Hieruſalem*, nor in one Place rather then in an other, but in all Places, in Spirit and Truth. Reade *John* 4. *vers* 21. 23. and 1 *Tim.* 2. *ver.* 8.

(f) Howe this doth agree with the Inſtitution of the holy Apoſtle, Reade *Paule* to the *Gallat.* 4. *ver.* 10. *Colloſſ.* 2. *ver.* 16.

(g) Paul doth learne us 1 *Tim.* 2. that Men ſhall pray unto God, for the Princes, Lordes and Rulers, not becauſe they ſhould joyne together in Warre, Blood-ſheeding and rooting out of the faithfull Chriſtians, as this holy Father doeth here propounde, but to the Ende we might under them live a quiet and peaceable Life in al Godlines and Vertue.

(h) Whether the Apoſtles did ever in their Life time hallowe any Sepulchres, wee may looke in the Popiſh Goſpell, and in their Deerees. For the Goſpel and Doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, doe not make any Mention at all of any ſuch heatheniſh Superſtition.

(i) Alſo whether theſe Pompes of Burials doe proceede from Chriſt, his Apoſtles, or from the Heatheniſh, each one can judge who ever did reade the Holy Scriptures, or doeth therewith examine the prophane Hiſtories.

(k) This Difference in Meates and Dayes, doeth evidently repugne againſt all that which *Paule* with plaine Wordes doth write thereof in ſundrie Places, *Rom.* 14. 1 *Cor.* 8. 8. and ſpecially *Colloſſ.* 2. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27. Yea he termeth it (writing to *Timothie*) 1 *Tim.* 4. *ver.* 3. The Doctrine of the Divel, out of the which may playnly be ſcanned what a holy Father he is, which thruſteth theſe Bulles in to our Hands.

(l) Here Men doe againe clearely perceive that this holy Father doth take unto himſelfe full Power and godly Authoritie over the Conſciences of thoſe which Chriſt with his precious Blood hath delivered from that Kynde of Subjection to the Elements. *Coll.* 2. 12.

(m) Behold and conſider, that all the Holines of this Romiſh Bulman, conſiſteth onely in externall Ceremonies and bodily Motions, which the Apoſtle *Paule* affirm-

of Egges and other Victuals at their Pleasure, be not conteined the (*n*) Patriarkes, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, nor other inferiour Prelates, nor whatsoever regular Person, or Prieftes Temporall, for as much as concerneth the Dayes of the Lent onely. Nevertheless, excepting and reserving from these, those which shalbe of the Age of threescore Yeares, and all the Knightes and Rulers of the Warre, to the which it shalbe lawefull to eate Egges and other Victuals at their Pleasure, and shall nevertheless enjoy the aforesaid Pardon or (*o*) Indulgence.

Item the abovenamed, which shal not be able to come nor to send, if they be contributorie and assisting with their Goods, and that they besides the same Contributions doe of their owne Devotion voluntarily faste upon no ordinarie fasting Days, and make their Prayer, calling on God to help in the Victorie against the unbeleeving (*p*) Heretiques, and for his Favour to the League of the Christian Princes. And if they by reason of any lawfull Hinderances could not fast, then let them do some (*q*) other good Worke at the Discretion of their (*r*) Confessor, or of their Pastor, as often as they shall doe the same, during the aforesaide Yeare, he doeth remit and discharge them for fifteene Yeares, fifteene (*s*) forty Partes of the Penaunce upon them imposed,

eth to be to small Purpose, 1 *Tim.* 4. *ver.* 8. commanding that in steed thereof, Men should exercise themselves in Godlines, which is profitable in all Things, having the Promise of the Life present, and of that which is to come. Whereas to the contrarie, this holy Father in his Buls maketh as though the Kingdome of God did consist in Meate or Drinke, or like externall Things, directly contrary to that which *Paul* every where teacheth, *Rom.* 14. *ver.* 17. and 1 *Cor.* 8. 8.

(*n*) Behold here againe, whether this terrestrial God be not an Acceptour of Persons.

(*o*) Who cannot out of this playnely perceive that this is a carnal Pardon, which can bee good or bad with eating or not eating of Flesh, which hath no Comparison with the Remission of Sinnes, which Christ by his Blood hath obtayned for us, and not published by Bulles, but by preaching of the Gospell, not consisting in the externall Diversitie of Meats, but in an inward Conversion of the Mynde to God.

(*p*) Nowe the Heretikes are layde aboorde, wherby Men may perceive that this good Father is not bent against the *Turks*, but onely against those which will not acknowledge him for the Head of the Church of Christ, nor accept his Decrees and Commandements, in steede of Gods Commandements, and Institutions of the Apostles: for they must all be faithlesse Heretikes, though so it were that they dubble fould did acknowledge Christ the Sonne of God, for their only Saviour, Redeemer and Mediatour.

(*q*) Here the Merites of Christ Jesu, are not much worth for to obtaine Remission of Sinnes, but Men must deserve this Pardon with the Merites of his owne good Workes, which are nothing els but an externall Shewe of hypocriticall Ceremonies, without any right Foundation of Godlines, or of the right Fayth and Trust in Christ Jesu, wherein this Merchant of Bulles is wholly ignorant.

(*r*) This is the Satisfaction for Sinnes, which the Confessor doeth impose upon the Confessed, which is commonly some certayne Nomber of *Pater nosters* and *Ave Maries*, to be sayde, like as a Parret prateth, without Understanding, and that wilbe preferred in the Judgement of this terrestriall God, before the Satisfaction which Christ with his Death and Passion hath atchieved.

(*s*) Here the Score is cleane stricken out, for undoubtedly the Lord God (at the leastwise this terrestriall God) will accompt

impoſed, and which they in any wiſe doe owe. And are yet alſo made Partakers of all the Prayers, Almes (*t*) Pilgrimages, and alſo of thoſe of *Hieruſalem*, and of all other good Workes which are done in the univerſall militant Churche and every Member thereof.

Item it is given and graunted to all thoſe which on the Dayes of Lent, and other Dayes of the Yeare (when there ſhall be *Stations* within *Rome*) ſhall viſite five (*u*) Churches of five Altars, (*x*) five Times one Church or one Altar, and that they devoutly do pray for the Union and Victory before recited: That they ſhall deſerve and enjoy all the Pardons, Indulgences and Remiſſions which are gotten and enjoyed by thoſe which do viſite the Churches in (*y*) *Rome*, and without the Walles thereof, and as they ſhould deſerve the ſame, if they did perſonally viſite them. Item, becauſe they with more Puritie and Cleanneſſe of Conſcience may pray, his (*z*) Holines doth permitte to all the Perſons aforeſaid, that they may chooſe for a Confeſſor any Prieſt, either Temporall or Regular, being one of the approoved

accompt the Penaunces with Dayes, Moneths and Yeares, for to puniſh or to forgive Sinnes, not according to the Word of the Doctrine of the Goſpel, as *Paule* meaneth *Rom.* 2. *ver.* 16. but according to the Score of theſe ſweete Bulles and Pardons, which are almoſt duely regiſtred in the Regiſter of the Soules of Saint *Michaell*, and he will weigh them in his Ballance againſt their Sinnes.

(*t*) Here the Pilgrimages of the good Catholickes do tend to Forgiveneſſe of our Sinnes. Now whether this holy Father hath drawne the ſame out of the Writinges and Doctrine of *Peter* and *Paul* (of whome he vaunteth himſelfe to be a Succeſſor) it may eaſely be perceived, if their Writinges bee examined with this Bull.

(*u*) This viſiting of the Five Churches or Five Altars, wherby Men do deſerve great Pardons by this earthly Father, is alſo grounded on the Doctrine of *Peter* and *Paul*, even as the former. And therefore is it that their Epiſtles bee full thereof, as each one may ſee, who will but peruſe the ſame.

(*x*) Chriſt the Sonne of God doth teach us, that the Lord at the latter Day ſhall judge the good and the bad by the Works of Charity and Love, which they ſhal have done to the Poore. And the holy Scripture doth alſo teach in other Places, that Faith ſhalbe called in Accompt, ſo that every Man ſhall be dealt with according to his Faith. But that God ſhould judge Men by the Nomber and Quantity of the Churches that they ſhall have viſited, and where there are not five Churches, that there one Church or one Altar being five Times viſited, ſhall ſtand in ſtead of five Churches or five Altars, is a fraudulent and vayne Invention or Deceit, forged in the Forge of the holy Father, or of the God of this World, who by ſuch vayne hypocriticall Superſticions ſeeketh to ſeduce the World from the right Fayth, and true Godlineſſe.

(*y*) In all the Holy Scriptures there is not one Worde mencioned that there ſhould be any more Pardons, and Remiſſions of Sinnes to be gotten in *Rome* then els where: Therefore all this is nothing els but a divelliſh Invention for to mainteyne the Babilonical Cittie, which hath alwayes from the very Beginning, filled her ſelfe with the Blood of the Apoſtles and Martyrs, and to heap up much Money, for to mainteine her Pryde and Vanitie.

(*z*) Marke I pray you, wherin this holy Father doeth repoſe the Holineſſe and Puritie of the Conſcience, and conſider whether the ſame doeth in any Part, yea in the very leaſt Part, agree with the Puritie, which the Apoſtles, *Peter* and *Paule*, doe lay before us.

by

by the Ordinarie, who may once during their Life, abſolve them, and once more at the Houre of Death of all and ſingular Sinnes and Offences, * though they were of thoſe which were reſerved to the Popes Apoſtolicall Seate, and alſo of thoſe which are declared in the *(a)* Bulle in *Cœna Domini* (the Crime or Delicte of Hereſie excepted) and they to have and injoye full Pardon and Indulgence thereof. And of the Offences and Sinnes, which are not reſerved to the Apoſtolicall Popiſh Seate, that it ſhalbe lawefull for him to abſolve the ſame as often as they with a godly Penitence ſhall confeſſe the ſame, according to the Greatnes of the Offence. And if there were any *(b)* Satisfaction required for to attaine to the ſayd Abſolution, they then to do the ſame in their owne Perſone, and if there were any Hinderance, it ſhall be lawfull for them to cauſe the ſame to be done by their *(c)* Heires or others for them. And it ſhalbe lawfull for the ſayd Confeſſor alſo to *(d)* alter any of their Promiſes of

* Here we doe playnely ſee how they doe deryde and make a Jeſte of the Remiſſion of Sinnes, which Chriſt hath obtained for us, and doe put them ſelves in Gods ſteede for to forgive and retaine Sinnes according to their Pleaſure, which onely they doe for to get Money, and therfore the Popes Apoſtolical Sea of *Rome* is heere admoniſhed that he is the Childe of Perdition, whereof *Paul* writeth, which hath made his Seat in the Temple of God, and doeth tearme himſelfe God, vaunting himſelfe of the Power and Dominion of the Lord, conſiſting in the Remiſſion of Sinnes.

(a) In the Bull all Maner of abhominable Sinnes, are noted or ſet downe: yea, ſuch that a Chriſtian Hart ſhould have an Horror and Feare to heare them named: but nevertheleſſe they are all ſet downe and forgiven in the Text of the Apoſtolical Chamber, for a certain Somme of Money. But the Sinne of Hereſye, that is to ſaye, of thoſe which doe only take Chriſt for the Head of the Chriſtian Church, and do not eſteem of the Popes Buls, can not be forgiven, and is therefore excepted here, becauſe the Pope without any Mercy, wil have thoſe rooted out with Fyre and Sworde, which be of that Opinion.

(b) Of this auricular Confeſſion and Satisfaction, there is enough ſet downe before.

(c) This doeth plainely repugne againſt the Doctrine of the Goſpell, wherein is declared unto us, that whoſoever beleeveth in the Sonne of God, he already hath Life everlaſting. But who ſo doth not beleeve, is damned, and ſhall not ſee Life, but the Wrath of God abideth on him. *Joh.* 2. *ver.* 18. and 3. *ver.* 36.

Therefore all that which theſe holy Fathers do perſwade Men unto, that there yet ſhould be a Waye betweene both, or a Purgatorie, out of the which Men might be delivered by the good Deedes and Deſerts of others, which yet are alive, is nothing els but a fetche to gether Mony together with *Dirges*, erecting of Cloyſters and other like Matter, which without any Proofe of Scripture are invented of Men, and have no Reſemblance at all with the Doctrine of the holy Prophets and Apoſtles. But be mere Antechriſtes Inventions, wherewith the Grace and ſaving Health of Chriſt by Fayth in his Blood, is made vayne and of none Effect.

(d) This doeth plainely repugne againſt the Holy Scriptures, where it is evidently commaunded of the Lord, that Men ſhall ſtrictely performe and paye the Vowes made unto his Majeſtie (if ſo it be that they be in our Power, and be not repugnant to his Commandements) *Deut.* 23. *ver.* 21, 22, 23, *&c.* So that no auricular Confeſſor nor any Creature in the Worlde, hath any Power at all to releaſe us thereof. Therefore even as this holy Father doth attribute to himſelfe this Power, not only to the End hee himſelfe might diſpence withall ſuch Promiſes, but alſo to give an other the ſame Power, he doeth evidently ſhewe that he is the Antichriſt, whereof *Daniel*, *Paul* and *John* had written.

Pilgri-

Pilgrimages or other whatſoever, and to converte them in any Succour and Ayde for this Expedition or Diſpatch, except the Promiſes of Chaſtitie, Religion or Pilgrimage, beyond the Sea. And if during the ſaid Yeare, it ſhall happen, that they through preſent and ſudden Death, or by reaſon of the Abſence and Want of a Confeſſor, chaunced to dye without Confeſſion, if ſo be they be diſceaſed with good Penitence, and that they at the *(e)* Time limited and ordained by the Church, ſhall have confeſſed themſelves, and that they ſhall not have bene Careleſſe or Negligent in the truſting to this Grace, they then ſhall likewiſe injoye full Indulgence, Pardon, and Remiſſion of all their Sinnes. And it ſhalbe lawfull to yeelde unto their Bodies eccleſiaſticall Buriall, if they be not deceaſed being excommunicated, notwithſtanding the Interdiction or Prohibition. Likewiſe his Holines by his particular Breife hath graunted that all faithfull Chriſtians which ſhall take this Bull twice *(f)* within the Time of the aforeſaid Yeare, may once more in their Life time, beſides that which hereabove is graunted and given them, have *(g)* Abſolution of all and ſingular Sinnes, and Treſpaſſes, and Offences or Exceſſes, howe grievous ſoever they may be, and of all and ſingular Sentences of Excommunication, wherin they ſhalbe fallen, although they were of thoſe which are contained and expreſſed in the Bull of the Lordes Supper, and wherof the Abſolution is reſerved to his Holines, except the *(h)* Crime of Hereſie, as is aforeſaid. And that they for *(i)* two Times may injoye all the Graces, Indulgences, Remiſſions, Faculties, Pardons, or Abſolutions in this Bull conteined. *(k)* And his Holines doeth give Power and Authoritie to

(e) Of ſuch auricular Confeſſion to be made at certaine Times, the holy Scriptures doe make no mention at all, and it is nothing els but Mans Invention for to get Money, and to bring the Prieſts to the Knowledge of all Secrets of the World, and moreover to reach Mens Conſciences and to bring them to the Racke.

(f) This is a fyne Gloſe for the Utterance of his Trompery, and for to make theſe Men to be much eſteemed off.

(g) Of this Abſolution and Pardon of Sinnes, which this holy Father doeth attribute to him ſelfe, ſufficient Mention is made before.

(h) This Cryme of Hereſy is in al Places excepted, becauſe the holy Father doeth eſteeme all the Sinnes done againſt the Majeſtie of God to be but ſmall, and doeth cleanſe them all with a Bull. But that which is done againſt his Purſe, and the Proffit of his Churches, can never be forgiven, neither in this Life, nor in the Life to come, as it is moſt playnely ſet downe in his Decrees. *Cap. Violatores*, 25. *quæſt.* 1. *c. nemini.* 17. *qu.* 4. *c. nulli fas dict.* 14.

(i) If the firſt Bull be good and firme, wherefore ſerveth the ſecond? Or is the ſecond neceſſary becauſe the firſt is not ſufficient, then doth it evidently appeare, that although there were yet two hundreth of the like Bulles, it woulde not avayle. Turne to the Apoſtle *Paule*, *Hebr.* 10. 13. 18.

(k) This is a marvellous Power which this terreſtriall God and Vicar of the Sonne of GOD, here vaunteth off, as that not he only may ſuſpende and make voyde all the Graces which theretofore are graunted, but doeth alſo give another full Power to doe the ſame. Truely if theſe Graces, Pardons, Abſolutions of Sinnes, did proceede from God, no Man could ſuſpende them, that is to ſay, detayne or keepe backe the Effect, but bicauſe they proceede not from God, but from Men, and not from Chriſt, but from Antichriſt, therefore Antichriſt and his Servaunts, may play therewith as with a Ball, and make the ſame either good or bad, as beſt ſerveth for their Purpoſe.

us the Licentiate, *Don Thomas de Salazer*, Treaſurer and Canon of the Holy Church of *Sivill*, Counceller of his Majeſtie, *(l)* generall Commiſſioner of the holy and generall Inquiſition, that we may detaine and keepe in Suſpence, during the Yeare of the Publication of this Bull, all the Graces, Indulgences, Faculties, and Privileges graunted in theſe aforeſaide Kingdomes and Dominions, Iles and Provinces, and all and ſingular Churches, Cloiſters, Hoſpitalles, Friaries, Holy Places, and particuler Perſons, though it were ſo that the Graunt did continue *(m)* any Clauſe contrary to the ſaid Detention or Suſpence. And likewiſe alſo, to th' End we might cauſe the ſaide Graces and Faculties, and all other Things againe to take Effect. And to th' End we and our Subdelegates, may ſuſpende the Interdict, if there ſhall bee any, where this Bull ſhall bee preached or publiſhed. And likewiſe alſo for to arbitrate, judge and declare, according to the Qualities of the Perſons, the Contributions and Almes, which they muſt give that will injoye this Bull. And we the ſaid Licenciat, *Don Thomas de Salazar*, Treaſurer and Canon of the Holy Church of *Sivill*, Counceller of his Majeſtie of the Holy Inquiſition, general Commiſſioner of the aforeſaid holy Croſſe, given unto us by the Apoſtolike Romiſh Authoritie, in Favour of this holy Bull, and to the Ende ſo holy a Worke be not hindered, nor do not *(n)* feare by reaſon of other Indulgences. Therefore we doe ſuſpende during the Yeare of the publiſhing and preaching thereof, all and ſingular Graces, Pardons, and Indulgences, and Faculties, given joyntly or ſeverally by his Holines, or by the holy Popes his Predeceſſors, or by their holy Apoſtolicall Seate, or by his aforeſaide Authoritie, in all the aforeſaid Realmes and Dominions of his Majeſtie, to all and ſingular Churches and Cloiſters, Hoſpitals, and to other holy Places, Univerſities, Fryeries, and particuler Perſons, although the ſaide Graces and Faculties, were for the *(o)* Building of Saint *Peter* of *Rome*, or of other like Cruſados.

(l) Conſider whether any Apoſtles or Miniſters of the Church, did ever take upon them the Vocation of the Inquiſition, and you ſhall finde that the holy Scriptures doe not make any mention thereof.

(m) Here you doe plainely perceive that they can ſay and unſay, they may give and take againe their Graces, Pardons and Buls, ſuſpende and annulle them, alowe and diſalowe them, and doe therewith what they will, for they be but crafty Devices for to drawe Money out of Mens Purſſes.

(n) Here againe, it may eaſely be perceived that all theſe Indulgences and Pardons, be nothing els but idle, vaine, and ſrivolous Bulles, or Waterbubbles, and Wyndes, which the Popes of *Rome* doe graunt for to deceive the ſimple People. For if ſuch Pardons were good and of Value, they would alwayes remayne ſo, and would never be ſuſpended or kept back, for the Mercie and Calling of God, is without Repentance, ſayth *Paule*, *Rom.* 9. 11. 29.

(o) Marke the vyle bloody Minde of this holy Father, howbeit he doeth moſt highly eſteeme the Building of the Churches of *Rome*, and doeth ſell Heaven for to get Money to that Effect, and for to maintaine therewith his proud and whoriſh Arrogancie. Yet nevertheleſſe, he doeth preferre this preſent Action of perſecuting the poore Chriſtians before all other, and is content that the giving of Money towardes the Buylding aforeſaid, ſhal for a Time ceaſe, ſo that this cruell Warre and the Contributions thereof may have their Courſe.

And

And though it were ſo, that all the ſame or any of them, did containe *(p)* any Clauſe contrary to this Suſpence. And alſo, though it were ſo, that we for the getting of the publiſhing thereof, had given our Conſent, during the Yeare of the publiſhing and preaching of this aforeſaide Bull, no Bodie may obtayne or injoye any other Graces, *(q)* Indulgences, Pardons or Faculties, nor publiſh the ſame, except thoſe which are given and graunted to the chiefe of the *(r)* begging Fryars, foraſmuch as toucheth their Fryars. And in Favour of this aforeſaide Bull, we doe declare by the ſame Apoſtolicall Authoritie, that thoſe which ſhall accepte this aforeſaid Bull, may have and injoy all the Graces, Faculties, Indulgences, Pardons, *Jubilees*, in the Pardons and Abſolution of Sinnes, which unto them have been given and graunted by our moſt holy Father *Gregorie* the Thirteenth, and by the other deceaſed Popes of bleſſed Memorie, and by the holy Apoſtolike Seat, or by his Authoritie in the aforeſaide Suſpention conteined, which we by Vertue of the ſaid Apoſtolical Commiſſion doe corroborate, and by the ſaide Apoſtolike Authoritie wee doe *(s)* ſuſpende the Interdiction if any there be where the Suplication and preaching of this Bull ſhalbe made *(t)* eight Dayes before, and eight Dayes after, even as in the Bull of his Holines is conteined. And we doe declare that thoſe which ſhall accept the ſame, muſt receive and keepe this Diſcourſe and *(u)* Bull printed in Paper, ſealed and ſubſcribed, without Name

(p) Here Men may perceive againe, that upon their Clauſes and in generall upon all their Buls, no Regard at all is to be had, ſeeing they may be called in, cancelled, and made of none Effect as you pleaſe.

(q) Poore ſeelie blinde Men, open heere your Eyes, and behold the wicked Proceedinges of theſe Antichriſts. Chriſt hath forever and ever obtayned for us Grace and Remiſſion of our Sins, without any Exception or Reſtriction, and theſe holy Fathers doo cancell all other Graces, Favours, and Remiſſion of Sinnes, becauſe they might erect their bloody Warres and cruell Perſecution againſt the poore Chriſtians. And meane whiles they would perſwade Men that the Graces or Pardons which they ſo doo diſpend and make voyd, ſhould bee the very ſame which Chriſt Jeſus hath with his pretious Bloud obtained for us. Whereas they are not aſhamed to make open Defence, that none either may give or receave any ſuch Grace, Indulgence, and Pardon, but onely the ſame which they themſelves doo heere explaine, at the leaſt, during the Time that this Bull ſhall continue, which is a meere Jeſt and Deriſion of God, and of the Grace which we receave by his pretious Death and Bloudſheading.

(r) Heere bee onely excepted the Pardons graunted to the *Fryars Mandiants*, even as though Chriſt died rather for them then other Men, whereas to the contrary it is written in the Lawe of God, that there ſhall not bee any Begger in *Iſraell. Deut.* 15. *Verſe* 4. And whereas *Paule* alſo dooth greatly rebuke idle Perſons ſaying, that who laboureth not ought not to eate. 2 *Theſſ.* 3. *v.* 11.

(s) Marke, I pray you, theſe Jeſters, which doo diſpend, make voyde, and then againe confirme their Subjects Buls, even as though they did play with a Bubble or Ball.

(t) This is even ſo as Men doo publiſh the free Fayres, and heere doo all Interruptions ſurceaſe, becauſe this Commoditie might bee well ſolde.

(u) Let all Chriſtians conſider heere, whether this bee the Meanes wherewith the Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paule* did reveale and preach the Remiſſion of Sinnes, and the Grace of the Goſpell to the People, that they muſt have a Bull ſealed, and give

Name and Seale, for otherwiſe they ſhall not obtaine nor enjoye the aforeſaide Bull, nor the Graces and Pardons of the ſame.

And foraſmuch as you have given two Silver Reals, which is the Almes whereat we have taxed and valuated the ſame, and accepted this Bull, and your Name written therein, therefore you have obtained, and have here graunted unto you the *(x)* Indulgences, Pardons, Graces, and Faculties, and you may uſe and enjoye all the ſame, in Maner and Forme aforeſaide. Wherefore wee have cauſed theſe Preſents to bee given thee, which are printed in *Madrid*, the xiiii. Daye of *September*. 1584.

The Forme of Abſolution.

(a) THE Forme of Abſolution, which may bee given once during Life, and againe at the Houre of Death, by *(b)* vertue of this Bull, to whatſoever Perſons, which ſhall accept thereof.

(c) Miſereatur tui omnipotens Deus, &c. By the Authoritie of the Al-

give two Silver Reals for to be Partakers thereof.

Who doth not heere perceave that theſe ſeald Buls be the very Marke of the Antichriſtical Beaſt, without which no Body may buy nor ſell. *Apoc.* 13. *Ver.* 16. 17.

(x) It is heere to bee noted, that all theſe Graces, Pardons, and Indulgences are to bee bought for two Silver Reals, whereat they bee taxed by theſe holy Fathers, for a publike Scorne of God, and of the Lorde Jeſus Chriſt, which could not with any Gold or Silver, or other earthly Thing, but onely with his holy pretious Bloud and Sufferance, fulfill the Fathers Sentence, for to obtaine for us Forgiveneſſe of our Sinnes. 1 *Pet.* 1. *Ver.* 18. 19. And herewithal note alſo that theſe Apoſtles bee right Diſciples and Mediators of *Simon Magus*, who would have bought the Grace of God with Money. Wherefore let all Men ſhunne theſe Antichriſticall Pedlers, and give Eare unto Chriſt, who by his Prophet *Eſay* ſaith: Come to me all you that thirſt, come to the Water, and you that have no Money, come buy and eate, come buy without Money both Wine and Milke.

Wherefore doo you lay out Silver and not for Bread, and your Labour without being ſatisfied, harken diligently unto mee, and eate that which is good, and let your Soule delight in Fatnes, incline your Eares and come unto mee, heare and your Soule ſhall live, and I will make an everlaſting Covenant with you, even the ſure Mercies of *David*, &c. *Eſay* 55.

For thereby you doo perceave that Chriſt Jeſus dooth extend his Graces, not for Money, but of his loving Kindneſſe, not unto thoſe which doo buy theſe many Buls, and doo cauſe their Names to bee put therein, or which goe to Warre againſt their Neighbors. But to thoſe which doo encline their Eares to the Doctrine of the Goſpell, beeing the Covenant of the Almightie, which dooth preſcribe unto us the ſure Mercies of *David*.

(a) We have heere before ſeene that there is no other Maner of Abſolution preſcribed of Chriſt, nor ordained by the Apoſtles, but that the Remiſſion of Sinnes ſhould bee preached to all thoſe which beleeve the Goſpell, and doo give Eare to Chriſt Jeſu, therefore this Forme muſt of Neceſſitie be eſteemed for an Antichriſticall Forme.

(b) It is ſufficiently declared here before what Vertue this Bull hath.

(c) And the more openly to ſkorne with God, they doo utter to the poore ſilly People their Pardons in a Language which they underſtand not, directly contrary to all the Doctrine of *Paul*, 1. *Cor.* 14.

mightie

mightie *(d)* God, and of the bleſſed *(e)* Apoſtles Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paule*, and of our moſt *(f)* holy Father ſpecially given and granted unto you, and unto me committed, I do abſolve you of all Cenſures or Condemnations of Excommunication, great and ſmal, Suſpence of Interdict *à jure vel ab homine*, and of all other Cenſures, Sentences or Condemnations and Penalties, into which you for any Cauſe might be fallen, although the Abſolution thereof

(d) They ought firſt to ſhew that God Almightie had given him Authoritie for to graunt ſuch Buls.

(e) We have beene able ſufficiently to perceave by the Premiſſes, that all this is cleane repugnant to the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and ſpecially againſt the Epiſtles of *Peter* and *Paule*, and therefore it cannot bee that they have not receiv'd any ſuch Authoritie of them.

(f) To the Ende to declare unto all Men what Power and Authoritie this moſt holy Father hath, wee briefly will heere rehearſe that which the Apoſtle *John* in his *Revelation* doth write thereof. He ſaith, that the old Dragon, that is the Divell, hath reſigned his Seate and great Might to the Beaſt with ſeven Heades, which Beaſt, the Angell ſaith, doth ſignifie the City with ſeven Hils, whereupon the Whore ſitteth arrayed with Purple and Scarlet, Gold, pretious Stones and Pearles, which is the old Towne which had her Dominion (at the Time of *John*) over the Kings of the Earth, *Apoc.* 17. *Ver.* 4. 18. Nowe this Towne cannot be any other but the Citie of *Rome*, which at that Time did almoſt raigne over all the Kings of the World, and many Yeares cruelly perſecuted all faithfull Chriſtians, and hath made her ſelfe droonke with the Bloud of Martyrs, *Apoc.* 17. *Verſe* 6. Therefore he dooth moreover ſay, that this Beaſt was wounded even to the Death, but hath given all her Power to another Beaſt, which hath two Hornes like to the Hornes of the Lambe, and ſpeaketh like the Dragon, and dooth uſe all the Power of the former Beaſt, and procureth that all the Inhabitants of the Earth doo worſhip againe the firſt Beaſt, deſtroying all thoſe which will not doo the ſame, and dooth ſeduce all thoſe which dwell on the Earth, cauſing them to have a Signe or Marke in their Hand or on their Forhead, without the which no Body may buy or ſel, *Apoc.* 13. Out of the Premiſſes it may plainely bee ſeene, that this hogly Father is heere lively ſet forth and deſcribed. For all his Cardinals and whole Rablement be clothed in Purple and Scarlet, which is the very Livery whereby they be deſcribed: He is furniſhed with Gold, Silver, pretious Stones, and Pearles, more than all the Kinges of the World, hee hath alſo receaved all the Power of the Cittie of *Rome*, and he hath againe erected the Romaine Seate, which (through the declining of the Romaine Empire) was (as it were) wounded to the very Death: and dooth compell all the Inhabitants of the Earth to worſhip the Seat of *Rome*, and to acknowledge the ſame for ſupreme Head of the Chriſtian Church, or els he doth murther them: he hath alſo a Name blaſpheming the Lord, whoſe Power he dooth attribute unto himſelfe: He ſelleth his Merchandiſes to Kings, Princes and Lords, and dooth make them kiſſe his Feet: prohibiting that no Body may buy or ſell which hath not his Character, that is to ſay, his Marke or Buls which he preſſeth on all his Preeſts.

So that it dooth manifeſtly appeare, that he is the very Antichriſt which in all Thinges dooth cleane oppoſe himſelfe againſt the Lambe of God Chriſt Jeſus. For even as the Perſon of Chriſt is moſt plainely knowne in that he is very God, and very Man, which none can be unleſſe he be the very Chriſt, which is, the annoynted of the Lord. Even ſo the Pope of *Rome* dooth vaunt himſelfe that he is neyther very God nor very Man, mitigating that which ſtandeth in the Decrees. *Nec Deus eſt nec homo, ſed neuter & inter utrumq*; : He is neyther God nor Man, but Neuter betweene both, which none can be but the very Antechriſt, which in all Things is contrary to Chriſt.

were reſerved to the holy Apoſtolicall Chaire, even as by theſe Preſentes the ſame is graunted unto you. And I do place you againe in Union and Communion with the faithfull Chriſtians. And likewiſe I doe abſolve you of all your Sinnes and Offences and Exceſſes which now you have confeſſed unto me, and of thoſe which you ſhould confeſſe, if they came to your Remembraunce, though ſo it were that the Abſolution thereof did belong to the holy Apoſtolical Chaire, as is aforeſaid. I doe graunt unto you perfect Indulgence, Pardon, and Abſolution of all your Sinnes, which now or at any other Time you have confeſſed, forgotten, or beene ignorant of, and of the Paines which you ought to ſuffer for them in *Purgatory: In nomine Patris, & filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen.*

In the Houre of Death the Confeſſor ſhall ſay: and if God through his Mercie doe let you eſcape this Sickeneſſe wherein now you be, then you ſhal keepe this Indulgence or Pardon until the very Houre of your Death.

The End of the Bull.

CHRONOGRAPHIA: A Deſcription of Time, from the Beginning of the World, unto the Yeare of our Lord 137. Wherein the ſeveral Hiſtories, both of the Olde and New Teſtament, are briefly compriſed, and placed in their due Order of Yeares: for the better Direction of the Reader.

Collected out of ſundry Authors, but for the greateſt Part, abridged and tranſlated out of *Laurentius Codomannus*, his *Annales ſacræ Scripturæ.*

Deut. 4. 32. *Enquire after the Times that are paſt: which were before thee, ſince the Day that God created Man upon the Earth*, &c.

Printed in the Yeare 1590.

To the READER.

IF it ſhal pleaſe thee (gentle Reader) to accept in good Part this rude and unperfect Draught, which in ſo great Shortneſſe of Time, and Multitude of Buſineſſe, I could preſent thee with all: Thou ſhalt give me Encouragement at my better Leaſure, and ſome fitter Oportunitie, to finiſh the ſame to thy further Benefit. In the meane Seaſon my Hope is, it ſhal not repent thee to have ben at ſo ſmal a Charge, or of ſo little Labour, as wil ſuffice to the diligent peruſing of this ſhort Treatiſe. Which that thou mayeſt read with the more Fruit: I thought good to admoniſh thee of theſe few Things. Firſt, that where

in

in ſo litle Roome all particular Hiſtories of the Holy Bible could not be expreſſed, thou maieſt not unfitly place the Things not here ſet downe, neare unto thoſe Stories that in this Treatiſe are annexed unto them. 2. *What Times are certainely noted and defined in the Worde, thou ſhalt find confirmed by Places quoted to that Purpoſe. As for others that are onely probable and coniecturall, it ſhall ſuffice, thou reſt thine Opinion upon the Credite of mine Author, untill thou find ſome better Argument for thy further Direction.* 3. *The Tables containing a Correſpondence of Yeares, in the Lives of the Fathers, Judges, and Kings of* Judah, *and* Iſrael, *I have for Brevitie Sake omitted, hoping that thy Diligence in comparing the Times together as they are ſet downe, will eaſily ſupply that Want.* 4. *As for the Index I thought it Superfluous in ſo ſhort a Booke, beſides that the Margent briefly containing the Heads of al Things, may anſwere thy Deſire in that Part.* 5. *Where thou findeſt A. M. in the Top of every Page underſtand the Yeare of the World, and where in the Margent thou findeſt A. Ch. underſtand the Yeare of our Lord.* 6. *In the firſt Page* Equinoctium vernum, *ſignifieth, that Time of the Spring, wherein the Daies and Nights are of equall Length,* Luminarium conjunctio, *ſignifieth the Meeting of the Sunne and Moone in her Chaunge.* 7. *For the Title,* A brief Chronicle of Holy Scripture, *I gave it, becauſe the greateſt Part of the Stories herein remembred, are taken out of the Worde of God: yet it was neceſſary for the Continuance of the Hiſtory and other Complement, that ſome Thinges ſhould be alledged out of the* Apocrypha, Joſephus, *and other Authors.* 8. *Where the Accompt of mine Author differeth ſomewhat from others, that wrote before him, it neede neither to offend nor trouble thee, as derogating nothing from the Truth of the Storie. The Reaſons of his Difference he hath profoundly ſet downe in a larger Volume, written for that Purpoſe: But becauſe the ſame is farre removed from the Capacitie of the Multitude, and conſiſteth moſt upon Aſtronomicall Calculation, I thought it better to leave it wholy unto the learned, then here to trouble thee without Fruit.* 9. *If thou deſireſt to know what is the Diſtance of the preſent Yeare of our Lord* 1589, *from any particular of the ancient Storie, take from* 5730, *the Yeare of that Hiſtorie, and the Number remaining is that thou requireſt. To know how many Yeares before Chriſt his Birth, any Thing hapned: take the Yeare of the Story thou ſeekeſt from the Yeare wherin Chriſt was borne, and the Remainder is that thou deſireſt. As,* David *was borne in the Year of the World,* 3039. *And Chriſt in the Yeare,* 4141. *take the firſt from the latter, there remaineth* 1102: *ſo many Yeares was* David *borne before* Chriſt. 10. *In alleaging the two Bookes of the* Kinges *I have written* 1. Reg. *and* 2. Reg. 11. *Where Places of Scripture are alleaged for the Birth of many Perſonages, if the ſame be not there expreſſed, underſtand that it is gathered from thence by Computation, which thou mayſt eaſily diſcerne.* 12. *In ſo many Numbers, and of ſo great a Varietie ſcarce any Diligence could performe that nothing ſhould be printed amiſſe. It may pleaſe thee therefore gentle Reader to beare with ſome fewe Eſcapes, and patiently to amend where thou findeſt a Fault. And ſo I bid thee moſt hartely farewell in the Lord. This* 12. *of* Februarie. 1590.

A Description of Time, from the Beginning of the World, unto the Yeare of our Lord 137.

	Day.	
The Creation.	1	THE first Day of the World was created Heaven and Earth, contayning a confused Masse, whereof afterwardes all Thinges were made. This Day was our *Sonday*, or the Lordes Day, and as is thought, the 22. Daye of the Month of *April*. Then was created the Light, seperated from the Darknes, and called Day. *Gen.* 1. 1.
Heaven and Earth.		
The Light.		
The Firmament.	2	The second Day our *Monday*, was made the Firmament, and was called by the Name of Heavens. *Gen.* 1. 6.
Land, Sea, Hearbs, &c.	3	The third Day our *Tewsday*, the Waters were seperated from covering the Earth, which at the Commaundement of God brought forth Grasse, Hearbs, and Trees, having their Seede and Fruit. *Gen.* 1. 9.
Sunne, Moone, Starres.	4	The fourth Day our *Wendsday*, were made and placed in the Firmament of Heaven, the Sunne, Moone, and Starres. This Day was *Æquinoctium vernum & Luminarium conjunctio*, the 25. of *April*. Other referre the Creation unto *September*. *Gen.* 1. 14.
Fish and Foules.	5	The fifth Day, *Thursday*, were made the Fishes and Foules, with all that lyve in the Waters, and flie in the Ayre. *Gen.* 1. 20.
Beastes, &c.	6	The sixth Day, our *Friday*, were created, first all Beasts and Things creping upon the Earth. *Gen.* 1. 20. secondly *Adam* and *Eve* according to the Image of God. *Gen.* 1. 26. The same Day Mariage was instituted. *Gen.* 2.
Man and Woman.		
Marryage.		
	7	The seventh Day, our *Saterday*, God having finished his Work of Creation, ceased or rested, sanctified this Day unto Man, and called it the Sabboth. *Gen.* 2. 3.
The Sabboth.		
Creation of Angells.		The Creation of the Angels is most probably assigned unto the first Day. Of these some hold the Integritie of their Creation, and are called holy and elect Angels: some are fallen, and called Devils, whose Fall is most certaine: but the Time of their Fall uncertaine, saving that they must needs fall before the Fall of Man.
The Fall of Man.		The Fall of *Adam* and *Eve* being most certaine, the Day and Time is uncertaine: And therefore it is Curiositie to inquire where the Woord keepeth Silence, and Boldnes to pronounce. That they fell not the Day of their Creation, besides the Varietie of Thinges done after, the same Day, which required Tract of Time. This seemeth plainly to argue, that the sixt Day is concluded by *Moses*, with these Woordes: *And GOD beheld all that he had made, and loe it was exceeding good: so the Evening and Morning was made*

	A.M.	*Adam.*
made the ſixt Day. Codomannus aſſigneth *Adam*'s Fall unto the 19. Day of the World, which was the 14. of the firſt Moneth, and the tenth of *May*. His Reaſon is from the Analogie of the Paſſover. *Exod.* 12. Some referre it unto the eight Day, in which Chriſt roſe from the dead.		
The ſame Day wherein they fell, they receaved the Promyſe of Grace in the Seede of the Woman, which ſhould break the Serpents Head. *Gen.* 3. 15.		*Man reſtored.*
In the End of the firſt Yeare of the World was born *Caijn* and *Abel* (if they were Twinns.) If alſo theiſe were the firſt of *Adams* Children, as ſhould appeare by the Reaſon of *Caijn* his Name, *Gen.* 4. 1.		Caijn *and* Abell, *b.*
After this unto the Murder of *Abell*, the Familie of *Adam* was greatly multiplyed in both Sexes: And therfore the ſame is moſt fitly to be aſſigned unto the Yeare 129. or not much leſſe. *Gen.* 4.	129	Abel *ſlaine.*
About the Ende of this Yeare was borne *Seth*, in whom the Line of Chriſt was recontinued, which ſeemed unto *Eve* to be broken off in the Death of *Abell. Gen.* 5. 3.	130	Seth, *b.*
Was borne *Enoſhe*, when *Seth* his Father was 105. Yeares olde. Then began Religion to be corrupted even in the Church. *Gen.* 5. 6.	235	Enoſh, *b.* *Religion corrupted.*
Was borne *Cenan*, his Father *Enoſh* being 90. Yeres old. *Gen.* 5. 9.	325	Cenan, *b.*
Mahalaleel was borne, his Father *Cenan* being 70. Yeares old. *Gen.* 5. 12.	395	Mahaleleel, *b.*
Jared borne, when his Father *Mahalaleel* was of Age 65. Yeares. *Gen.* 5. 16.	460	Jared, *b.*
Henoch the ſeventh from *Adam* was borne, his Father *Jared* being of 162. Yeares. *Gen.* 5. 18.	622	Henoch, *b.*
Methuſala was borne, the 65. Yeare of the Life of his Father *Henoch. Gen.* 5. 21.	687	Methuſala, *b.*
Lamech borne, the 187. Yeare of his Father *Methuſala. Gen.* 5. 25.	874	Lamech.
Adam died, *Gen* 5. 5.	930	Adam *d.*
Henoch the ſeventh from *Adam* was rapt into Heaven, when he had lyved 365. Yeres. *Gen.* 5. 24. of his Propheſy S. *Jude* ſpeaketh Ver. 14. and of his Faith. *Heb.* 11.	987	Henoch *rapt.*
Seth died 912. Yeres old. *Gen.* 5. 8.	1042	Seth, *d.*
Noah was borne, when his Father *Lamech* was of Age 182. Yeares. *Gen.* 4. 29.	1056	Noah, *b.*
Enoſh died, having lyved 905. Yeares. *Gen.* 5. 11.	1140	Enoſh, *d.*
Cenan died, of Age 910. Yeares. *Gen.* 5. 14.	1235	Cenan, *d.*
Mahalaleel died, of 895. Yeares. *Gen.* 5. 17.	1290	Mahalaleel,
Jared dieth, 962 Yeares old. *Gen.* 5. 20.	1422	*d.*

Here

Noah.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
	1536	Here begin the 120 Yeares of the long Sufferance of God before the Floud. *Gen.* 6. 1. *Pet.* 3. 19.
Japheth.	1556	*Japheth* was borne when *Noah* was 500 Yeares old. *Gen.* 5. 32. and 10.
Shem.	1558	Was borne *Shem. Gen.* 11.
Cham.		*Cham* the yongeſt of *Noah* his Sonnes was borne after this, but what Yeare it is uncertaine.
	1656	*Methuſala* dieth, only eight Daies, as it is thought, before the Floud. *Gen.* 5. 27.
The Floud.		The 47 Day of this Yeare began the Floud, and continued one Yeare and tenne Dayes.
	1657	The firſt Day of the firſt Moneth *Noah* removed the covering of the Arke. *Gen.* 8. 13. The 27. of the ſecond Moneth, *Noah* with the reſt came out of the Arke, buylt an Altar, and offered Sacrifice, and receaved the Covenant, *Gen.* 8. 18.
Arphaxad.	1658	*Arphaxad* was borne, two Yeares after the Floud, his Father *Sem* being 100 Yeares old. *Gen.* 11. 10.
Selah.	1693	*Sela* was borne when *Arphaxad* was 35 Yeares old. *Gen.* 11. 12.
Heber.	1723	*Heber* (of whom the *Hebrewes* take their Name) was borne, when his Father *Sela* was of the Age of 30 Yeares. *Gen.* 11. 14.
Peleg.	1757	*Peleg* was borne, when *Heber* was 34 Yeares olde. *Gen.* 11. 16. At this Time *Babell* was buylt, and the Languages divided. *Gen.* 11. 7.
Regu.	1787	*Regu* born, when *Peleg* was of 30 Yeres. *Gen.* 11. 10.
Nimrod.		*Nimrod* (called of the Heathen *Saturnus Babylonius*) began to raigne. 131 Yeare after the Floud. *Gen.* 10. 8.
Serug.	1819	*Serug* borne, his Father *Regu* being 32 Yeares old. *Gen.* 11. 20.
Jup. Belus.	1843	*Jupiter Belus* ſucceeded his Father *Nimrod*, when he had raigned 56 Yeares, and raigned himſelfe 62 Yeares.
Nachor.	1849	*Nachor* borne, when his Father *Serug* was 30 Yeares old. *Gen.* 11. 22.
Terach.	1878	*Terach* was borne in the Yeare of his Father *Nachors* Age 29. *Gen.* 11. 24.
Ninus.	1905	*Ninus*, whoſe Wife was *Semiramis*, began to raigne. He was the Sonne of *Jupiter Belus*, and the ſixth from *Noah*. *Noah* called of the Heathen *Ogyges*: *Cham* called *Saturnus Ægiptius*: *Cus* called *Saturnus Æthiops*: *Nimrod* called *Saturnus Babylonius*: *Jupiter Belus*: *Ninus*.
Haran.	1948	*Haran* was borne, when *Terah* was 70 Yeares olde. *Gen.* 11. 26.
	1996	*Peleg* dieth of the Age of 239. *Gen.* 11. 19.
	1997	*Nachor* dieth, of 148 Yeares. *Gen.* 11. 25.

Noah

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Abram.*
Noah dieth, the Yeare of his Age 950. after the Floud 350	2006	Noah *dieth.*
Abraham borne when *Terah* was 130 Yeares olde. *Gen.* 11. and 12. and 28.	2008	Abram.
Sarah borne.	2018	Sarai.
Regu dieth, of Age 239. *Gen.* 11.	2026	
Serug dieth of 230 Yeares. *Gen.* 11. 22. 23.		
God appeared unto *Abram* in *Ur* of *Chaldea*, entred a Covenant of Salvation with him by the promiſed Seede, commaunded him to depart thence, to a Land which he would ſhew him. So *Abraham*, *Sara* his Wife, *Terah* his Father, and *Lot* his Nephewe came into *Charran*, where he ſojourned five Yeares, *Gen.* 11. *Act.* 7. 2.	2078	*The Covenant firſt given.* Charran.
The *Sodomites*, with foure Neighbor Kinges, were made Tributaries to *Cedarlahomer*. *Gen.* 14.	2079	
Terah dieth in *Charran*, having lived 205 Yeares. *Gen.* 11. 32.	2083	
The Promiſe was renued unto *Abraham*, being of the Age of 75 Yeares: and he went from *Charran* into the Lande of *Canaan*. *Gen.* 12. 1, 2, 3, 4. *Act.* 7.		*The Promiſe renued.*
This was the firſt Yeare of *Abrams* Perigrination in *Canaan*.	2084	
Abram by Famin was driven into *Egipt*. From hence unto the Departure of the Children of *Iſrael* out of *Egipt*, is 430 Yeares. *Gal.* 3. 17.	2085	*Famin.*
Loth, this Yeare departed from *Abraham*, and went to dwel at *Sodome*. *Gen.* 13. 11.	2086	Lot *went to* Sodome.
To this Yeare is referred the Victorie of *Abraham* againſt the foure Kinges. *Gen.* 14. 14, 15, 16.	2093	Ab. *Victory.*
At this Time raigned *Melchiſedec* King of *Salem*, who was Prieſt of the moſt high God, met *Abraham* returning from the Battail, relieved him with Victuales, bleſſed him, and received Tithe of his Spoiles. Some without great Cauſe have thougnt him to be *Sem:* But it is more Modeſtie and leſſe Daunger to follow the Apoſtle, who from the Silence of *Moſes* in this Part, teſtifieth, that he was a Figure of Chriſt: and not by ſeeking his Name and Parentage, to deſtroy the Figure, and control the Spirite of God. *Hebr.* 7. *Gen.* 14.		Melchiſedec.
Sarai gave *Hagar* unto *Abram* to be his Wife, when he had dwelt tenne Yeares in *Canaan*, *Gen.* 16. 2.	2094	Hagar.
The ſame Yeare was borne *Iſmaell* of *Hagar*, when *Abraham* was 86 Yeares olde. *Gen.* 16. 15.		Iſmael.
Arphaxad dyeth of the Age of 438 Yeares. *Gen.* 11. 13.	2096	Arphaxad *d.*
Circumciſion is given unto *Abraham* being 99 Yeares, and *Iſmael* 13 Yeres old. *Gen.* 17. 24. 25.	2107	*Circumciſion.*
The hundreth Yeare of *Abraham*, and ninteth of *Sarah*. *Gen.* 21. Was *Sodome*, &c. deſtroyeth with Fyer from Heaven,	2108	Sodome *deſtroyed.*

	A.M.	
Iſaac.		Heaven. In the End of this Yeare was borne *Iſaac* in *Gerar. Gen.* 21. the Sonne of the Free Woman, and of the Promiſe. *Rom.* 9. *Gal.* 4. 1.
Iſmael *caſt out.*	2114	*Iſaac* was ſeven Yeares olde. *Iſmael* was caſt out. *Gen.* 21. 14. From hence unto the Deliverance of *Iſrael* out of *Egipt* are 400 Yeares.
Rebecca, *b.*	2118	This Yeare was *Rebecca* borne.
Selah, *d.*	2126	*Selah* dyeth, of Age 433 Yeares. *Gen.* 11. 15.
Iſaac *offered.*	2141	*Iſaac* is offered, a Figure of Chriſt. *Gen.* 22. 10. And *Abraham* was a Figure of God the Father, giving his owne Sonne for us. *Rom.* 8. 32. *Gen.* 22.
Sarah, *d.*	2145	*Sarah* dyeth, being 127 Yeares olde. *Gen.* 23. 2.
Iſaac *married.*	2148	*Iſaac* being 40 Yeares olde marrieth *Rebecca*, the Daughter of *Bethuel*, the Sonne of *Nachor*, *Abrams* Brother, who then dwelt in *Charran* of *Meſopotamia*, *Gen.* 24. 67.
Sem, *d.*	2158	*Sem* dyeth, of Age 600 Yeares. *Gen.* 11. 11.
Jaacob *and* Eſau, *b.*	2168	*Jaacob* and *Eſau* are borne, when *Iſaac* was 60 Yeres olde. *Gen.* 25. 25. Here God ſaid, the Elder ſhall ſerve the Yonger. *Rom.* 9. *Malac.* 1.
Abraham, *d.*	2183	*Abraham* dieth, of Yeres 175. *Gen.* 25.
Heber, *d.*	2187	*Heber* dieth, having lyved 464 Yeares. *Gen.* 11. 17.
Promiſe.	2200	About this Time *Iſaac* receaveth the Promiſe of the Meſſiah to come. *Gen.* 26.
	2208	*Eſau* 40 Yeares olde, taketh two Wives of the Heathen. *Gen.* 26. 34. About the ſame Time his Father in Law *Ana* invented the Generation of Mules. *Gen.* 36. 24.
Mules.		
Iſmael, *d.*	2231	*Iſmael* dieth, having lyved 137 Yeares. *Gen.* 25. 17.
	2245	*Iſaac* being Blind bleſſeth *Jaacob* and *Eſau*. *Gen.* 27. 28. *Hebr.* 11. 20.
Jaacob *goeth into* Meſopot.	2245	*Jaacob* being 77 Yeares olde, flyeth into *Meſopotamia*, and in the Way at *Luz* receaveth the Promiſe of the Meſſias. *Gen.* 28. 12. *Hoſ.* 12.
Jaacobs *Mariage.*	2252	*Jaacob* marrieth *Lea* and *Rachell* the Daughters of *Laban*. *Gen.* 29. 23. 270 Daies within this Yeare was borne *Ruben* of *Lea*.
		Tremelius and *Junius* with great Probabilitie affirme, that *Jaacob* preſently upon his coming to *Laban* tooke to Wife, firſt *Lea*, then *Rachel*, which granted, removeth many Difficulties in the Age of *Jaacobs* Children.
Simeon.	2253	And 215 Daies *Simeon* was borne.
Levi.	2254	And 160 Daies was borne *Levi*.
Jehudah.	2255	And 105 Daies was borne *Jehudah*.
Iſſachar.	2256	And 300 Daies *Iſſachar* was borne of *Lea*.
Zabulon.	2257	And 245 Daies *Zabulon* was borne of *Lea*.
Dinah.	2258	And 220 Daies was borne *Dinah* of *Lea*.

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Jacob.*
Rachel bare *Joseph. Gen.* 30. 23, 24.	2259	Joseph.
Jaacob returneth out of *Mesopotamia*, having bene there 20 Yeares. *Gen.* 31. in the Way he wraſtled with the Angel, and was called *Iſrael. Gen.* 32. 28. *Hoſ.* 12. 3. He remaineth a good Time at *Sichem. Gen.* 33. 18.	2265	
And 215 Daies was borne *Her*, the Eldeſt Sonne of *Judah*, *Gen.* 38. 3.	2268	Her.
And 160 Daies was borne *Onan. Gen.* 38. 4.	2269	Onan.
And 105 Daies was borne *Sela*, the third Sonne of *Juda. Gen.* 38. 5.	2270	Selah.
Dinah is defloured. The *Sichemits* are traiterouſly ſlaine by *Simeon* and *Levi*, &c. *Gen.* 34.	2274	
This Yeare *Jaacob* removed unto *Bethel*, *Debora* dieth, *Rachell* in the Jorney beareth *Benjamin*, and dieth. Not long after *Ruben* defileth *Bilha. Gen.* 34. and 35.	2275	Benjamin.
Joſeph of Age 17 Yeares, is ſold into *Egipt. Gen.* 37. 2. 28.	2276	Joſeph *ſold.*
Judah lyeth with *Thamar*, in the Way to *Timnah. Gen.* 38. 18.	2283	
Peretz and his Brother *Zarah* were borne of *Thamar. Gen.* 38. 29. 30.	2284	Peretz.
Joſeph was caſt into Priſon. *Gen.* 39. where he continued three Yeares. *Gen.* 41.	2286	
Pharaoh his Butler is delivered, the firſt Yeare of *Joſeph* his Impriſonment. *Gen.* 40. 21.	2287	
Iſaac dieth 180 Yeares olde, having continued Blinde 43 Yeares. *Gen.* 27. 3, and 35, 28.	2288	Iſaac *dieth.*
Joſeph being of 30 Yeares is taken out of Priſon, and preſented unto *Pharao*, who ſetteth him over his Kingdome. *Gen.* 41. 46. preſently follow the 7 Yeares of Plentie, in which Time *Joſeph* hath two Sonnes, *Manaſſes* and *Ephraim. Gen.* 41. 50.	2289	Joſeph *delivered, &c.*
Begin the 7 Yeares of Famin. This Yeare *Peretz* taketh a Wife. *Gen.* 41. 53, 54.	2296	*Famin.*
Hezron is borne unto *Peretz*, and the Yeare following, *Hamul.*	2297	Hezron.
Jacob of the Age of 130 Yeares goeth downe into *Egipt*, five Yeares before the Ende of the Famin. *Gen.* 46. 1.	2298	Jacob *into* Egyyt.
The *Egiptians* wanting Money, gave their Cattell and Sheepe for Corne, the ſixt Yeare of the Famin. *Gen.* 47.	2303	
Jacob bleſſed his Children, propheſieth of Chriſt, and dieth in *Egipt* 147 Yeares olde, is carried into *Canaan*, and buried in *Hebron. Gen.* 49. 33.	2315	Jacob *dyeth.*
Hezron of the Age of 60 Yeares marieth the Daughter of *Machir.* 1. *Par.* 2. and 8.	2358	

Moſes.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
Joſeph *dyeth.*	2369	*Joſeph* dieth having lived 110 Yeares, and governed in *Egipt* 80 Yeares. His Bodie was kept there till *Iſrael* went out of *Egipt. Gen.* 50. 26.
	2392	*Levi* dieth being of 137 Yeares.
Aaron, *b.*	2431	*Aaron* was borne. *Exod.* 7.
Moſes, *b.*	2434	*Moſes* was borne, kept three Monethes, caſt out, taken up by *Pharaoh* his Daughter, and nurced for hir Sonne. *Exod.* 2. 2. &c.
Joſuah, *b.*	2470	*Joſuah* was borne, 44 Yeares before the Deliverance of *Iſrael* out of *Egipt.*
	2474	*Moſes* 40 Yeares old viſiteth his Brethren, is rejected of them, and flyeth into *Madian. Exod.* 2. 11. 15. *Act.* 7. where he marrieth, hath Children, and continueth 40 Yeares, *Exod.* 2. and after returneth into *Egipt. Exod.* 4.
Moſes *mariage.*		
Caleb, *b.*	2476	*Caleb* was borne. *Joſ.* 14.
	2485	The Men of *Gath* kill certaine of the *Ephraites*, 1. *Paral.* 8.
	2514	The laſt Moneth of this Yeare were done all the Thinges contained in the 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, of *Exod.* This Yeare was the 431. Yeare after the Promyſe made to *Abraham* in *Charran. Gen.* 12.
	2515	This firſt Yeare of Departure from *Egipt*, contayneth the Hiſtorie of *Moſes*, from the 9. of *Exod.* unto the 39. The 14. Day of the firſt Moneth, being the 25. of *April*, was ſlaine the firſt Paſſover. *Exod.* 12. The 20. Day of the ſame Moneth the People murmured in *Mara. Exod.* 15. *Num.* 33.
The firſt Paſſover.		
Murmur.		
Quailes.		The 15. Day of the ſecond Moneth, God brought Quailes upon the Limits of *Iſrael.*
Manna.		The 16. Day, they firſt did eate Manna: This was a Figure of Chriſt. *Joh.* 16. *Lev.* 10. Not long after, Water was given them out of the Rock in *Raphidim*, which alſo ſignifieth Chriſt. 1. *Lev.* 20.
Water.		
Amalek *overthrown.*		*Joſua* overthrew the *Amalakits. Exod.* 17. *Moſes* appointed Magiſtrates after the Counſel of *Jethro. Exod.* 18.
Sinay.		The thirde Moneth after their Departure out of *Egipt*, they came into the Deſert of *Sinay.*
The Law given.		This 67. Day of this Yere, was the Law given in Mount *Horeb. Exod.* 19. And after, the Promyſe of the great Prophet to come, which was Chriſt. *Deu.* 18.
Tables broken.		The 108. Day of this Yeare, being the 28. of *July*, *Moſes* brake the two Tables of Stone, and 3000. Men were ſlaine for worſhipping the Calfe which *Aaron* had made. After God giveth *Moſes* other Tables of the Law.
The Calfe.		
Tabernacle erected.	2516	*Moſes* erecteth the Tabernacle the firſt Day of the firſt Moneth.

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Moſes.*
The 14. Day of this Year was celebrated the ſecond Paſſover. *Num.* 9. About this Time, he that blaſphemed was ſtoned to Death. *Levit.* 24.		*Paſſover* 2. *The Blaſphemer.*
About the 23. Day of the ſecond Moneth, a Fier from the Lord conſumed the outmoſt of the Tents of *Iſrael. Num.* 11.		
About the 24. of the third Moneth, they luſted after Fleſhe, and were deſtroied many of them. *Num.* 11. *Miriam* was ſtricken with Leproſie. *Num.* 12.		*The People luſt.* Miriam *a Lepar.*
The 8. Day of the 6. Moneth, *Nadab* and *Abihu*, Sonnes of *Aaron*, periſhed with Fier from Heaven. *Levit.* 20.		Nadab *and* Abihu *burnt.*
Not long after 12 Spies were ſent into the Land of *Canaan*, and returned. The People murmure and are excluded from entring the Land. *Num.* 14.		*Spies. Murmur.*
Here *Moſes* breaketh off the Story for 36 Yeares: Remembring only the Puniſhment of him that gathered Stickes upon the Sabboth. *Num.* 15.		*The Sabboth Breaker.*
This was the 39. Yeare after the Departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egipt:* hath the Storie of *Core*, *Dathan* and *Abiram:* the ſuddain Deſtruction of 14700, and the floriſhing of *Arons* Rodd. *Num.* 16. 17, 18.	2553	Core, Dathan, *&c.* Arons *Rodd.*
The 40. Yeare after their Departure out of *Egipt Miriam* dieth. *Num.* 20. being more then 130 Years old. About this Time *Moſes* ſtriketh the Rock twice, of Infidelitie, and therefore is not ſuffered to enter into the Land of *Canaan.*	2554	Moſes *Infidelity.*
The firſt Day of the firſt Moneth, *Araon* dieth in Mount *Hor*, of Age 123 Yeares. *Num.* 20. and 33.		Araon, *d.*
King *Arad* is deſtroied. The Storie of the Braſen Serpent erected in the Wilderneſſe. *Num.* 21.		*The Braſen Serpent.*
The ſeventh Moneth, *Sihon* King of the *Amorites* is overthrowen.		Sihon *overthrowen.*
From this Time every fiftieth Yeare was the Yeare of *Jubilee:* And every ſeventh Yeare the Yeare of Reſt or Saboth.		*The firſt* Jubilee.
Shortly after, *Og* King of *Baſan* is overthrowen. *Deut.* 2. 3. *Num.* 21.		Og.
After followeth the Storie of *Bilham. Num.* 22—25.		Bilham.
He propheſied of the Comming of Chriſt. *Num.* 24.		
Moſes aſſigneth *Joſua* his Succeſſor. *Num.* 27.		
The Deſtruction of the *Midianits* by *Pinchas. Num.* 31. a mongeſt whom periſhed *Bileam.*		
The firſt Day of the 11. Moneth *Moſes* readeth *Deutronomy* unto the *Iſraelites. Deut.* 1. 3.		
The firſt Day of the laſt Moneth called *Adar*, *Moſes* dyeth, of the Age of 120 Yeares. *Deut.* 34. After whom *Joſua* ruleth.		Moſes, *d.* Joſhua *ruleth.*
Shortly after *Joſua* ſendeth Spies to *Jericho. Joſ.* 2.		

The

Josuah.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
	2555	The tenth Day of the first Moneth the *Israelits* passe ov*r Jordan. Jos.* 3. 4.
		The 11. Day of the first Moneth, the *Israelits* were circumcised in *Gilgal. Jos.* 5.
		The 14. Day they eate the Passover. The Day after Manna ceaseth. *Jos.* 5. 9. 11.
Jericho.		About the first Day of the 2. Moneth, the Walles of *Jericho* fell downe. *Jos.* 6. After, *Achan* was stoned for taking of the execrable Things. *Jos.* 7.
Sunn standeth still.		The same Yeare the Sunne and Moone stand still at the Commaundement of *Josuah. Jos.* 10.
		The same Yeare, follow the Thinges written. *Jos.* 8. 9. and 10:
	2561	*Josuah* in seven Yeares had overcome 31. Kinges of *Canaan*, and assigned unto every Tribe their Lot. The Tabernacle was erected in *Siloh.* The *Rubenits*, *Gadits*, &c. sent Home, *Jos.* 22.
Josuah, *d.*	2580	*Josuah* dyeth of 110 Yeares. *Jos.* 24. having governed the People after *Moses* 25 Yeares.
Pineas.		The same Yeare dyed *Eleazer* the high Priest, whom *Pineaz* succedeth.
	2600	About this Time was the Destruction of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, mentioned *Jud.* 19. 20.
Jubil. 1.	2602	And sixe Monethes, beginneth the first Yeare of *Jubeley.*
Othniel.	2608	This Yeare ended the Servitude of *Israell* under *Chusan* in the Dayes of *Othniel. Jud.* 3.
	2633	The Tribe of *Dan* possesseth his Lot. *Jud.* 18.
	2648	Began the Servitude of *Israel* under *Eglon. Jud.* 3.
Jubil. 2.	2651	And sixe Monethes approched the second *Jubelie.*
Ehud.	2666	*Ehude* slewe *Eglon*, and delivered *Israell* for 80 Yeares, *Jud.* 3. 30.
Jubil. 3.	2700	And six Monethes began the third *Jubelie.*
	2717	*Obed* is borne of *Ruth* by *Boaz.*
Samgar.	2747	*Samgar* delivereth *Israell. Jud.* 3.
Jubil. 4.	2749	And six Monethes began the 4. *Jubelie.*
Barak. Sissera.	2766	*Sissera* the Captaine of *Jabin* is overthrowen by *Barak* and *Deborah. Jud.* 4. 5.
Jubil. 5.	2798	And six Monethes entred the fifth *Jubiley.*
	2806	Began the Servitude of *Israel* under the *Madianits. Jud.* 6.
Gedeon.	2813	*Gedeon* delivereth *Israell. Jud.* 8. 28. and ruleth 40 Yeares. He had 70 Sonnes by his Wives: and by his Concubine, he had *Abimelec*, *Jud.* 8. 30.
Jubil. 6.	2847	And six Monethes began the six *Jubiley.*
Abimelec.	2853	*Gedeon* dieth, *Israel* is three Yeares under *Abimelec. Jud.* 9. 22. and was slaine at *Tebes.*

Began

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Judges.*
Began *Tholah* to judge over *Iſraell* after *Gedeon* for 23. Yeares. He is called *Badan.* 1. *Sam.* 12.	2856	Tholah.
Was borne *Jeſſe* the Father of *David.*	2878	Jeſſe.
Jair began to judge *Iſrael* after the Death of *Tholah*, for 22 Yeares.	2879	Jair.
And ſix Monethes entred the ſeventh *Jubiley.*	2896	Jubil. 7.
The *Philiſtines* and *Ammonits* began to oppreſſe *Iſrael* for 18 Yeares, *Jud.* 10.	2901	
Began the firſt of theſe ſixe Yeares wherein *Jephtha* judged *Iſrael. Jud.* 12. 7.	2919	Jephtha.
Ebzan began to judge *Iſrael* for 7 Yeares, *Jud.* 12.	2925	Ebzan.
Ely the Prieſt was borne. 1. *Sam.* 4. This Yeare began *Elon* to judge *Iſrael*, for 10 Yeares, *Jud.* 12.	2932	Elon.
Began *Abdon* of *Ephraim* to judge *Iſrael* for 8 Yeares, *Jud.* 12.	2942	Abdon.
And ſix Monethes, entred the eight *Jubilie.*	2945	Jubil. 8.
The *Iſraelites* ſerved the *Philiſtines* for 40 Yeares after the Death of *Abdon. Jud.* 13.	2950	
Began *Sampſon* of *Dan* to judge *Iſrael* for 20 Yeres. *Jud.* 15. which incurre into the former Servitude.	2970	Sampſon.
Sampſon pulled the Houſe upon him ſelfe and the *Philiſtines. Jud.* 16. Here begin the 40 Yeares wherein *Eli* judged *Iſrael.* 1. *Sam.* 4.	2990	Eli.
Began the ninth *Jubilie.*	2994	Jubil. 9.
About this Time was *Samuel* the Prophet borne, in *Bethelem.* 1. *Sam.* 1.	3000	Samuel, *b.*
Eli died, his ij. Sonnes being ſlaine the ſame Day, and the Ark of God is taken by the *Philiſtines.* About this Time were determined thoſe 450 Yeres of the Judges, whereof *Paul Act.* 13. Then began *Samuel* to rule. Then ceaſſed the Idol of *Michah. Jud.* 18.	3030	Eli, *d.* Samuel *ruleth.*
And one Moneth, *David* was borne, who at the Death of *Saul* was 30 Yeares olde. 2. *Sam.* 5.	3039	David, *b.*
And ſix Monethes was the tenth *Jubilie.*	3043	Jubil. 10.
The Slaughter of the *Philiſtines*, 1. *Sam.* 7.	3050	
And one Moneth *Saul* was choſen the firſt King over *Iſrael.* 1. *Sam.* 9. when *Samuel* had governed 27 Yeares and 7 Monethes. This Yeare *Nahaz* King of the *Ammonites* beſiegeth *Jabes.* 1. *Sam.* 11.	3057	Saul *choſen King.*
Saul the ſecond Yeare of his Election was rejected of God. The ſame Yeare were done the Thinges mentioned 1. *Sam.* 13. and 14.	3059	Saul *rejected.*
The *Rubenites* and *Gadites* about this Time deſtroied the *Hagarites*, 1. *Paral.* 6. Referre unto this Yeare the Stories contained, 1. *Sam.* 15. and 16. This Yeare which was the	3062	Hagarites *deſtroyed.*

David *annointed.*		the fift of *Saules* Raigne, *David* was anointed by *Samuel.* 1. *Sam.* 16.
Goliah *ſlaine.*	3063	This Yeare being the ſixth of *Saul*, *David* overthroweth *Goliah.* 1. *Sam.* 17.
Davids *Mariage.*	3064	*David* for 100 Foreſkinnes of the *Philiſtines*, becommeth Sonne in Law unto *Saul*, &c.
	3065	Were done the Thinges contained in 1. *Sam.* 19. 20, 21, and 22.
Gad.	3066	In this Time lived the Prophet *Gad.* 1. *Sam.* 22. This Yere was borne *Mephiboſheth* the Sonne of *Jonathan.* *David* ſpoileth the *Philiſtines.* 1. *Sam.* 23.
Davids *Deliverance.*	3067	*Saul* hearing of the Invaſion of the *Philiſtines*, ceaſſeth to perſecute *David*, 1. *Sam.* 23. and 24.
Samuel, *d.* Abigael.	3068	*Samuel* dieth. 1. *Sam.* 25. *Abigael* pacifieth *David. Nabal* dieth, &c. 1. *Sam.* 25. *David* taketh *Abigael* to Wife.
Ziclag.	3069	*Ziclag* is given to *David*, &c. 1. *Sam.* 27.
	3070	The firſt Moneth of this Yeare the *Philiſtines* make Warre againſt *Iſrael: Saul* aſketh Counſel of a *Pythoneſſe.* 1. *Sam.* 28. He is ſlaine with his 3 Sonnes, &c. 1. *Sam.* 30, 31.
Saul *ſlaine.*		
David *crowned.*	3072	*David* is crowned King over *Judah* in *Hebron*, being 30 Yeares olde.
		Amnon was borne unto *David.* 1. *Sam.* 3.
Aſahel *ſlaine.*	3076	*Abner* killeth *Aſahel* the Brother of *Joab.*
		Abſolon was borne in *Hebron.* 2. *Sam.* 3.
Abner *ſlaine.*		After 7 Monethes *Abner* and *Iſhboſheth* are ſlaine. *David* is made King in *Hebron* over al the Tribes, and driveth the *Jebuſites* out of *Jeruſalem.* 2. *Sam.* 5. 1. *Paral.* 12.
Hiram.		*Hiram* King of *Tyrus* ſendeth Cedars and Workmen to *David.*
	3077	*Thamar* was borne the 8. Yeare of *Davids* Raigne.
The Arke brought to Obededom.	3078	This Yeare *David* again overthroweth the *Philiſtines.* 2. *Sam.* 5. The Ark of the Lord was brought into the Houſe of *Obededom*, and after 3. Monethes into *Sion.* 2. *Sam.* 6.
Meſſias promiſed.	3079	About this Time (1063. before the Birth of Chriſt) Meſſias is promiſed to *David.* 2. *Sam.* 7. From this Time *Nathan* prophecied 30 Yeares. At the ſame lyved *Heman*, *Jedithum*, and *Aſaph*, mentioned in the Titles of certaine Pſalmes.
Heman, *&c.*		
Davids *Victories.*	3081	*David* ſubdueth the *Philiſtines*, and taketh the Tribute out of their Handes. 2. *Sam.* 8.
	3082	The *Moabites* are ſlaine, and made Tributaries unto *David.* 2. *Sam.* 8. The *Syrians* and *Damaſcens* are ſlaine by *David.* 2. *Sam.* 8. The Gratulation of *Thoi* King of *Hemath.* 1. *Paral.* 19. *David* overthroweth the *Idumeans* by *Abiſai.* 2. *Sam.* 8. 1. *Paral.* 19. *Joab* deſtroyeth all their

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*David.*
their Males. But *Hadad* one of the Kinges Houſe flyeth to *Pharaoh* into *Egipt.*		
Nahaz King of the *Ammonites* dieth, his Sonne *Hanon* cutteth off the Beardes and Skirtes of *Davids* Meſſengers, &c. 2. *Sam.* 10.	3084	Hanon.
In this Yeare fell the Adultery of *David* with *Bathſaba*, the Murder of *Uriah*, and ſurpriſing of *Rabba.* 2. *Sam.* 11.	3085	Uriah.
Was borne the Child gotten in Adulterie. 1. *Paral.* 3., *Nathan* reproveth *David.* The Childe dieth. 2. *Sam.* 12.	3086	
And three Monethes was borne *Salomon* of *Bathſaba.* 1. *Paral.* 3. whoſe Name and Office God revealed unto *David.* 1. *Paral.* 23.	3088	Salomon *borne.*
Thamar was raviſhed by *Amnon* her Brother. 2. *Sam.* 13.	3090	Thamar.
Amnon was ſlaine by the Commaundement of his Brother *Abſalon.* 2. *Sam.*	3092	Amnon.
Sixe Monethes within this Yeare began the 11. *Jubiley.*		Jubil. 11.
Abſolon after three Yeares Baniſhment returneth to *Jeruſalem.* 2. *Sam.* 13. 14.	3095	
He is brought into the Preſence of his Father *David.* 2. *Sam.* 14.	3097	
This Yeare *Abſolon* ambitiouſly ſeeketh the Favour of the People: prepareth him Charriots and Horſes, &c. 2. *Sam.* 15.	3098	
Abſolon conſpireth againſt *David* his Father, the 30. Yeare of his Raigne, betweene the Paſſover and Pentecoſt. 2. *Sam.* 15. 16.	3099	Abſolons *Conſpiracy.*
The ſame Yeare *Siba* conſpireth againſt *David*, 2. *Sam.* 16. 1.	3100	Siba *his Conſpiracie.*
To this Yeare, and the two following, is referred the Famin mentioned 2. *Sam.* 12.	3103	*Famin.*
The *Gebeonites* hang up the two Sonnes and five Nephewes of *Saul*, for his Crueltie againſt them. 2. *Sam.* 21.		Sauls *Sonns hanged.*
About this Time were ſlaine thoſe Giants of the Poſteritie of *Goliah*, mentioned 2. *Sam.* 21. 1. *Paral.* 21.		*Giants ſlaine.*
About this Time *David* numbreth the People, contrary to the Law. *Exod.* 30. and brought a Plague upon the People. 2. *Sam.* 25. when he had raigned 38. Yeares.	3107	David *numbreth the People.*
The Conſpiracie of *Adoniah: Salomon* is appointed to be King after *David.* 1. Reg. 1. unto which Time muſt be referred the Beginning of *Salomons* Raigne. About three Monethes within this Yeare was *Roboham* borne unto *Salomon.*	3108	Adoniah *his Conſpiracie.* Roboham *b.*
David commendeth the Kingdome to *Salomon:* Ordereth the Building of the Temple, and diſtributeth the Offices of the Prieſtes and Levites. 1. *Paral.* 23. 24.	3109	David *ordereth the State, and the Church.*

Salomon.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
Hadad *King of* Syria.	3110	The firſt Moneth of this Yeare, endeth the 40 Yeare of *Davids* Raigne, and he dieth. This Yeare *Hadad* the *Idumean* returneth out of *Egipt*, and raigneth over *Syria*. 1. *Reg.* 11. *Adoniah* and *Joab* are executed. *Abiathar* baniſhed, whom *Zadok* ſucceedeth. 1. *Reg.* 2. *Simei* is commaunded not to depart from *Jeruſalem*.
Adoniah *and* Joab *executed.*		
Salom. *maryage.*	3112	*Salomon* marrieth *Pharao* his Daughter. God appeareth unto *Sal.* in *Gebeon*. 1. *Reg.* 3.
A viſion.		*Salomon* judgeth the Cauſe of the two Women. 1. *Reg.* 3.
Salo. *judgeth the two Women.*		This Yeare, and 31 Daies, the Foundation of the Temple was laied. *Simei* is executed. 1. *Reg.* 2.
Temple founded.	3118	The Temple was finiſhed, the Arke brought out of the Tower of *Sion* into the Temple, which was dedicated the ſame Time, and Fier commeth from Heaven upon the Sacrifices. 2. *Paral.* 7.
Finiſhed.		
Arke placed.		
Sacrifice.		
Salo. *Houſe built.*		The ſame Yeare *Salomon* began to build his owne Houſe, which was finiſhed in 13 Yeares. 1. *Reg.* 7.
Viſion.	3131	God appeareth againe unto *Salomon*. 1. *Reg.* 9. 2. *Paral.* 7.
		Hiram refuſeth *Salomons* offer. 1. *Reg.* 9.
Cities built.	3133	*Salomon* buildeth Cities, *Gazer*, &c. 1. *Reg.* 9.
Shippes.	3133	*Salomon* ſendeth Shippes into *Ophir*. 1. *Reg.* 9. 1. *Paral.* 10. which returne after 3 Yeares.
The Queene of Saba.	3137	About this Time the Queene of *Saba* viſiteth *Salomon*. 1. *Reg.* 10.
Jubil. 12.	3141	And ſix Monethes was the 12. *Jubilie.*
Ahia.	3147	*Ahia* propheſied that *Jerobeam* ſhould be King of the tenne Tribes of *Iſrael*. 1. *Reg.* 11.
Jeddi.		The ſame Time propheſied *Jeddi*. 2. *Paral.* 9.
Salomon *dieth.*	3148	And three Monethes *Salomon* died, when he had raigned almoſt 40 Yeares. 1. *Reg.* 11. whom *Rehabeam* ſucceeded, *Jerobeam* returneth out of *Egypt*, and is made King over the tenne Tribes of *Iſrael*. 1. *Reg.* 11. he inventeth the Idolatrie of *Dan* and *Bethel:* So the Kingdome is devided into *Judah* and *Iſrael*. 1. *Reg.* 12.
The Kingdome devided.		
The Idolatry of Dan *and* Bethel.		
The Altar in Bethel *threatned.*	3148	And 7 Monethes with 14 Daies, was held the Feaſt of Tabernacles in *Bethel*. The Prophet threatneth the Altar, plagueth the King, and propheſieth of *Joſias*. 1. *Reg.* 13.
	3149	The Citie of *Sichem* was built, 1. *Reg.* 12.
Sichem *built* Rehobeam *his Fall.*	3151	And 4 Monethes, *Rehobeam*, after he had raigned 3 Yeares, forſooke the Law of the Lord. 1. *Paral.* 11.
Siſak *ſpoyleth* Jeruſal.	3154	*Siſak* King of *Egypt* ſpoileth *Jeruſalem*, and carrieth away all the Treaſures, with the golden Shieldes, 2. *Paral.* 12. 1. *Reg.* 14.
Semaia *the Prophet.*		Then God ſpake unto the Princes of *Judah* by the Prophet *Semaia*. 2. *Paral.* 12. with this Prophet lived *Iddo*. 2. *Paral.* 13.

This

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Kinges.*
This Yeare was borne *Jehoiada* the High Prieſt.	3165	
Rehobeam dieth, *Abiam* ſucceedeth in *Judah*, and overthroweth the *Iſraelites*. 1. *Reg.* 15. 2. *Paral.* 13. *Benhadad* the Sonne of *Tabrimon* King of *Syria* was confederated with *Abiam*. 1. *Reg.* 15.		Abiam *K. of* Judah.
Aſa was made Kinge of *Judah*, after 91 Daies. 1. *Reg.* 15.	3168	Aſa *King of* Judah.
And 10 Monethes, *Nadab* is made King of *Iſrael* after the Death of *Jerobeam* his Father. 1. *Reg.* 15.	3169	Nadab *King of* Iſrael.
Nadab dieth in the Beginning of the ſecond Yeare of his Raigne, ſlaine by *Baaſa*, who ſucceeded him in the Kingdome.	3171	Baaſa *King of* Iſrael.
Jehoſaphat was borne.	3175	
Now were determined the tenne Yeares of Peace. wherein *Aſa* built fenced Cities: After which Time he had continuall Warre with *Baaſa*. 1. *Reg.* 15.	3178	
And 61 Daies, Sacrifice is offered unto God of the Pray taken from the *Æthiopians*, whom *Aſa* deſtroied. 2. *Paral.* 15.	3183	Aſa *his Victorie.*
Baaſa King of *Iſrael* vexed *Judeah*, and built *Rama*. 2. *Paral.* 16. 1. *Reg.* 15. *Hanani* the Prophet is caſt into *Priſon* by *Aſa*. 2. *Paral.* 16.	3184	Rama *built.*
And ſix Monethes was the 13. *Jubilie.*	3190	Jubil. 13.
Jehu Sonne of *Hanani*, propheſieth againſt *Baaſa*. 1. *Reg.* 15.		Jehu *proph.*
Baaſa dieth, his Sonne *Ela* ſucceedeth in the Kingdome of *Iſraell*, and raigneth one Yeare and 24 Daies.	3194	Ela *King of* Iſrael.
The 54. Day, *Zimri* killeth *Ela*, and raigneth ſeven Daies, and is ſlaine by *Omri*. 1. *Reg.* 16.	3196	Zimri *King of* Iſrael.
And 91 Daies *Tibni* dieth, and *Omri* raigneth alone. 1. *Reg.* 16.	3199	Omri *raigneth.*
Joram is borne unto *Jehoſophat.*	3200	
Omri the ſixt Yeare of his Raigne commeth to *Samaria*, which he had built to be the Seat of the Kingdome of *Iſrael*. 1. *Reg.* 16.	3202	Samaria *built.*
And 76 Daies *Omri* dieth, the 12. Yeare of his Raign, after him ſucceeded *Achab*. 1. *Reg.* 16.	3206	Omri, *d.* Achab.
About this Time *Hiel* buildeth *Jericho*. 1. *Reg.* 16.		Jericho *built*
King *Aſa* beginneth to be diſeaſed in his Feete, the 39. Yeare of his Raigne. 2. *Paral.* 16.	3207	Aſa *his Gout.*
And three Monethes *Aſa* dieth. *Jehoſophat* ſucceedeth King over *Jehudah*. 1. *Reg.* 22.	3209	Jehoſaphat *raigneth.*
And three Monethes, *Jehoſaphat* in the third Yeare of his Raigne, ſendeth Princes and Levites to publiſhe the Booke of the Law, in the Cities of *Judad*. 2. *Paral.* 17.	3211	*The Law publiſhed.*
Ahaſia Nephew to *Jeſoſophat* by his Sonne *Joram*, was borne. 2. *Reg.* 8.	3217	Ahaſia, *b.*

Kinges.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
The drought.	3220	About this Time began the three Yeares of Drought (1. *Reg.* 17.) denounced by *Elias: Elias* ſojorneth with the Widow of *Sarephta*, and raiſeth hir Sonne from Death.
Sarephta.		
Obadia.		*Obadia* hideth an hundreth Prophetes of God in two Caves, 1. *Reg.* 18. 4.
Baals *Prophets ſlain.*	3223	*Elias* preſenteth him ſelfe unto the King. Fier from Heaven conſumeth his Sacrifice. 850 Prophets of *Baal* are ſlaine. 1. *Reg.* 18. 17. 38. 49.
Elizeus.		*Elizeus* is called to be a Prophet, 1. *Reg.* 19.
Samaria *beſieged.*		Towardes the End of this Yeare, *Benhadad* King of *Syria* beſiegeth *Samaria* with a great Armie, which *Achab* overthroweth. 1. *Reg.* 20.
A ſecond Victory.	3224	The *Syrians* again are overthrowen, and *Benhadad* is taken. 1. *Reg.* 20.
Naboth *ſtoned.*		This Year *Naboth*, by the wicked Practice of *Jezabel*, was ſtoned for his Vineyard. 1. *Reg.* 21.
	3226	This Yeare the *Sunamite* conceaveth a Sonne, as *Elizeus* had ſaid. 2. *Reg.* 4.
Ahaſia *made King.*	3226	*Ahaſia* is made King over *Iſrael*, his Father *Achab* yet living. 2. *Reg.* 1.
		Alſo *Jehoſophat* cauſed his Sonne *Joram* to be ſaluted King of *Juda*. 2. *Reg.* 1. 3.
Jehoſaphat *reproved.*		About this Time *Jehoſophat* is reproved by *Eliezar* the Prophet, for joining with *Ahaſia* in Navigation. 2. *Paral.* 20.
Achab *ſlain at* Ramath.	3227	*Jehoſophat* goeth with *Achab* to *Ramath*, where *Achab* is ſlaine, 1. *Reg.* 22.
Ahaſia *raigneth.*		The third Moneth of this Yeare *Ahaſia* ſucceedeth his Father *Achab.* in *Iſrael*, and dieth after 11 Daies. The *Moabites* fall from *Iſrael.* 2. *Reg.* 3.
100 *Soldiars burnt.*		About this Time *Elias* conſumeth 100 Soldiars, and their ij Captains, with Fier from Heaven. 2. *Reg.* 1.
Joram *King.*	3227	And almoſt iij. Monethes, *Ahaſia* dieth, his Brother *Joram* ſucceedeth. 2. *Reg.* 1, *and* 3. In the Beginning of his Raigne *Elias* was taken up into Heaven.
Elias *is rapt into Heaven.*		
Elizeus.	3228	*Elizeus* cureth the Waters, and curſeth the Children that mocked him. 2. *Reg.* 2. *Jehoſophat* is reproved by *Jehu* the Prophet, and calleth back his People unto God. 2. *Paral.* 19.
Jehoſaphat *reproved.*		
Warr with Moab.	3229	*Joram* King of *Iſrael*, with *Jehoſaphat*, and the King of *Edom*, go out againſt *Meſa* King of *Moab*, and *Elizeus* with them. 2. *Reg.* 3.
Oile multiplied.	3230	This Yeare, *Elizeus* multiplied the Oile of the Prophetes Widow. 2. *Reg.* 4.
One raiſed from Death.	3231	This Yeare *Elizeus* raiſeth from Death the *Sunamits* Sonne, &c. 2. *Reg.* 4, and 8. The ſame Yeare was done the Miracle

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Kinges.*
Miracle of xx. Loaves by *Elizeus*. 2. *Reg*. 4. A litle before this *Elizeus* had cured the Pottage poyſoned with *Colocynthida*.		*Pottage cured.*
And three Monethes, when *Jehoſaphat* had raigned 22 Yeares, his Sonne *Joram* (who hitherto had only the Title of the Kingdome) was taken by him into the Fellowſhip of Government.	3231	
This Yeare *Jehoſophat* gott Victory againſt *Ammon* and *Moab* without Battail, as *Jehaſiel* the Prophet had ſaid. 2. *Paral*. 20.	3232	Jehoſaphat *his Victorie.*
The ſame Yeare *Naaman* the *Syrian* was cured of his Leproſie by *Elezeus*. 2. *Reg*. 5.		Naaman *cured.*
Elezeus cauſeth Iron to ſwymme: An Armie of Angelles are ſhewed unto *Elezeus* his Servant: He bringeth his Enemyes into *Samaria*, 2. *Reg*. 6.	3233	*Iron ſwimmeth.* *An Armie of Angels.*
Benhadab beſiegeth *Samaria*, but being made afraid, he leaveth his Tents furniſhed unto his Enemies the *Iſraelites*. 2. *Reg*. 6, and 7.	3234	Samaria *beſieged.*
The thirde Monethe of this Yeare, *Jehoſophat* died. 2. *Paral*. 20. *Joram* ſlaieth his Bretherne. 2. *Paral*. 21. *Idumea* and *Libna* fall from *Joram*. *Elias* but not the *Thiſbite*, by Letters denounceth the Wrath of God againſt *Joram*. 2. *Paral*. 21.	3235	Jehoſaph. *d.* Joram *his Murder.* Elias *proph.*
About the Beginning, the *Philiſtines* and *Arabians* waſt *Judea*, and lead Captives the Kinges Wives, and his Sonnes, except *Ahaſia* alias *Johas*. 2. *Paral*. 21.	3236	Judea *waſted.*
The 9. Moneth of this Yeare began *Joram* to be diſeaſed in his Bowelles, ij Yeares before his Death. 2. *Paral*. 21.	3237	Joram *diſeaſed.*
This Yeare about Harveſt ceaſed the 7 Yeares Famine foretold by *Elezeus*. 2. *Reg*. 8.	3238	
The *Sunamite* returneth out of *Paleſtina*, and recovereth hir Landes by *Joram*. 2. *Reg*. 8.		*The* Sunamite *her Returne.*
Benhadad King of *Syria* dieth, when he had raigned 55 Yeares. *Hazael* ſucceedeth and raigneth 47 Yeares.	3239	Hazael *K. of* Syria.
Ahaſiah raigneth in *Judah* for his Father lying Sicke. 2. *Reg*. 9.		Ahaſiah.
The 273. Day of this Yeare, *Joram* dieth, having raigned 8. Yeares.		
The firſt Moneth, *Ahaſia* goeth downe with *Joram* King of *Iſrael*, againſt *Haſael* King of *Syria* unto *Ramoth*, where *Joram* is wounded. After they are both ſlaine by *Jehu*. 2. *Reg*. 9. *Jezabel* is eaten of Dogges. 2. *Reg*. 9.	3240	*Battail with* Hazael. Jehu. Jezabel.
And 90 Daies, *Jehu* beginneth to raigne over *Iſraell*. 70 Sonnes of *Achab* are ſlaine. *Baales* Prieſtes are ſlaine in their	3239	Achabs *Sonns ſlain.* Baal *his prieſts ſlain.*

their Temple. 2. *Reg.* 10. *Jonadab* the *Rechabite* was neare Frind to King *Jehu.*

Athalias *Murder.* — *Athalia,* Mother to *Ahazia* killeth the Kings Sonnes, only *Joas* escapeth. 2. *Paral.* 22. 23.

Jubil. 14. — This Yeare and sixe Monethes, began the 14 *Jubilie.*

3245 — And 90 Daies *Joas* being 70 Yeares olde, was brought forth, and made Kinge by *Jehoiada* the Prieſt. *Athalia* is slaine. 2. *Reg.* 11. 2. *Paral.* 23.

Joas *made K. of* Judah.

Hasael *invadeth* Isr. — 3246 — About this Time *Hasael* King of *Syria* invaded *Israel.* 2. *Reg.* 10.

3260 — *Amazias* is borne unto *Joas* King of *Juda.* 2. *Paral.* 23.

Joahas *King of* Israel. — 3267 — And 90 Daies, *Joahas* succeedeth his Father *Jehu* in the Kingdome of *Israel.* 2. *Reg.* 13. During whose Raigne, the Kinges of *Syria* afflict *Israel.*

Temple repaired. — *Joas* King of *Judah,* the 23. Yeare of his Raigne, repaireth the Ruynes of the Temple. 2. *Paral.* 24.

3282 — *Joas* is made King of *Israel* in the Life of his Father *Joahaz.*

Jehoiada, *d.* — 3283 — *Jehoiada* the Prieſt dieth being 130 Yeare olde.

Joas *his fal.* — 3284 — *Joas* after the Death of *Jehoiada* suffereth Idolles to be worshipped in Groves. *Zacharias* the Prieſt reproveth it, and is stoned in the Temple.

Hazael *his Victorie.* — 3285 — *Hazaell* spoileth *Jehuda,* and carrieth awaye the Treasures of *Jerusalem.* 2. *Reg.* 12. *Joas* appointeth his Sonne *Amazia* King over *Jehuda.* *Joahas* King of *Israel* dieth. 2. *Reg.* 13. *Joas* King of *Juda* in the 40. Yeare of his Raign, was killed of his Servants. 2. *Paral.* 24.

Amazia *reigneth.*

Elizeus, *d.* — 3286 — *Elizeus* dieth, having propheſied 63 Yeares. The Irruption of the *Moabites:* a Soldiar slaine, and caſt into *Elizeus* Sepulchre, revived 2. *Reg.* 13. *Hazael* dieth the 47. Yere of his Raigne, *Benhadad* his Sonne succeedeth. 2. *Reg.* 13.

Hazael, *d.* Benhadad *succeedeth.*

3287 — *Joas* King of *Israel* thrice overcometh *Benhadad* King of *Syria.* 2. *Reg.* 13.

Jubil. 15. — 3288 — And 6 Monethes was the 15. *Jubilie.*

Amazia *his Victorie.* — 3297 — About this Time *Amazia* overcommeth the *Idumeans:* is an Idolater, reproved of the Prophet, procureth *Joas* unto Battail, is vanquiſhed and taken, &c. 2. *Reg.* 14. 2. *Paral.* 25.

His Overthrow.

Jerobeam *the Second.* — 3298 — And 89 Daies, *Joas* dieth: his Sonne *Jerobeam* the second of that Name, succeedeth. 2. *Reg.* 14.

3309 — And 89 Daies *Uzzia* the Sonne of *Amazia* is borne, called also *Azaria.*

Amazia, *d.* — 3313 — *Amazia* dieth in the End of *June,* having raigned 29 Yeares. 2. *Reg.* 14. his Sonne *Azaria* succeedeth, but being only 4. Yeares olde, the Kingdome was governed by the Senate of

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Kinges.*
of *Sanhedrim*, till he came to 16 Yeares of Age. 2. *Reg.* 15.		*Sanhedrim.*
After this Yeare almoſt 11 Monethes, *Phul Belochus* ſucceedeth *Sardanapalus* King in *Aſſyria*, and raigned 48 Yeares. This is thought to have bene that King of *Ninivie*, whom *Jonas* the Prophet brought unto Repentance. 2. *Reg.* 14. *Jonas.* 3.	3321	Phul Belochus.
Azaria being now 16 Yeares olde, beginneth him ſelfe to rule, in the End of *June*. About this Time began *Hoſea* to Propheſie, and continued his Miniſterie more than 70 Yeares. *Oſe.* 1.	3326	Azaria *ruleth.* Hoſea *propheſieth.*
Two Yeares before thoſe Troubles of Warre which followed preſently after the Death of *Jerobeam*, *Amos* propheſied of the Deſtruction of *Iſraell*. *Amos* 1. A litle before him propheſied *Joel* of a great Drought, and againſt *Samaria*. *Joel* 1.	3337	Amos *propheſieth.* Joel.
And ſix Monethes began the 16. *Jubilie.*	3338	Jubil. 16.
One Day after this Year ended, died *Jerobeam* the ſecond, when he had raigned 40 Years and 277 Daies. After his Death there is no King in *Iſrael* for 12 Yeares and 60 Daies.	3339	Jerob. *d.* *No King in* Iſrael.
Jotham the Sonne of *Azaria* is borne.	3341	
And 61 Daies, *Zacharias*, Sonne of *Jerobeam* obtayneth the Kingdome of *Iſrael*, which for the Troubles of civil Warres he hetherto had wanted.	3351	Zacharias *raigneth.*
And 240 Daies, about the Ende of *November*, *Zacharia*, when he had raigned only ſix Monethes, was ſlaine by *Shallum*, who ſucceeded him in the Kingdome. Hitherto from the Beginning of the Raigne of *Jehu* were 112 Yeares, and 154 Daies. *Shallum* raigned not after the Moneth of *December*, and was ſlaine by *Menachem*. 2. *Reg.* 15. who after 178 Daies poſſeſſed the Kingdome.	3351	*Is ſlaine.* Shallum *ſucceedeth.* *Is ſlaine.* Menachem
Phul Belochus King of *Aſſyria* invadeth *Iſrael:* and for 1000 Talents of Silver confirmeth *Menachem* in the Kingdome. 2. *Reg.* 15.	3353	*raigneth.*
Tobias the elder is borne. *Tob.* 1. and 14.	3355	
Uzzia ſtricken with Leproſie, committeth the Goveruement of his Houſe unto his Sonne *Jotham*, being but 16 Yeares olde.	3356	Uzzia, *a Lepar.* Jotham.
In the Entrance of this Yeare *Achaz* was born. After 88 Daies of the ſame Yeare dieth *Menachem*, when he had raigned 10 whole Yeares: whom *Pekahia* his Sonne ſucceedeth in the Kingdome. 2 *Reg.* 15.	3362	Achaz, *b.* Pekahia *raigneth.*
And almoſt iij. Monethes in the Ende of the ſecond Yeare of his Raigne, *Pekahia* is ſlaine by *Pekah* Sonne of *Remalia*, who	3364	*Is ſlaine.*

Kinges.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
Pekah *raigneth.*		who is made King of *Iſrael* in the Moneth of *June.* 2 *Reg.* 15.
Uzzia, *d.* Jotham *raigneth.*	3366	And almoſt iij. Monethes *Uzzia* dieth, having raigned 52 Yeares: His Sonne *Jotham* of the Age of 25 Yeares raigneth in his ſteade. 2. *Paral.* 27. 2 *Reg.* 15.
Eſay *his Viſion.*		This Yeare *Eſay* ſaw the Lord ſitting upon an high Throne. *Eſay* 6. and therefore had begon to propheſie ſomewhat before this.
Olympiades begin.	3368	And 91 Dayes began the *Grecians* to number Yeares by the Olympiades.
Micha *propheſieth.*		About this Time began *Michah* the *Moraſkite* to propheſie, and taught 56 Yeares.
Thiglath-Pilleſer.	3369	And almoſt 11 Monethes, *Phul-Belochus* dieth, after whom ſucceeded *Thiglath-Pilleſer*, or *Phul-Aſſar*, who raigned in *Babylon* twenty five Yeares.
Ezechia, *b.*	3372	*Ezechia* is borne: Then was *Ahaz* about 11 Yeares olde, and ſo could not be the natural Father of *Ezechia*, but adopted him.
Pekah *and* Rezin *conſpire.* Jotham, *d.*	3381	From this Time *Pekah* and *Rezin* conſpired to invade *Juda.* 2. *Reg.* 15. Upon the End of this Yeare *Jotham* dieth, when he had raigned 15 Yeares and 279 Daies, whom *Ahaz* his Sonne ſucceedeth in *Judah.* 2. *Reg.* 16.
Ahaz *King of* Judah.	3382	*Ahaz* Sacrificeth his owne Sonne, &c. 2. *Reg.* 16.
Jeruſalem *beſieged.*	3383	*Rezin* King of *Syria*, and *Pekah* King of *Iſrael* beſiege *Jeruſalem*, and take it not, but carrie many Jewes Captive to *Damaſcus* and *Samaria*, whom *Obed* the Prophet commaundeth to ſet free. 2. *Reg.* 16. 2. *Paral.* 28. *Eſa.* 7.
Obed *proph.*		
Eſay *propheſieth of Chriſt.*		This Yeare *Eſaie* propheſieth that Chriſt ſhould be borne of a Virgine which was done 759 Yeares after) and that *Rezin* and *Remalia* ſhould ſhortly after be deſtroied.
Damaſcus *beſieged.*	3384	*Thiglath-Peleſer* King of *Aſſyria*, hired by *Achaz*, beſiegeth *Damaſcus*, and killeth *Rezin* the King thereof. 2. *Reg.* 16.
Gad, Rub. Manaſſes *captive.*		At the ſame Time he invadeth *Iſraell*, and carrieth the Tribes of *Gad*, *Ruben*, and halfe *Menaſſe*, Captive into *Aſſyria.* 1. *Paral.* 6. 2. *Reg.* 16.
Pekah *ſlain.*	3385	About the 88. Day, *Pekah* Sonne of *Remalia*, when he had raigned 20 Yeares was ſlaine of *Hoſea* and his Confederates. 2. *Reg.* 15.
No King in Iſrael.		After his Death *Iſrael* had no King for viij. Yeares, and 278 Daies.
Warres.		In the meane Time happened thoſe Wars wherein the *Idumeans*, *Philiſtines*, and *Thiglath-Pilleſer* troubled *Juhab* and *Achas.* 2. *Paral.* 28.
Jubil. 17.	3386	And ſix Monethes began the 17. *Jubilie.*
Rome *founded.*	3391	And 19 Daies the Foundation of *Rome* was laied, the 20. Day of *Aprill.* The ſame was the 10. Yeare of *Achaz* his Raigne.

And

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Kinges.*
And one Day, about the 2. of *April*, *Hoſea* obtaineth the Kingdome of *Iſrael*. About this Time *Habacuc* propheſied.	3393	Hoſea *King of* Iſrael. Habacuc *propheſied.*
Phul Aſſar, alias *Thiglath-Pelleſer* dieth, having raigned 25 Yeares: and *Zalmaneſſer* (called by *Ptolomie Nabonaſſer*) ſucceedeth him in the Kingdome of *Aſſyria*, in the Ende of *Februarie*. *Hoſea* calleth him *Salman.* cap. 10.	3395	Salmanaſſ. *K. of* Aſſyr.
Ezechias was made King of *Judah*, being of Age 25 Yeares. 2. *Reg.* 18.	3396	Ezech. *K. of* Judah.
Achaz dieth in the 16. Yeare of his Raigne: Then *Eſay* foretold the Victorie of *Ezechia* againſt the *Philiſtines*. *Eſa.* 15. 2. *Reg.* 18.	3397	Achaz, *d.*
Ezechias openeth the Doare of the Houſe of God, and cauſeth the ſame to be purged. 2. *Paral.* 29. He deſtroieth Idolatrie in *Judah:* Breaketh the Braſen Surpent. 2. *Reg.* 18. celebrateth the Paſſover: deſtroieth the Idolatrie of *Jerobeam.* 2. *Paral.* 31.		Ezechias *reformeth Religion.*
This Yeare, *Salmaneſſer* maketh *Hoſea* Kinge of *Iſrael* tributarie. 2. *Reg* 17.	3398	Hoſea *King of* Iſrael.
Salmaneſſer againe invadeth *Iſrael*, and beſiegeth *Samaria* 3 Yeares. 2. *Reg.* 17, 18. Before this Siege they of the Tribe of *Simeon* obtaine *Gedar*, and deſtroye the Remnant of the *Amalekites*. 1. *Paral.* 5.	3400	Salmaneſſ. 2. *Aſſault.*
In the Beginning *Samaria* was taken, and *Iſraell* carried Captive into *Aſſyria*, without Promiſe of returne into *Canaan.*	3403	Iſrael *carried Captive.*
In the 14. Yeare of *Ezechias*, *Sanherib* invadeth *Judeah*. 2. *Reg.* 18. The ſame time *Thartan*, one of his Captaines, taketh *Aſdod*. *Eſa.* 20. The Angell of God killeth 158000 *Aſſyrians*, *Sanherib* flieth to *Ninivie*, and is ſlaine of his owne Sonnes in his Idols Temple, and *Aſſer-Haddon* ſucceeded in the Kingdome. 2. *Reg.* 19.	3410	Sanherib *beſiegeth* Jeruſalem. Sanherib *ſlaine.*
This Yeare *Tobia* became Blinde. *Tob.* 2.		
Ezechias falleth Sicke unto Death, and is cured by *Eſay* the Prophet, 2. *Reg.* 20. *Eſay* 38.		Ezechias *Sickneſſe.*
The Shadow of *Achaz* his Diall is carried backe 10 Degrees.		Achaz *dial.*
Merodach K. of *Babylon* ſendeth Embaſſadors unto *Ezechias*. 2. *Reg.* 20. *Eſay* 39. About that Time *Eſay* propheſieth of *Cyrus* that he ſhould deſtroy *Babylon*, and reſtore *Judah*, which came to paſſe 192 Yeares after.	3411	Eſay *propheſied of* Cyrus.
Manaſſes was borne. *Tobias* the Yonger taketh a Wife: his Father receaveth his Sight. *Tob.* 11. 14.	3414	
Ezechias dieth, having raigned 29 Yeares, and *Manaſſes* ſucceedeth him, being but 12 Yeares olde. 2. *Paral.* 33.	3425	Ezechias *Death.*

Kinges.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
Dejoces.	3434	*Deioces* King of the *Medes* began to raigne for 53. Yeares.
Jubil. 18.	3435	And ſix Monethes was the 18 *Jubilie.*
Manaſſes *Captivitie.*	3456	*Manaſſes* a moſt wicked Idolater, burning his owne Children, and killing the Prophets, was about this Time bound with Chaines, and carried Captive into *Babylon:* and *Eliachim* ruled in *Judah. Eſay* 22. *Tobia* dieth.
Manaſſes *Repentance.*	3457	*Manaſſes* in Priſon repenteth of his Sinnes, and is reſtored unto his Kingdome.
Amon, *b.*	3458	*Amon* Sonne of *Manaſſes* is borne.
Joſias *b.*	3473	And 46 Daies, *Joſias* Sonne of *Aman* is borne.
Amon *raigneth.*	3479	And 45 Daies, *Manaſſes* having raigned 54 Yeares and more, dieth about the middeſt of *May*, *Amon* his Sonne ſucceedeth, being 22 Yeares olde.
Amon *ſlain.* Joſias *raigneth.*	3481	And 45 Daies, *Amon* when he had raigned 2 Yeares was ſlaine of his Courtiers: whom after the People put to Death. 2 *Reg.* 21. and made *Joſias* his Sonne King, being but 8 Yeares olde.
Nebuchadnezer *the Firſt.*	3483	The firſt Moneth of this Yeare, *Nebuchadnetzer*, the Father of *Nebuchadnetzer* the Great, began his Raigne, and raigned 35 Yeares.
Jubil. 19.	3484	And ſix Monethes began the 19. *Jubilie.*
Phraortes.	3487	*Phraortes* ſucceeded his Father *Deioces* in the Kingdome of the *Medes*, after he had raigned 53 Yeares. *Herodot. Lib.* 1.
Sallum, *b.* Eliachim, *b.*	3488	About the middeſt of this Year was *Sallum* the eldeſt Sonne of *Joſiah* borne. After him was borne *Eliakim* Sonne of *Joſia*, who was after called *Joiakim.* 2 *Reg.* 23.
Joachas, *b.*	3490	And 45 Daies *Joachas* Sonne of *Joſia* was borne.
Joſias *deſtroyeth Idolatrie.*	3492	And 45 Daies began the 12 Yere of *Joſia* his Raigne, he deſtroied the high Places, Groves, Idols, and Altars of *Baal*, and burnt upon them the Boanes of the Prieſtes. 2. *Reg.* 23. according as it was propheſied 344 Yeares before. 1. *Reg.* 13. Anno 3148.
Jeremie. Zephenias. Nebuchad.	3493	*Jeremie* began to propheſie in the 13. Yeare of *Joſias. Jer.* 1. About the ſame Time *Zephanias* propheſied. *Zeph.* 1. This Yeare and 334 Daies, *Nebuchadnezer* the Firſt, overcame the King of the *Medes.*
Holofernes *ſlaine.*	3495	*Holofernes* is ſlaine the 14. Yeare of *Joſias* King of *Judah.*
The Houſe of God reſtored. *The Booke of the Law found.*	3498	And 45 Daies, began the 18. Yeare of *Joſias* his Raigne: He reſtored the Houſe of the Lord his God. 2. *Reg.* 22. 2. *Paral.* 34. *Hilkija* the High Prieſt findeth the Booke of the Law written by *Moſes. Huldah* the Prophetiſſe foretelleth the Deſtruction of *Judah.*
		Here begin the 40 Yeares of the Sinne of *Judah. Ezech.* 4.
A ſolemne Paſover.	3499	And 13 Daies, *Joſias* holdeth a moſt ſolemne Paſover at *Jeruſalem.* 2. *Reg.* 23.

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.

	A.M.	*Kinges.*
Zedechias the Sonne of *Josias* is borne. 2. *Reg.* 24.	3503	Zedechia, *b.*
This Yeare was *Joachim* or *Jechonias* borne. 2. *Reg.* 24.	3506	Joiachim, *b.*
Phraortes King of the *Medes*, perisheth in Battail: after whom *Cyaxares* his Sonne succeedeth, and raigneth 40 Yeares. *Herod.* 1.	3509	Phraortes *slaine.* Cyaxares.
And 45 Daies, *Josias* going out to meet *Pharo Neco*, King of *Egipt*, dieth in *Megiddo*, when he had raigned 31 Yeares. 2. *Paral.* 34. his Sonne *Joachas* succeedeth, being 23 Yeares olde. About this Time *Jeremie* was cast into Prison by *Passur*. *Jer.* 19. *Joachas* when he had raigned 3 Monethes, was carried by *Pharo Neco* into *Egipt*, and dyed there. Thither also was carried *Sallum*, and there dyed. *Jer.* 22.	3512	Josias, *d.* Joachas *K. of* Judah. Jeremie *imprisoned.* Joachas *d.* Sallum, *d.*
And 137 Daies, *Eliachim*, Sonne of *Josias*, is made King of *Judah* by *Neco*, and is called *Joiakim:* He paieth a great Tribute unto *Pharao*. 2. *Reg.* 23. He causeth the Prophet *Urias* to be slaine with the Sworde. *Jer.* 26.	3512	Eliach. *K. of* Judah. Urias *Prophet slaine.*
Joachim ordaineth his Sonne *Jechonias* King of *Judah*, being then but eight Yeares olde. 2. *Paral.* 36.	3515	
This Yeare after Winter, *Nebuchadnezer* the Great, sent by his Father, besiegeth *Jerusalem*, and taking *Joiakim*, carrieth away part of the holy Vesselles, and manie of the *Jewes* Captive: And amongest them, *Daniell*, *Hanania*, *Misael*, and *Asaria*. *Dan.* 1. 2. Who are taught the Tonge and Learning of the *Chaldeans* for three Yeares. *Dan.* 1. 4.		Jerusalem *besieged.* Daniel, *&c. Captive.*
The *Rechabites* for Feare of the Warres, came to *Jerusalem*. They refuse to drink Wine. *Jer.* 35.	3516	Rechabites.
About this Time *Nebuchadnezer* overthroweth the Host of *Pharao Neco* at *Euphrates*. *Jer.* 46.		Pharao Neco *overthrowen.*
About the 122. Day, *Nabuchadnezer*, called also *Nebuchadretzar*, succeedeth his Father in the Kingdome of *Babylon*. *Jer.* 25. *Jeremie* is againe cast into Prison, and commaundeth *Baruch* to write his Propheties, which he readeth unto the People, and Princes. The Kinge burneth the Booke, *&c.*	3517	Jeremie *imprisoned.* Baruch.
Daniell a yong Man about 20 Yeares olde delivered *Susanna*.	3518	Susanna.
Joiakim rebelleth against *Nebuchadnezer*, in the sixth Yeare of his Raigne, and is distressed of the *Caldeans*. *Daniel* and his Companions excell the rest. He expoundeth the Kinges Dreame. *Dan.* 2. is renowned for his Wisdome: is advanced unto Honor, and preferreth his iij. Compapanions: who shortly after are cast into the burning Furnace. *Dan.* 3.	3519	Joiakim *rebelleth.* Daniel *his Advancement.* *Burning Furnace.*
Nebuchadnetzar besiegeth *Tyrus*, in the seventh Yeare of his Raigne.	3523	

Kinges.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
Jechoniah *K. of* Judah.	3523	And 29. Daies, *Jechonia* is made King of *Judah* by *Nebuchadnezer*, when he was 18 Yeares old: Then were carried captive into *Babylon* 3023 *Jewes*. *Jer.* 52. 2 *Reg.* 24.
	3523	And 122 Daies, *Nebuchadnezer* sendeth his Hoſt to *Jeruſalem* for *Jechonia*, and the holy Veſſelles of the Temple. 2. *Paral.* 36. Then were carried Captive with *Jechonia* tenne thouſand of the Nobles and valiant Men, &c. 2. *Reg.* 24. *Jer.* 24. Preſently after this, *Methania* was made King of *Judah*, and called *Zedechia*: He was the Sonne of *Joſias*. *Jer.* 37. At this Time began the Yeares of the Captivitie of *Judah*, according to *Ezechiel* cap. 40. before the Burning of the Temple 11 Yeares.
Zedecia. *The Captivitie of* Judah *began.*	3526	And 131 Daies. *Hether* referre the End of the 27. and the 28. of *Jer.* Not long after the falſe Prophet *Hanania* dieth, the Death whereof *Jeremie* had foretold. *Jer.* 28.
Zed. *goeth into* Babylon.	3527	*Zedechias* in the 4. Yeare of his Raigne goeth into *Babylon*. *Jer.* 51. At the ſame Time *Jeremie* committeth unto *Seraia* his Propheſie againſt *Babylon*. *Jer.* 50 and 51.
Ezechiell *propheſieth.*	3528	And 45 Daies, the fift Yeare of the Raigne of *Zedechias*, *Ezechiel* began his Propheſie, and taught by the Space of xx Yeares. Unto this Time are to be referred *Ezech.* cap. 8. to the 19.
Jeruſalem *beſieged.*	3529	And 131 Daies referre hither. *Ezech.* 20, 21, 22, 23.
		And 128 Daies, in the 9. Yeare of *Jechonia* his Captivitie, died the Wife of *Ezechiel*. The ſame Day *Nebuchadnezer* with his Armie beſieged *Jeruſalem*. *Jer.* 52. 2. *Reg.* 25.
	3531	And 343 Daies, *Ezechiel* foretelleth the Deſolation of *Egipt* for 40 Yeares. *Ezech.* 29.
Jeremies 2. *Impriſ.*	3532	And 122 Daies, *Jeremie* was againe impriſoned. *Jer.* 32. 33. and accuſed to be the Cauſe of this third Captivitie. The firſt was An. 3513, The ſecond An. 3517.
Jubil. 20.	3533	This Yeare and ſix Monethes was the 20. *Jubilie*. wherein ſhould have ben ſet Free all Bond Men and Bond Women, *Levit.* 25. for violating of which Law, they are reproved by the Prophet *Jeremie*.
Nebuchad. *goeth againſt* Pharao.		At this Time *Nebuchadnezer* left the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, and went againſt *Pharao*. Then *Jeremie* came out of Priſon, and preached, his cap. 34. foretold the Returne and Victorie of the *Chaldeans*: And was the 4. Time put in Priſon: and accuſed of Treaſon. *Jer.* 37.
Jer. 4. *Impriſonment.*		
	3534	*Ezechiel* propheſieth againſt *Tyrus* cap. 26, 27, and 28. and againſt *Egipt* 30.
Jer. 5. *Impriſonment.*	3534	And 60 Daies, *Zedechia* conferreth with *Jeremie*: he is the 5. Time impriſoned, but more tollerably then before, cap. 37. After he is put in the Dungeon of *Myer*, which

was

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Daniel.*
was his 6. Impriſonment: He is delivered by *Ebedmelech*. *Jer.* 38. in the Time of the Famine. 2. *Reg.* 25. *Nebuſaradan* entreth the Citie to burne it. *Zedechias* is taken in Flight. *Jer.* 39. hath his Eyes pulled out, when he had ſeene his Sonnes ſlaine: is carried bound into *Babylon*, and there dieth. *Jeremie* is delivered by *Nebuſaradan*. *Jer.* 39. 40.		Zedechia *taken*, &c.
The 131. Day of this Yeare, was the Temple, Palace, and Citie of *Jeruſalem* burnt. *Jer.* 52. About this Time *Abdiah* propheſied againſt *Idumea*.	3535	*The Citie and Temple burnt.*
Gedalia gathereth the Remnant of the People, and is ſlaine by *Iſmael*. The People for feare of the *Chaldæans* go into *Egipt*, and carrie *Jeremie* with them by Force.		Gedalia *ſlaine.*
This Yeare the 122. Day, *Nebuchadnezer* taketh *Tyrus*, having beſiged it 13 Yeares. The ſame Yeare *Jeremie* propheſieth againſt the Kinge of *Egipt*. *Jer.* 44.	3536	Tyrus *taken*
Pharao Neco goeth againſt *Carchemin*. 2. *Reg.* 23. 2. *Paral.* 35. the Spoile of *Egipt* is promiſed to *Nebuchadnezer*. *Ezech.* 29.	3538	Carchemin.
The 23. Yeare of the Raigne of *Nebuchadnezer*, after he had ſubdued the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, and *Egiptians*, he ſendeth *Nebuſaradan* into *Judah*, who carrieth Captive 745 Men. *Jer.* 52. Here are determineth the 390 Years of the Iniquitie of *Iſrael*, and the 40 Yeares of the Sinne of *Judah*. *Ezech.* 4. About this Time *Cyaxares* deſtroieth *Ninive*.	3539	Nebuchad. 745 *Captives.*
This Yeare *Nebuchadnezer* ſawe the Viſion of the great Tree to be cut downe: which was expounded unto him by *Daniel*. *Dan.* 4.	3541	*The Viſion of the Tree.*
Darius Medus was borne, who helped *Cyrus* in taking of *Babylon*. He was the Sonne of *Ahaſuerus*. *Dan.* 9. This Yeare *Nebuchadnezar* for Madnes was driven from his Kingdome to live amongſt Beaſts, ſeven Yeares. *Dan.* 4.	3542	Darius, *b.* Nebuchadnezer *his Madnes.*
Aſtyages ſucceedeth his Father *Cyaxares* in the Kingdome of the *Medes*, and reigneth 35 Yeares. *Nebuchadneſar* is reſtored to his Reaſon and Kingdome, and praiſeth the moſt high God. *Dan.* 4.	3549	Aſtyages *raigneth.* Nebuchad. *reſtored.*
Nebuchadneſar dieth having raigned 45 Yeares. His Son *Evilmerodach* ſucceedeth him, being ſaluted King 2 Yeares before the Death of his Father.	3559	*He dyeth.* Evilmerodach.
About the 358. Day of this Yeare, *Evilmerodach*, preferreth *Jechoniah*, who had ben Captive more then 36 Years, and was now 55 Years old. 2. *Reg.* 25. *Jer.* 52.	3560	Jechonias *preferred.*
This Yeare ended the 40 Yeares of the Deſolation of *Egypt*. *Eze.* 29.	3579	

And

Cyrus.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
Jubil. 21.	3582	And 6 Moneths was the 21. *Jubilie.*
Aſtyages *taken.*	3584	*Aſtyages* King of the *Medes* was taken by *Cyrus.* After this Victory, *Cyrus* lived: he raigned 29 Yeares.
Evilmerodach, *d.* Belſhatzar *Viſion of* 4 *Beaſtes.*	3589	And 122 Daies *Evilmerodach* dieth, and his Sonne *Belſhatzar* raigneth after him. About this Time *Daniel* ſawe the Viſion of foure Beaſts, ſignifying the foure Kingdomes of the World. *Dan.* 7.
Viſion.	3593	This Yeare, or 3602. was the third Yeare of *Belſhatzar* in which *Daniel* ſaw the Viſion contained, *Dan.* 8. The ſame Yeare in the Spring Time, the *Medes* and *Perſians* tooke *Babylon*, according to *Daniel* his Propheſie. Then was verified the ſaying of *Jer.* 51. *Darius Medus* was at this Time with *Cyrus*, *Belſhatzar* was ſlaine in the 5. Yeare of his Empire.
Babylon *taken.*		
The Returne of the Jewes *to* Jeruſalem.	3604	*Cyrus* in the firſt Yeare of his Raigne, permitteth the *Jewes* to returne to *Jeruſalem*, to builde the Temple, &c. *Eſra.* 6. Then was fulfilled the Propheſie of *Eſay* concerning *Cyrus*, cap. 44. The ſame Yeare *Daniell* praieth, and is informed by the Angell *Gabriell*, of the Comming and Office of Chriſt. *Dan.* 9. He is after caſt into the Lions Denne, and miraculouſly delivered. *Dan.* 6.
Daniel *prayeth.*		
The Lions Denne.		
	3605	The 9. Day of the fifth Moneth, were ended the 70 Yeares of the Deſolation of *Jeruſalem.* The firſt Day of the 7. Moneth, the *Jewes* then returned, aſſembled themſelves at *Jeruſalem*, and the ſame Moneth offered Sacrifices, and held the Feaſt of Tabernacles. *Eſd.* 3. This Yeare died *Darius Medus.*
The Feaſt of Tabernacles.		
Daniels *Faſt.*	3606	In the Entraunce of this Yeare *Daniell* faſted and mourned. cap. 10. About the 24. Day of this Yeare, *Daniel* receaveth of the Angel the Propheſies of his 11. and 12. Chapters. And ſhortely after dieth. In the Moneth of *May*, the Foundation of the Temple was layed by the *Jewes.* *Eſd.* 3. And the Worke hindred by their Neighbours.
His Death.		
The Temple founded.		
Samarit. *hinder the Worke.*	3607	In the Beginning of this Yeare, the *Samaritanes* againe ſeeke to hinder the Worke of the Temple, and complaining to *Ahaſuerus*, cauſe the ſtaying therof 16 Yeares, all the Daies of *Cyrus* unto the 2. Yeare of *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpis.* *Eſd.* 4. 5. The ſame Yeare *Cyrus* going to warre againſt *Tomyris*, Queene of the *Scythians*, committeth his Kingdome unto *Ahaſuerus*, otherwiſe called *Cambyſes* his Sonne, who raigned 6 Yeares under *Cyrus*, and after him before *Darius* ſeven Yeares.
Cyrus *warre againſt* Tomyris.		
	3610	*Ahaſuerus* made a great Feaſt, wherin *Vaſthi* was divorſed. *Heſt.* 1.

Cyrus

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Hester.*
Cyrus dieth, having raigned 29 Yeares, *Cambyses* raigneth alone after his Father 7 Yeares, and 5 Moneths.	3613	Cyrus, *d.*
Toward the Ende of this Yeare in *Januarie*, the 7. Yeare of *Ahasuerus*, *Hester*, called also *Atossa*, or *Edesza*, became Wife unto *Ahasuerus*. *Hester* 2.		Hester *married to* Ahasuerus.
Mardocheus by *Hester*, signifieth unto *Ahasuerus* the Treason of *Bigthan* and *Theres* his Servants, *Hester* 2. *Haman* is advanced unto high Honor. *Hester* 2.	3614	Mardoch. *Fidelitie.* Haman *advanced.*
In the Entrance of this Yeare, *Haman* practiseth to destroy the *Jewes*, perswadeth the King, and sendeth Letters for Execution of his Devise. *Hest.* 3. which *Hester* understanding by *Mardochai*, commandeth a Fast to be held of the *Jewes*. *Hest.* 4. After calleth *Ahasuerus* and *Haman* unto a Banquet: *Mardochai* is honored: *Hester* intreateth the King for hir People, and obtaineth. *Haman* is hanged, &c. *Hest.* 7, 8, 9. The Feast of *Purim* is instituted.	3619	*His Practise against the* Jewes. Haman *hanged.* *Purim.*
And 5 Monethes, *Cambyses* or *Ahasuerus* killeth him selfe with his owne Sword: And *Magus* raigneth for vij. Monethes.	3620	Cambyses *killeth himselfe.*
Darius the Sonne of *Hystaspis* beginneth his Raign, who toke *Hester* to Wife, by whom he had *Xerxes* Father of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, a great Benefactor of the *Jewes:* He raigneth 36 Yeares.	3621	Darius *raigneth.*
In *September* the second Yeare of *Darius* his Raigne *Serubabel* and *Jeboshua* the Priest, stirred up by *Aggay* and *Zacharie* the Prophets, began to finish the Building of the Temple, which had ben intermitted for more then 15 Yeares. *Ezr.* 5. *Agg.* 1. and that by the Commandement of *Darius*. *Ezr.* 5.	3623	*The Temple built.*
The second Temple was finished in the Ende of this Yeare, about the third of *March*, the 6. Yeare of *Darius Hystaspis*. *Esr.* 6.	3627	*Finished.*
The 14. Day was held the Passover. *Esr.* 6.	3628	
And six Monethes was the 22. *Jubilie.*	3631	Jubil. 22.
Darius dieth having raigned 36 Yeares, after succeeded his Sonne *Xerxes* by *Atossa*, or *Hester*, and raigned 21 Yeares.	3657	Darius, *d.*
In the End of this Yeare, *Xerxes* went with his Army against *Grecia*, according to *Daniels* Propheste. *Dan.* 11. The same Time was a marvelous great Eclips of the Sunne.	3664	Xerxes *went into* Grecia.
In the Moneth *Nisan*, *Ezra* deliberateth to ascend unto *Jerusalem*. *Esr.* 7. and commeth thither the first Day of the 5. Moneth. *Esr.* 7. 8.	3671	Ezra *commeth to* Jerusalem.
The 10. Moneth, &c. was Inquisition made of those that had married strange Wives. *Esr.* 10.		*Strange Wives put away.*
Xerxes died when he had raigned 21 Yeares, slaine by *Artabanus*, who shortly after was slaine by *Artaxerxes* in Revenge	3678	Xerxes *slaine.*

Nehemias.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
		venge of his Fathers Death, who ſucceeding in the Kingdome, raigned 59 Yeares and ſix Monethes.
Pericles *governeth* Athens.	3679	And 182 Daies, *Pericles* after the Flight of *Themiſtocles*, obtained the Governement of *Athens* which indured 40 Yeares.
Jubil. 23.	3680	And ſix Monethes was the 23. *Jubilie.*
	3683	The *Jewes* build the Walles and Gates of *Jeruſalem*, by Favor of *Artaxerxes.*
Samaritans.	3684	This Yeare in the Beginning, the *Samaritans*, and other Borderers threw downe the Walls, and burnt the Gates of *Jeruſalem*, by Commaundement of *Artaxerxes. Ezra.* 4.
Nehemias.	3685	In the firſt Moneth, *Nehemias* obtaineth Leave of *Artaxerxes* to build againe the Streates and Walls of *Jeruſalem*, *Nechem* 7. 11. From this Yeare begin the 70 Weekes or 490 Yeares, which the Angell *Gabriel* ſaieth unto *Daniell*, ſhould be unto the Death of Chriſt. This Yeare was a great Famin in *Jeruſalem. Nehem.* 5.
The 70 Weekes begin.		
Famin.		
The Wall finiſhed.		The Wall was finiſhed, and the Feaſt of Tabernacles celebrated. Alſo the 207. Day of this Yeare was a Faſt, and the Booke of the Law read. *Nehem.* 9.
	3696	In the Beginning, *Nehemias* returned unto the King after he had governed in *Judæa* 12 Years. *Nech.* 5.
	3697	This Yeare, or the Yeare following, *Nehemias* returneth to *Jeruſalem*, and reproveth ſuch as had offended. cap. 13.
Apſeudes.	3710	*Apſeudes* governed in *Athens*, and *Æneſius* was *Ephorus* in *Sparta.*
Pythod.	3716	*Pythodorus* was Pretor at *Athens.*
The Warre of the Peloponeſus.	3717	In the ſpring Time began that great Warre of *Peloponeſus.*
	3718	Now began the ſecond Yeare of the ſame Warre: and brought alſo an exceeding great Plague.
A Plague. Pericles, *d.*	3725	*Pericles* died about the middeſt of this Yeare, after he had governed in *Athens* 40 Yeares.
Artaxerx. Long. *dieth.*	3724	The 225 Daies *Artaxaxes Longimanus* died, when he had raigned 59 Yeares and an half, after *Xerxes* his Fathers going into *Europa.*
Jubil. 24.	3729	And ſix Monethes, was the 24. *Jubilie.*
Hannibal.	3737	This Yeare *Hannibal* with 100000 Men came into *Sicilia.* This was not he that after warred againſt the *Romaines*, but an other more auncient.
Jubil. 25.	3778	And 6 Moneths was the 25. *Jubilie.*
Alexander *the Great.*	3808	In the Beginning *Alexander* the Great ſucceeded his Father *Philip* in the Kingdome of *Macedonia*, and raigneth 12 Yeares.
Tyrus *taken.*	3810	And 15 Daies, entred the 4. Yeare of *Alexander* his Raigne, in which he beſieged and tooke *Tyrus*, as *Eſay* had ſaid. 23.

The

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Machab.*
The ſame Yeare he came to *Jeruſalem*, but was pacified of *Jaddo* the High Prieſt, and went thence towards *Babylon*. *Jer.* 50.		Alex. *came to* Jeruſal.
About the middeſt of this Yeare was the laſt Battaile fought, betweene *Darius Codomanus*, and *Alexander*, at *Arbela*, wherein was fulfilled the Propheſie of *Daniel*. cap. 8. Of the Goate overthrowing the Ramme. About the ſame Time happened that great Victorie of the *Jewes* (2. *Machab.* 8) in *Babylonia*.	3811	*The Battaile at* Arbela. Dan. *Viſion fulfilled.*
The 225. Day *Alexander* died, when he had raigned 11 Yeares and 7 Moneths. His Monarchie was divided into foure Kingdomes. *Daniel.* 7. 6.	3818	Alexander Mag. *dieth.*
The firſt of *Aprill* next following the Death of *Alexander* the Great, was the Beginning of the Yeares of the Kingdome of the *Grætians*, mentioned in the Hiſtorie of the *Machabies*.	3819	*The Yeares of the* Grecians *begin.*
And ſix Monethes began the 26. *Jubilie.*	3827	Jubil. 26.
The 230 Daies began the numbring of the Yeares of the *Chaldæans*, with the Raigne of *Seleucus* in *Syria* and *Babylonia*.	3831	*The Yeare of the* Chaldæans.
The twelfth Day, *Ptolemæus Philadelphus* began his Raigne: when his Father *Ptolemæus Lagi* had raigned 38 Yeares after the Death of *Alexander*.	3857	Ptol. Phil. *raigneth.*
The 194. *Ptolomæus Philadelphus* had raigned 13 Yeares and an halfe.	3870	
Began the 17. Yeare of the Raigne of *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, what Time the 70 Interpreters tranſlated the Old Teſtament, out of the *Hebrew* into the *Greeke* Tonge, which Tranſlation is not now extant but an other far differing from the *Hebrew*.	3873	*The 70 Interpreters.*
And ſix Monethes was the 27. *Jubilie.*	3876	Jubil. 27.
Ptolæmeus Philadelphus died, having raigned 38 Yeares, whom *Ptolæmeus Evergetes* ſucceeded, and raigned 26 Yeares.	3895	Ptol. Philad. *dyeth.* Evergetes.
Ptolæmeus Evergetes dieth, and *Ptolæmeus Philopator* ſucceedeth, who raigned 16 Yeares and 6 Moneths. Somewhat before this Time, *Jeſus Siracides* wrote his Booke called *Eccleſiaſticus*.	3921	*He dieth.* Philopat. Eccleſiaſticus *written.*
And ſix Monethes was the 28. *Jubilie.*	3925	Jubil. 28.
Ptolomeus Philopator dieth, and *Ptol. Epiphanes* ſucceedeth, for 23 Yeares.	3937	Ptol. Epiphanes.
Antiochus the Great, King of *Syria*, Father of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, was ſlaine in the 36. Yeare of his Raigne.	3944	Antiochus *the Great.*
Heliodorus is raiſed from Death. 2 *Machab.* 3. 4.	3954	Heliodorus *rayſed.*

Machab. | *A.M.* | *A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*

3956 This was the 137. Yeare of the Raigne of the *Grecians*, wherein *Seleuchus* died in the 12. Yeare of his Raigne, and his Brother *Antiochus Epiphanes* raigned in his Steade.

Seleuchus *dieth.* Antiochus.

3958 And about 7 Monethes, *Onia* was put from the Prieſthood by his Brother *Jaſon*. 2. *Machab*. 4.

Onia.

Ptolomeus Philometor.

3961 The 36. Day, began the Raigne of *Ptolomeus Philometor*. The ſame Yeare about the 170. Day, *Lucius Æmilius Paulus* overcame *Perſea* Kinge of *Macedonia*. *Antiochus Epiphanes* bringeth back his Armie out of *Egipt:* is honorably receaved by *Jaſon*, High Prieſt, at *Jeruſalem*, who after is deprived of the Prieſthood. 2. *Machab*. 4.

Cyprus *wonne.*

The ſame Yeare *Antiochus* goeth againe into *Egipt:* he winneth *Cyprus* by the Treaſon of *Macron*. Signes are ſeene in the Aire at *Jeruſalem*, portending grievous Things. *Jaſon* invadeth *Jeruſalem*, exerciſeth great Crueltie. *Antiochus* compelled by *Popilius* returneth out of *Egipt*, commeth to *Jeruſalem* with great Furie, killeth 80 thouſand: carrieth Captive 40000, and ſelleth 80000. Entreth into the holy Place, ſpoileth the Treaſurie of 800 Talents of Silver.

Antiochus *rageth at* Jeruſalem.

3964 In the 145. Yeare of the Raigne of the *Grecians*, *Antiochus* ſendeth *Apollonius* to *Jeruſalem*, who invadeth *Jeruſalem* by Fraud, and waſteth it. 2. *Machab*. 5. *Judas Machabeus* with his nine Brethren go into the Woodes and Mountaines. 2. *Machab*. 5. *Antiochus* forceth the *Greake* Religion upon the *Jewes*, many are cruelly handled, amongeſt whom *Eleazarus*, with the Mother and her ſeven Sonnes. 1. *Machab*. 1. 2. *Machab*. 6. 7. Then alſo was the Abhomination of Deſolation ſett upon the Altar of the Lord. After followeth the Storie of *Mattathias*. 1. *Macha*. 2.

Apollonius *waſteth* Jeruſalem.

Greake *Religion forced upon the* Jewes.

Mattathias, *d.*

3965 *Mattathias* dieth, his Sonne *Judas Machabeus* ſucceedeth, and overthroweth *Apollonius*. 1. *Mach*. 3.

Judas *his Victorie.*

3966 *Judas Machab*. giveth a great overthrow unto *Lyſias* his Captains. 1. *Mach*. 4. and after to *Timotheus* and *Bacchides*, of whoſe Armie he ſlew 20000.

3967 *Judas* againe diſcomfiteth the Armie of *Lyſias*. 1. *Mach*. 4. purgeth the Temple, and fortifieth the Citie of *Jeruſalem*, and *Bethzuram*.

Antiochus *ſicke.*

Antiochus hearing of the evill Succeſſe of his Armie in *Judea*, falleth greivouſly Sicke: and appointeth his Sonne *Antiochus Eupater* to raign after him. 2. *Mach*. 9. Sacrifice is offered at *Jeruſalem* the 25. of *December*. 1. *Mach*. 4. *Judas Machabeus* againe overthroweth *Lyſias* in the Moneth of *November*.

Ant. Epiphanes, *d.*

3968 In the Beginning of this Yeare, being the 146. Yeare of the *Grecians*, *Antiochus Epiphanes* dieth. 1. *Mach*. 6.

which

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Machab.*
which *Lysias* underſtanding from *Eupater*, maketh Peace with the *Jewes*. 1. *Mach.* 6. *Judas* overcommeth the *Arabians*, and after *Timotheus* at *Datheman*. 1. *Mach.* 5. where followeth a ſecond Victorie againſt *Timotheus*.		
This Yeare was a great Famine, which cauſed the rendring of *Bethzura* and the Temple. 1. *Mach.* 6.		*Famine.*
Judas beſiegeth *Sion*. 1. *Mach.* 6. meeteth *Antiochus Eupater* comming with a great Army: is beſieged of the King, and receaveth Conditions of Peace: The King hearing of the Treaſon of *Philip* in *Antiochia* haſteth thether. 1. *Mach.* 6.	3969	
Antiochus Eupater, in the third Yeare of his Raigne is ſlaine with *Lysias* at *Antiochia* by the Soldiars of his Uncle *Demetrius*, Sonne of *Seleuchus*.	3970	Ant. Eupater *ſlaine.*
Alcimus accuſeth the *Machabeis*, and is reſtored by *Bacchides* unto the Prieſthood. 1. *Mach.* 7.		Alcimus.
Nicanor is ſent againſt *Judas*, maketh Peace with him, after breaketh Covenant, and invadeth *Judah:* and finally is ſlaine with 35000 Men, in the Moneth of *March*. 1. *Mac.* 7.		Nicanor *his Falſhood. He is ſlaine.*
Judas ſendeth Embaſſadors to *Rome*, *Demetrius* ſendeth *Bacchides* and *Alcimus* againſt *Judas*, who forſaken of his Soldiars is ſlaine, &c. *Mach.* 8. 9. *Jonathas* ſuccedeth *Judas*, revengeth the Death of his Brother *Johannes*, and overthroweth 1000 of *Bacchides* Soldiars.	3971	Judas *ſendeth to* Rome. Jud. *ſlaine.* Jonathas.
Alcimus pulleth downe certaine Walls of the Temple, is ſtricken with Palſey, and dieth. The *Jewes* have Peace for ij. Yeares.	3972	Alcimus *ſtricken.*
Bacchides aſſaulteth *Jonathan*, but being compelled, maketh Peace with him, and returneth into *Syria*.	3975	*Peace made with* Jonathan.
This Yeare in *October* began the 29. *Jubilie.*	3979	Jubil. 29.
Alexander Sonne of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the 160. Yeare of the Raigne of the *Grecians*, taketh the Citie of *Ptolemaida*, and raigneth there. 1. *Mach.* 10. *Jonathan* becommeth High Prieſt.		Alexander, *Sonne of* Epiph. Jonathan *high Prieſt.*
Demetrius dieth in Battail againſt *Alexander*.	3980	Demet. *d.*
Alexander marrieth *Cleopatra*, Daughter of *Ptolomeus Philometor* King of *Eypt:* where *Jonathas* is honorably receaved. 1. *Mach.* 10.	3981	Cleopatra.
Jonachas and *Simeon* take *Joppa*, which was fortified by *Apollonius*.	3984	Joppa *taken.*
Ptolomeus Philometor taketh both Kingdome and Wife from *Alexander* his Sonne in Law, and giveth them unto *Demetrius*, the Sonne of *Demetrius* called *Nicanor*: And when he had ſeene the Head of *Alexander*, which *Zabdiel* the *Arabian* had cut off, he dieth the third Day after, in the	3986	Alex. *deprived of Kingdome and Wife. Is ſlaine.* Ptolo. Philometor, *d.*

Machab.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
		167. Yeare of the *Grecians* Raigne. *Demetrius* poſſeſſeth the Kingdome of *Aſia*. *Jonathas* ſendeth him 30000 choiſe Soldiars.
Antiochus, *Sonne of* Alexand.		*Antiochus* the Sonne of *Alexander*, taketh the Crown and expelleth *Demetrius*, &c. 1. *Mach.* 11.
Jonathas *taken.* Simon.	3987	*Tryphon* circumventeth *Jonathas* by Treaſon, and taketh him Priſoner. *Simon* his Brother is choſen Captaine in his ſtead, and reſiſteth the Attemptes of *Tryphon*. 1. *Mach.* 13.
Jon. *and his Sonns ſlain.*		Shortly after *Jonathas* and his ij. Sonnes are ſlaine in *Galuad*.
Antiochus *ſlaine.*	3988	In the 169. Yeare of the *Grecians*, *Tryphon* ſecretly killeth *Antioc.* Sonne of *Alex.* and taketh the Crown unto himſelf; whom *Simon* reſiſteth. 1. *Mach.* 13.
	3989	*Demetrius* eaſeth the *Jewes* of their former Burdens.
Simon.	3990	*Simon* purgeth the Tower of *David*, which the Enemies had helde for 18 Yeares, and maketh his Sonne *John* Captain over his whole Hoſt. 1. *Mac.* 13.
Demetrius *taken.*	3991	*Arſaces* King of the *Perſians* and *Medes*, taketh *Demetrius* Priſoner. 1. *Mach.* 14. *Tryphon* tyranniſeth in his Kingdome ij. Yeares. 1. *Mach.* 15.
The Rom. *Covenant with* Simon.		The *Romaines* renew with *Simon* the Covenant made with *Juda* and *Jonathas:* ſo doth the *Spartanes*. The Prieſthood and Government is confirmed unto *Simon*. 1 *Mach.* 14.
Anti. Soter *obtaineth the Kingdom.* Cendebeus *his Flight.*	3993	*Antiochus Soter*, Sonne of *Demetrius*, Father of *Nicanor*, entreth his Fathers Kingdome, expelleth and diſtreſſeth *Tryphon*. 1 *Mach.* 15. *Judas* and *Johannes* put *Cendebeus* to Flight: *Judas* is wounded, *Johannes* purſueth the Victorie. 1 *Mach.* 16.
Simon *and his Sonnes ſlaine.* Johannes Hyrcanus.	3995	And 306 Daies, in the 177. Yeares of the *Grecians*, *Ptolomeus*, Sonne of *Abobus*, killeth *Simon* his Sonne in law, with his ij. Sonnes, *Mattathia* and *Judas*, in a Banquet. *Johannes Hyrcanus* Sonne of *Simon* obtained the Kingdome for 31 Yeares.
3 *Sectes.*	4000	About this Time aroſe amongeſt the *Jewes* iij. Sectes, the *Phariſees*, *Eſſeis*, and *Sadduces*.
Jubil. 30.	4023	And ſix Monethes began the 30. *Jubilie*.
	4026	And 10 Monethes ended the 31. Yeare of the Raigne of *Johannes Hyrcanus*.
Ariſtobulus *dieth.* Alex. Janneus *raigneth.*	4028	Six Moneths and 14 Daies died *Ariſtobulus*, having raigned one whole Yeare, and ſomewhat more: whom *Alex. Janneus* his Brother ſucceded, married *Salome* his Wife, and raigned 27 Yeares.
He dyeth.	4065	*Alex. Janneus* dieth: his Wife holdeth the Kingdome, and his Sonne *Hyrcanus* the Prieſthood for 9 Yeares.
Jubil. 31.	4072	And ſix Monethes entred the 31. *Jubilie*.

Salome,

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Machab.*
Salome, called alſo *Alexandra*, dieth, hir Sonne *Hircanus*, holdeth the Kingdome iij. Monethes, and is expelled.	4072	Salome, *d.*
About this Time was borne *Herod* the Great.		Herod, *b.*
And iij. Moneths, *Pompeius* taketh *Jeruſalem*, when *C. Antonius*, and *M. Tullius* were Conſuls, in the Yeare of *Rome* 690.	4080	Pompeius *taketh* Jeruſalem.
And 348 Daies, *C. Julius Cæſar* was ſlaine in the Senate the 15. of *May:* whom, the 19. of *Auguſt*, *Octavius Auguſtus* ſucceeded, who held the Empire 12 Yeares with *Antonius*, and 44 Yeares alone, in all 56 Yeares.	4099	Jul. Cæſar *ſlaine.* Octavius.
And ij. Monethes, about the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, *Pacorus* King of the *Parthians* entred *Jeruſalem*, carried *Hircanus* Captive, and ſet *Antigonus* for him over *Judea.*	4103	
In the End of this Yeare, the *Romaines* taking in evil Part that *Antigonus* raigned in *Judea*; *Herod* the Great is made King of *Judea.*	4104	Herod *made K. of* Judea.
In the Beginning of *Feb. Herod* beſiegeth *Jeruſalem.*	4107	Jeruſalem
In the third Moneth *Herod* taketh *Jeruſalem.*	4108	*beſieged and*
And almoſt iij. Monethes, was fought that Battaile, which is called *Actiaca:* Then began *Auguſtus* to raigne alone. *Antonius* flieth unto *Alexandria* in *Egypt.*	4112	*taken.*
Hyrcanus is ſlaine being 80 Yeares olde.	4113	Hyrcanus *ſlaine.*
And ſix Monethes entred the 32. *Jubilie.*	4121	Jubil. 32.
Eight Monethes and 24 Daies, was the Feaſt of *Eucænia* inſtituted. 2. *Mach.* 1. What Time *Herod* began to prepare for the Building of the third Temple: This Preparation indured 8 Yeares.	4124	Eucænia *inſtituted.*
The Temple is built, and finiſhed in one Yeare and 6 Monethes. The ſecond Temple hetherto had ſtoode almoſt 506 Yeares.	4133	*Temple built the 3. Time.*
In the third Moneth, the Temple was dedicated.	4135	
The Angell appeared unto *Zacharia* in the Temple: He is promiſed a Sonne, whoſe Name ſhould be *John. Luke* 1.	4141	Zacharia *is promiſed a Sonne.*
About the 6. Day, the Angel *Gabriel*, declared unto the Virgine *Marie*, that ſhe ſhould conceave a Sonne, which ſhould be the Sonne of GOD. *Luc.* 1. Then it is thought that the Starre firſt appeared unto the Wiſe Men in the Eaſt. *Math.* 2.	4142	Chriſt *conceaved.* *Starre.*
The 268. Day of this Yeare, the 25. of *December*, was borne in *Bethlem* in *Judea*, our Lord JESUS CHRIST, in the 42. Yeare of the Raigne of *Auguſtus* Emperor of *Rome*, at whoſe Birth the Angels rejoice *Luc.* 2. The 276. Day he was circumciſed and called *Jeſus*, for which the *Hebrewes* write *Jehoſchua*, the Lord and Savior. After this the Wiſe Men came out of the Eaſt to *Jeruſalem*, and enquire		Chriſt *born.* *Wiſe Men out of the Eaſt.*

Christ.	*A.M.*	*Abriefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
		enquire for Christ. *Matth.* 2. whence they are directed unto *Bethlehem*, &c. After Christ is presented unto the Lord in the Temple at *Jerusalem*, to whom *Simeon* and *Anna* beare Witnesse. *Luc.* 2. *Herod* causeth the Infants of *Bethlehem* to be slaine: And after killeth the Senate of *Sanhedrim*. Now was fulfilled the Prophesie of *Jaacob*, concerning the comming of *Schiloh*. *Gene.* 49.
Herod, *d.* Archilaus.	4144	And 7. Daies, *Herodes Magnus* dieth, and *Archilaus* his Sonne succeedeth in the Kingdome of *Judea*.
	4145	After the Death of *Herod*, the Angel appeareth unto *Joseph* in *Egypt*. *Matth.* 2.
Archilaus *banished.*	4152	And 7 Daies, *Archilaus* was banished unto *Vienna*, entring the 9. Yeare of his Raigne.
Jesus *disputeth with the Elders.*	4153	And 24 Daies, *Jesus* lost of his Parentes, is found in the Temple disputing with the Elders. *Luc.* 2. 41—45.
M. Amb.	4154	*Marcus Ambivius* was President in *Judea*.
An. Rufus.	4156	*Anius Rufus* was President in *Judea*.
August. *d.* Tiberius.	4156	And 140 Daies, *Augustus* dieth, after he had raigned 56 Yeares: *Tiberius* succedeth 14 Yeares.
Valerius Gratus.	4158	*Valerius Gratus*, is the fifth President over *Judea*.
	4167	And 20 Daies was ended, the 26. Yeare of the Nativitie of *Christ*, and the 69 Weekes of *Daniel*.
Pilatus.	4169	*Pilatus* succeedeth unto *Valerius Gratus*, who had ben President in *Judea* 11 Yeares.
Daniels *Weekes ended.*	4170	And six Monethes was the 33. *Jubilie*, and the middest of *Daniel* his 70 Wekes, in which the Sacrifices of the Olde Testament should be abolished, *(Dan.* 9.*)* and the New Testament begin.
	A.Ch. 29	About the 11. Day of *October*, in the Yeare of *Christ* 29.
John Bapt. *called.*		*John* the *Baptist* was called, and began to preach in the 15. Yeare of *Tiberius*.
	4170	And 281. Day was the sixt of *Januarie*, on which Day
Christ *baptized.*		*Christ* was baptised by *John* in *Jordan*.
Johns *Testimonie.*		The 14. of *Februarie*, *John* witnesseth of *Christ* unto those that were sent from *Jerusalem*. *Joh.* 2.
Christs *Temptation.*	4170	And 320 Daies, were ended the 40 Daies of *Christes* Fasting and Temptation in the Wildernes. The next Day, *John*
The Lambe of God.		having witnessed of *Christ*, that he was the Lambe of God, sendeth unto him two of his Disciples. *Joh.* 1. *Simon* is called *Peter*. *Christ* calleth *Phillip:* He bringeth
Nathaniel.		*Nathaniel* unto *Christ*. *Joh.* 1. *Christ* goeth unto *Cana* in
A Marriage in Cana.		*Galilea* to the Marriage, after to *Capernaum*, and thence
Christ *purgeth the Temple.*		ascendeth to *Jerusalem* against the Passover, which then was the 7. of *April:* and casteth the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple. *Joh.* 2.

This

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Christ.*
This Yeare were done the Things deſcribed by *John*, cap. 3. and 4. *Matth.* 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9. *Mark.* 1, 2.	4172	
The 268. Day of this Yeare, entred the 31. Yeare of *Chriſt*.	*A.Ch.* 31	
This Yeare were done the Thinges contained *Joh.* 5. *Matth.* 10, 11, 12, 13. *Mark* 3, 4, 5, 6. *Luk.* 6, 7, 8, 9.	4173	
The 268. Day began the 32. Yeare of *Chriſt*.		
The 13. of *April*, *John Baptiſt* was beheaded.	4174	John *beheaded.*
Shortly after, *Chriſt* feedeth 5000 Men with five Loaves and ij. Fiſhes. *Joh.* 6.		
This Yeare were done the Thinges written *Matth.* 14. from the 13. Verſe unto the 20. Chap. at theſe Wordes. *Behold, we aſcend unto Jeruſalem*, &c.	*A.Ch.*	
The 268. Day of this Yeare, began the 33. Yeare of *Chriſt*.	33	
To this Yeare referre *Chriſt* his laſt Jorney and Miracles, his Paſſion, Reſurrection, Apparitions, Aſcention: and the Comming of the Holy Ghoſt. The 15. Day of the firſt Moneth, which was the third of *April*, *Chriſt* was crucified, in the Ende of *Daniel* his 70 Weeke. The 24. Day of *May*, *Chriſt* aſcended into Heaven, 40 Daies after his Reſurrection. In one of the 10 Dayes following, *Matthias* was choſen to be Apoſtle in the Place of *Judas*. *Act.* 1. The 24. of *May*, was the Feaſt of Pentecoſt, then the Holy Ghoſt deſcended upon the Apoſtles. *Act.* 2. Referre unto this Yeare, all that is written unto the 7. of the *Actes*.	4175	Chriſts *laſt Jorney to* Jeruſalem. Chriſt *crucified.* *Aſcended into Heaven.* Matthias *choſen.* *The Comming of the Holy Ghoſt.*
The 268. Day of this Yeare, entred the 34. Yeare of *Chriſt*.	*A.Ch.* 34	
The next Day *Stephanus* was accuſed, and ſtoaned to Death. *Act.* 7.		Stephanus *ſtoned.*
After followed a great Perſecution of the Church at *Jeruſalem*, &c. *Act.* 8.		*Perſecution.*
Philip preacheth the Goſpel in *Samaria*: whether *Peter* and *John* are ſent: *Simon Magus*. The Eunuche of *Æthiopea* taught and baptiſed by *Philip*. *Act.* 8. The 25. of *Januarie*, *Saul* going to *Damaſcus* was converted in the Way, &c. *Act.* 9. 22. 26. The *Jewes* conſpire againſt him: He is convayed away by the Diſciples, and goeth into *Arabia*. *Gal.* 1. after he returneth to *Damaſcus*.		Samaria *converted by* Philip. Sauls *Converſion.*
The 141. Day, began the 20. Yeare of *Tiberius* his Raigne. *Philip* the Brother of *Herod* dieth.	4176	Tiberius.
And 268 Daies, entred the 37. Yeare of *Chriſt* his Nativitie.	4177 *A.Ch.*	
Paul, three Yeares after his Converſion, commeth to *Jeruſalem*. *Gal.* 1. is brought unto the Apoſtles by *Barnabas*. *Act.* 9. Praying in the Temple he ſaw *Chriſt* and heard him. *Act.* 22. Thence he is convayed unto *Cæſaria*, and ſo	37 4178	Paul *commeth to* Jeruſalem.

Is ſent to Tarſus.

ſo ſent to *Tarſus*. *Act.* 9. *Cæſaria* is a Citie in *Syria*, and *Tarſus* a Citie in *Cicilia*. *Gal.* 1.

4179 *Peter* comming to *Lydda*, healeth *Æneas*: at *Joppa* raiſeth *Tabitha*, or *Dorcas*: Seeth a Viſion, and goeth to *Cornelius*: who with others receaveth the Holy Ghoſt, and is baptiſed. *Act.* 10. And returning to *Jeruſalem*, geveth a Reaſon of his Entrance unto the *Gentiles*. *Act.* 11. *Barnabas* is ſent by the Church of *Jeruſalem* unto *Antiochia*. whether he fetcheth *Paul* from *Tarſus*. *Agabus* foretelleth of a Famin. *Act.* 11.

Peter *rayſeth* Dorcas. *Goeth to* Cornelius.

Barnabas *is ſent to* Antiochia.

A.Ch. 38 The 268. Day of this Yeare entred the 38. Yeare of *Chriſt*. The 349. Day being the 16. of *March*, *Tiberius* the Emperor died in the 23. Yeare of his Raigne, *C. Caligula* ſucceedeth in the Empire, and delivereth *Herodes Agrippa* out of Priſon, where *Tiberius* had left him. This Yeare *Flavius Joſephus* was borne.

Tiberius, *d.* Caligula.

Joſephus, *b.*

4180 The 14. Day, *Vitellius* commeth to *Jeruſalem* in the Feaſt of *Eaſter*: A little after, *Marullus* ſent by *Caligula*, is Preſident of *Judea*. *Paul* and *Barnabas* come with Almes to *Jeruſalem*, and after returne to *Antioch*, having with them *Mark*. *Act.* 12.

Vitellius. Marullus. Paul *and* Barn. *came to* Jeruſal.

A.Ch. 39 The 268. Day, entred the 39. Yeare of *Chriſt*, in which *Paul* and *Barnabas*, ſent out by the Holy Ghoſt, travaile into *Seleucia*, *Cyprus*, *Salamina*, and *Paphus*, where *Sergius Paulus* was converted. *Act.* 13.

They are ſent unto the Gentiles.

Sergius Paulus.

4181 The 268. Day began the 40. Yeare of our Lord.

A.Ch. 40 They went to *Perga* in *Pamphilia*, where *Mark* leaveth them. They come unto *Antiochia* in *Piſidia*. *Act.* 13. At this Time *Caligula* having hetherto governed well, began to degenerate.

Perga Pamphilia. Antiochia. Caligula *his Fall.*

4182 The 268. Day, entred the Yeare of our Lord 41. All which Yeare, with part of the next, *Paul* and *Barnabas* tarrie at *Iconium*. *Act.* 14. About this Time *Pilate* killeth himſelfe. *Herodes Antipas* dieth in *Spaine*.

Iconium.

A.Ch. 41

Pilate, *d.* Herodes Antip. *d.*

4183 The 268. Day, began the 42. Yeare of *Chriſt*.

A.Ch. 42 About this Time S. *Matthew* writeth his Goſpell in *Judæa*.

The Goſpel of Matth. *written.*

The 298. Day, the 24. of *Januarie*, *Caligula* dieth, when he had raigned 3 Yeares, 10 Monethes, and 8 Daies. *Claudius* ſucceedeth in the Empire: and giveth the Kingdome of *Judæa* unto *Herodes Agrippa*: His Brother, called alſo *Herod*, was made King of *Chalcida*. *Joſephus*.

Caligula, *d.* Claudius *ſucceedeth.* Herodes Agrippa *K. of* Judea.

4184 *Paul* and *Barnabas* driven from *Iconium*, flie to *Lyſtra* and *Darbe*, and preach theare. At *Lyſtra*, *Paul* was ſtoned, and left for dead, but was raiſed againe. *Act.* 14.

Paul *and* Barn. *come to* Lyſtra. Paul *ſtoned.*

The

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.

A.M.	*Christ.*
The 268. Day, began the Yeare of *Christ* 44. They returne to *Lystra*, *Iconium*, and *Antiochia* in *Pisidia*, and ordaine Elders in every Church. *Act.* 14.	4185	*Returning. They ordain Elders.*
And the 15. Day, at *Easter*, *Herod* havinge slaine *James* the Brother of *John*, put *Peter* in Prison, &c. *Act.* 12.	4186	Peter *imprisoned by* Herod.
The 298. Day, was the 45. Yeare of *Christ*.		
About this Time, *Mark* the Disciple of *Peter*, preached the Gospel in *Egipt*. Not long after this, *Herod* was stricken of the Angel. *Act.* 12.		Mark *preached in* Egypt.
This Yeare *Paul* and *Barnabas* came into *Pamphilia*, and preached the Woord at *Perga:* and thence returned to *Antiochia* in *Syria*, whence they were commended to the Grace of God. *Act.* 14. 26.		Herod *dieth of Wormes.* Paul & Bar. *returne to* Antioch *and tarry there.*
The 268. began the Yeare of *Christ* 46.	4187	
A great Part of this Yeare they tarried at *Antioch*. *Act.* 14. 28.		
The 268. Day, entred the 47. Yeare of *Christ*. About this Time *Theudas* the Rebel, his Head was brought to *Jerusalem:* not his that is mentioned *Act.* 5. but an others. This Yeare as is thought, S. *Luke* wrote his Gospel.	4188	Theudas *the Rebell slaine.* Luke *wrote his Gospel.*
The 268. Day, began the 48. Yeare of *Christ*.		
This Yeare, which was the 14. of *Paules* Conversion, he went up with *Barnabas* and *Titus* unto *Jerusalem*, to the Synode there. *Act.* 15. *Gal.* 2. After this *Peter* was reproved of *Paul* at *Antioch*. *Gal.* 2. Not long after the Synode, *Barnabas* and *Marke* sayled into *Cyprus: Paul* and *Silas* travailed thorough *Syria* and *Silicia*, confirming the Brethren. *Act.* 15. And comming to *Derbe* and *Lystra*, *Paul* taketh *Timothie* to be a Companion of his Jorney.	4189	*The Sinode at* Jerusal. Peter *reproved. The Travail of* Paul *and* Silas. Timothie *called.*
The 268. Day, beginneth the 50. Yeare of *Christ*. About this Time, in the 8. Yeare of *Claudius* the Emperor, *Cumanus* succeeded *Tiberius Alexander* in the Government of *Judea*.	4191	Cumannus *governeth in* Judæa.
This Yeare of *Christ*, *Paul* wrote both his Epistles to the *Thessalonians*.		*The Epist. to the* Thessalonians.
The 268. Day, entred the Yeare of *Christ* 51. This Yeare, not before *September*, *Paul* came from *Athens* to *Corynthus*.	4192	Paul *came to* Athens.
The 268. Day, began the 52. Yeare of *Christ*, 30 Daies after began the 11. Yeare of the Raigne of *Claudius* the Emperor.	4193	*His being at* Corinth.
The 334. Day, *Paul* having continued at *Corynth* one Yeare and six Monethes (*Act.* 18.) in the Beginning of *March*, sailed thence with *Aquila* and *Prisilla*, and leaving them at *Ephesus*, went now the fowerth Time after his Con-		Ephesus.

He went the 4. Time to Jeruſalem.

verſion to *Jeruſalem*: and thence deſcended to *Antioch*: after into *Galicia* and *Phrygia*. *Act.* 18. In the mean Time *Apollo* came to *Epheſus*. *Act.* 18.

Apollo *came to* Epheſus.

4194 The 268. Day, entred the 53. Yeare of our Lord. About this Time, in the 12. Yeare of *Claudius* his Raigne, *Agrippa* advanced by the Emperor, gave his Siſter *Drucilla*, Wife to King *Azizus*, whom ſhortly after ſhe forſoke and married with *Felix*. In the End of this Yeare, *Paul* came to *Epheſus*, and found there 12 Diſciples, *Act.* 19. who being before baptized with Baptiſme of *John*, then receaved the Holy Ghoſt. At this Time, *Paul* fought with Beaſtes at *Epheſus*. 1. *Cor.* 15.

Druſ. *married to* Aziza.

Paul *came to* Epheſus.

12 *Diſcip.*

Philip *martyred.*

4195 The 268. Day, began the 54. Yeare of *Chriſt*. This Yeare *Philip* the Apoſtle, was martyred at *Hierapolis*.

The former Epiſt. to the Corinth.

4196 The 268. Day, entred the Yeare of *Chriſt* 55. This Yeare was written the former Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, by *Paul*, being then at *Epheſus* with *Priſcilla* and *Aquila*. *Act.* 18. The ſame Yeare was written the firſt Epiſtle of *Peter* from *Babylon* in *Ægypt*, not in *Chaldæa*. 1. *Pet.* 5. 13.

The firſt Epiſt. of Pet.

Paul *left* Epheſus.

Came to Philippi.

2. *Epiſt. to the* Cor.

Claud. *d.*

Nero *ſuc.*

Epiſt. to Titus.

4197 This Yeare in *June*, *Paul* departed from *Epheſus* about Penticoſt. 1. *Cor.* 16. after the Tumult raiſed againſt him there. *Act.* 20. After being at *Philippi*: he wrote his Second Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*.

The 13. of *October*, *Claudius* the Emperor died: after whom *Nero* ſucceeded.

From *Nicepolis* in *Macedonia Paul* wrote his Epiſtle to *Titus*, in the Winter Time.

A.Ch. 56 The 268. Day, began the Yeare of our Lord 56.

Paul *came to* Corinth.

The Epiſt. to the Romaines.

In the Beginning whereof, *Paul* came thorough *Macedonia* into *Grecia*. *Act.* 20. in which Jorney alſo he came to *Corinth*. At this Time was written the Epiſtle to the *Romaines*: and purpoſing thorough *Syria* to go to *Jeruſalem*, underſtanding of the Treacherie of the *Jewes* againſt him, turned by *Macedonia* and came to *Philippi*. *Act.* 20.

2. *Epiſtle of* Peter.

This Yeare *Peter* wrote his Second Epiſtle.

Paul *came the* 5. *Time to* Jeruſal.

Taken there.

Sawe a Viſion.

He is ſent to Cæſaria.

Tertull. *accuſeth him.*

4198 The 63. Day, *Paul* the 23. Yeare of his Converſion, came the fifth Time to *Jeruſalem*, and was kindly entertained of the Brethren. *Act.* 21. But after the *Jewes* laied Handes upon him, and would have ſlaine him, had he not bene reſcued of the *Tribune*. *Act.* 21. The next Day he was brought before the Elders. *Act.* 22. Fortie Men conſpire againſt him. *Act.* 23. The Lord appeareth unto him: He is ſent unto *Cæſaria* to *Felix*, before whom *Tertullus* and others accuſe him: He defendeth him ſelfe. *Act.* 24.

The

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Paul.*
The 268. Day of this Yeare, entred the 57. Yeare of our Lord.		
The 268. Day was the Beginning of the Yeare of *Christ* 58.	4196	Festus *succeedeth in* Judæa.
The 63. Day, when *Paul* had ben Captive an whole Yeare, *Porcius Festus* succeeded *Felix* in the Governement of *Judea*. *Act.* 24. *Paul* speaketh for him selfe before *Agrippa* and *Bernice*. *Act.* 25.	*A.Ch.* 58 4200	Pa. *Defence before* Agr. *His Danger at Sea.*
The 183. Day in *October*, *Paul* and his Companions, were in Danger at Sea. *Act.* 27.		
The 3 Monethes following, *November*, *December*, and *Januarie*, *Paule* wintered in the Ile of *Miletum*. *Act.* 28.		Miletum.
The 268. Day entered the Yeare of *Christ* 59. About the 14. of *February* in the 4. Yeare of the Raigne of *Nero*, *Paule* came to *Rome*. *Act.* 28. 16.		Paul *came to* Rome.
The 268. Day began the 60. Yeare of our Lord.	4201	
The 268. Day entred the Yeare of our Lord 61.	*A.Ch.*	
The 319. Day, was ended that two Yeares Space, which *Paul* continued in his owne hired Lodging. *Act.* 28. 30. During which Time he wrote these Epistles.	60 4202	*His Impris.* at Rome.
To the *Galatians*.		*Epist. to the* Galatians.
To the *Ephesians*, by *Tychicus*.		Ephesians.
To the *Philippians*, by *Epaphroditus*.		Philippians.
To the *Colossians*.		Colossians.
To *Philemon*.		*To* Philem.
At this Time as seemeth the Actes of the Apostles were written by S. *Luke*. About this Time *Paul* 27 Yeares after his Conversion, was delivered out of his first Imprisonment at *Rome*, in the 6. Yeare of *Nero* the Emperour.	4204	*The Actes of the Apostles written.* Paul *delivered.*
The 268. Day entred the Yeare of our Lord 63.	*A.Ch.*	
The 30. Day, *James* the Lesse was slaine of the *Jewes*, after he had bene thirtie Yeares Bishop of *Jerusalem*.	63 4205	James *the Lesse slaine.*
The 195. Day entred the 10. Yeare of *Nero* his Raigne wherein began the seconde Persecution of the Christians, and continued until the Death of *Nero*, the Pretence was the Burning of *Rome*: which *Nero* himself had caused to be done, and after laied it on the Charge of the Christians.	4206	*The 2. Persecution of the Christians.*
In *May*, began the last Warre against the *Jewes*.		
The 268. Day was the Yeare of *Christ* 68. About this Time *Paule* wrote his 2. Epistle to *Timothie*.	*A.Ch.* 68	2. *Epist. to* Timothie.
The 89. Day in the last Yeare of *Nero*, and the 68. Yeare of our Lord, *Paule* at the Commaundement of the Emperour was beheaded at *Rome*, the 35. Yeare after his Conversion.	4210	Paul *beheaded at* Rome.
The 7. Yeares and almost an halfe of the Apostle his Life, after his Deliverance out of Prison, was in good		

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.

Paul *his Visitat. of the Churches.*	*A.M.*	Part beſtowed in viſiting of the Churches of *Grecia*, *Macedonia*, *Aſia*, &c.
	4210	The 195. Day which was the 13. of *October*, began the 14. Yeare of *Nero* his Empire.
	A.Ch.	The 268. Day entered the Yeare of *Chriſt* 69.
Galba *tooke the Empire.*	69	The 76. Day the 16. of *June*, *Galba* tooke the Empire.
	4211	*Nero* being yet alive, and helde it for ſeven Moneths.
	A.Ch.	The 268. Day was the Yeare of our Lord 70.
Vitellus *ſaluted Emp.*	70	The 268. Day, the ſecond of *Januarie*, *Vitellius* was ſaluted Emperour of his Armie, *Galba* and *Oto* yet living. The 15. Day of the ſame Moneth, *Galba* was ſlaine. Whom *Oto* ſucceeded.
Galba *ſlain.* Otho *ſucceedeth.*	4212	The 19. Day being the 20. of *Aprill*, ended thoſe 95 Daies in which *Oto* raigned alone, and began the 8 Moneths of *Vitellius* his Empire.
Vitell. *Emp.*		
Flav. Veſp. *Emperour.*		The 91. Day, the firſt of *July*, *Flavius Veſpaſianus* being 60 Yeares old, was compelled of his Army then in *Judæa*, to take upon him the Empire: after which Time he lived almoſt nine Yeares.
	A.Ch.	The 268. Day entered the 71. Yeare of *Chriſt*.
Titus *ſent to* Jeruſal.	71	The 306. Day, in the Beginning of *February*, *Veſpaſian* ſent his Sonne *Titus* to deſtroy *Jeruſalem*.
The Temple burnt.	4213	The 131. Day was the 10. of *Auguſt*, in which the Souldiers of *Titus Veſpaſianus* fired the third Temple, which *Herode* built for the ſecond. *Math.* 26.
	4220	The 268. Day began the 79. Yeare of *Chriſt*.
Veſpaſ. *d.*	*A.Ch.*	The 84. Day the 24. of *June* died *Flavius Veſpaſianus*, when
Titus Veſp. *ſucceedeth.*	79	he had raigned almoſt nine Yeares. After him ſucceedeth
	4221	*Titus Veſpaſianus*, who raigned two Yeares and 81 Daies.
	4222	The 268. Day, entered the Yeare of *Chriſt* 81.
Titus Veſp. *dieth.*	*A.Ch.*	The 165. Day being the 13. of *September*, *Titus Veſpaſianus*
	93	died: After whom ſucceeded *Domitianus*.
Domitian *ſucceedeth.*	4236	The 268. Day, began the Yeare of our Lord 93.
	4236	The 165. Day, began the 14. Yeare of *Domitian* his Raigne, in which was raiſed the third Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians. Then was *John* the Apoſtle baniſhed into *Pathmos* where (as is thought) he wrote his Goſpell, and the Revelation. The Epiſtles of *John*, as alſo thoſe of *Jude*, *James*, and to the *Hebrewes*, when they were written, cannot certainely be determined.
3. *Perſecut. of Chriſtian.* John *baniſheth into* Pathmos: *He writeth his Goſpell, &c.*		
Other Epiſt.	4237	The 268 Day, entered the 96. Yeare of *Chriſt*.
Dom. *ſlain.*	*A.Ch.*	The 170. Day, being the 18. of *September*, was *Domitian*
Nerva *ſucc.*	96	the Emperour ſlaine, whom *Nerva* ſucceeded. At this
John *commeth to* Epheſus.	4238	Time *John* commeth from *Pathmos* to *Epheſus*.

The

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	
The 210. Day, *Nerva* had raigned 13 Monethes and ten Daies: and adopted *Trajanus* in the Fellowſhip of the Empire, and after lived three Moneths, and died the 27. of *January*.	4239	Trajanus *ſucceedeth.* Nerva.
The 268. Day, began the 98. Yeare of *Chriſt*.	*A.Ch.*	
The 210. Day ended the firſt, and began the ſecond Yeare of *Trajanus* Raigne.	98	
	4240	
This Yeare S. *John* the Apoſtle died.	4242	John, *d.*
The 210. Day, entered the 12. Yeare of *Trajanus* his Raigne. At this Time began the 4. Perſecution of the Chriſtians.	4250	4. *Perſecution of the Chriſtians.*
The 268. Day, began the 116. Yeare of *Chriſt*.	4257	
The 130. Day, *Adrianus* being in *Syria*, underſtandeth that *Trajane* being Sicke, had nominated him Emperour of *Rome*. Who alſo died the third Day after.	*A.Ch.* 116	Adrianus *Emperour.*
	4258	
The 130. Day, the 9. of *Auguſt*, *Adrian* began the ninth Yeare of his Raigne.	4266	
The 268. Day, entred the 125. Yeare of *Chriſt*.	*A.Ch.*	
The 130. Day, began the 14. Yeare of *Adrian* his Raigne. At this Time *Barcochabas* Head of the *Jewiſh* Faction, drew unto Puniſhment the Chriſtians that would not denie *Chriſt*. This Warre continued for ſix Yeares, and brought a finall Deſtruction upon the *Jewes*.	125 4271	Barochabas *his Crueltie.* *The finall Deſtruction of the* Jewes.
The 268. Day entred the 135. Yeare of *Chriſt*.	4276	
The 130. Day ended the 19. Yeare of *Adrian* his Raigne, in which he finiſhed the Warre of the *Jewes*, and baniſhing them out of the Land, charged them, not ſo much as from any high Place to looke towardes the Land of their Fathers.	4277	Adrian *his edict againſt the* Jewes.
	A.Ch.	
The 268. Day began the Yeare of *Chriſt* 136.	136	
The 268. Day entred the Yeare of *Chriſt* 137.	4278	
The 100. Day being the 10. of *July*, *Adrian* the Emperor died, when he had raigned well neare 21 Yeares.	4279	Adrian *dyeth.*

Decla-

Declaration of generall Corruption of Religion, Scripture, and all Learning; wrought by D. *Bilſon*. While he breedeth a new Opinion, That our Lord went from Paradiſe to Gehenna, to triumph over the Devils.

To the Moſt Reverend Father in God, JOHN W. H. Doct. in Divinitie, and Metropolitan of *England*.

By *HUGH BROUGHTON*. 1604.

Religion troubled.

DOCTOR *Bilſon* inventing a new Opinion *that our Lord deſcended from Paradiſe to* Gehenna, *to triumph over the Devils*, troubled all Religion and learned Writers. In Religion thus he miſſed. Wee beleeve that Devils are yet in this World; and the Scriptures aſſure us of that. Wherefore it were moſt ridiculous to feigne a Journey to Devils thether, where they were not. If ſome were, as Carriers of Soules, yet not as tormented, and Dwellers there before the Time.

Againe, *Gehenna* were an holy Place, if the Altar which ſanctifieth all that it toucheth went thither. But none may ſo thinke. And Devils in this World knew Chriſt to be the Holy One of God, and tremble. And no neede know we why he ſhould go to *Gehenna* for them, and God telleth all that we may know. Beſides, Soules in *Hades* holie and contrarie know all the others Caſe, as Men here that have but a great Ditch betwixt them, and they are much deceaved who thinke Hell to be in this World, lowe in the Earth. Before Gods Throne the wicked are tormented for ever and ever, ſo both Sides knowe one the others Caſe, that without comming to them, they ſee what is done. And our Lord would not have taught us, (Luc. 16.) that none can paſſe from one ſort to the other, if he had bene to take that Journey. The Bible taught no ſuch Dream. Therefore it is but a Dreame: And thus Religion is diſturbed. Scriptures D. *Bilſon* brings three, as having no more; the 16. *Pſal.* which is thus. *Thou wilt not leave my vitall Soule to Death, and*, by a Conſequent, *neither my Body in Ayer, or Grave: nor my Soule among Soules, till the Bodie ſee Corruption.*

Scriptures marred.

Pſal. 16. *in the right Meaning by all* Jewes.

So the generall Conſent of *Ebrews* take the Wordes. Yet hee would thus tranſlate all. *Thou wilt not forſake my Soule in Hell.* The Nipper of others, as arrogant in *Ebrewe* Studies, ſhalbee told that hee hath miſſed foure Times in foure Wordes. *Hebrews* ſhall judge; and for the 70. all *Greekes*, the rare Fathers.

4. *Faultes moſt groſſe in D.* Bilſon *in 4. Words.*

The

The ſecond Scripture that he durſt adventure upon, is this: *Him God rayſed up loſing* the Sores of Death. Saint *Peter* ſpake to *Sadduces*, that would not heare of Soule, Spirit, and Hell. And that the Sores that made the Soule leave the Body were by Gods Power diſannulled, and it receaved the Soule and Life: And therin Chriſt brake for us the Bandes of Death. D. *Bilſon* would have Death the ſecond Death, and that our Lordes Soule hath the ſecond Death. You know full well that his Soule ſhall have the ſecond Death for ever and ever, unleſſe he revoke this Blaſphemie: It is great Pittie that D. *Bilſon* conſulteth not with others before ſuch Wordes fled through the Hedge of his Teeth. Higher Blaſphemies never were uttered. The third and laſt Text of all that he durſt truſt, is cleane contrarie to his Purpoſe, ſhewing the plain Effect of the Ghoſpell. *Say not in thy Harte who can go up to Heaven, to bring Chriſt down? Or who can go to the Deep to bring Chriſt from the Dead? But if thou beleeve that Jeſus is Lord, and that God rayſed him from Death, thou ſhalt be ſaved.*

Act. 2. *perverted to Blaſphemie.*

The third and laſt Text moſt bright.

The Incarnation and Reſurrection, both made plaine, are by St. *Paul* the Heads of Doubt among *Jewes*. But D. *Bilſon* dreameth of a *Hell* here. *Chryſoſtome* and *Œcumenius* would have taught him better. And theſe moſt Holy Scriptures, the Joy of our Soules, hath he moſt grievouſly corrupted.

A monſtrous Dreame.

Endles be the Faultes in this marring of Scripture, and no Time would ſerve to write them. *Moſes* now, by him, hath not all Religion. For he could not father upon him this Doctrine of going from Paradiſe to Hell. So neither all the Prophets Volumes.

Moſes *made unperfect.*

And *David* once only (and in a Sence never known, till Doctor *Bilſons* Daies) teacheth that our Lorde going a Victour, and triumpher over the Powers of Darknes from Paradiſe, as unto greater Danger by Millions of Degrees then before, doeth praiſe God that he did not forſake his Soule in Hell, but loſed the Sores of the ſecond Death before him: and to that Deepe our Mindes muſt deſcend, by D. *Bilſon*, if wee will be ſaved.

Danger feigned by D. Bilſon after Triumph.

Thus vile for Wiſdome he maketh the Rocke of Salvation. By D. *Bilſon* our Lord having paſſed his Danger here, where he praied unto him that could ſave him from Danger, and being made perfect and gone through the Veyle of his Fleſh into Heaven, after all this was in greater Danger then before which needed a Miracle of the Godhead to loſe before him the Sorrows of Hell. Otherwiſe the Humanity had not by it ſelfe gone through all, but had periſhed in the World inviſible, ſaving that God did not forſake his Soule in Hell.

Moſt ſtrange Miracles [illegible] *by D. Bilſon*

And of this Danger *David* muſt ſpeake to the prophane World, before they beleeved the Reſurrection and ſcante the Creation of viſible Things, and of Spirits had heard little: and of Soules Immortalitie and Paradiſe; and never heard whereout of this World Devils

Men refuſe plaineſt Matters.

Devils keepe. All theſe Things being ſtepped over, a Danger, after all was performed, muſt be houlden from *David* by Words never ſo before underſtood; to make the Scripture a Noſe of Waxe and all the old Teſtament unperfect: But for one Place drawen beyond all Witt. Alſo the Goſpell muſt be unperfect omitting Parte of Beliefe. And all Saint *Pauls* foureteene Epiſtles, but for one Terme *Abyſſus* taken in the Devils Sence, not in Heathen or 70 Senſe. So all fall. The generall Conſent of *Ebrewes* in *Baba Bathra* was cited that they make this Sence, *Pſal.* 16. He dyeth not of whom that is ſo ſpoken in ſtrict Propriety, and *Peter* addeth but this, *to die he was, but not to tarrie in Death to Corruption.*

All Ebrews *rejected for their owne Tongue.*

The ſtrict Proprietie of Pſal. 16.

All *Ebrews* Doctor *Bilſon* rejecteth for their Grammar Sence of *Sheol.* None ever rejected all *Latines* for *Latine*, or *French* for the *French:* yet D. *Bilſon* dareth rejecte all *Hebrews* for *Hebrew:* ſuch an Hebrician is he. By the ſame Doctrine he might teach never to hope for ſound Knowledge in any Parte of the Lawe: no not for one Letter: whether it hath the Forme that God wrought in the two Tables or a later invented. And for the very Forme as *Tau* in *Ezechiel* miſtaken, and *Rempham*, much Coyle is kept. And in our daylie *Hebrew* Bibles, Wordes 848. come in the Margine by God's Authority, and yet checke not the Text: and the *French* of late tranſlating the Margine, *Eſai.* 9. troubled ſome greatly, gathering a Contradiction betwixt the old and new Tranſlation. For all this no D. without Rabbins Helpe can tell what Wordes make the Bible.

Bilſons *Rejection of all* Hebrewes *would be Ruine to all Stay of Religion.*

A certeyn helper of D. *Bilſon* who can aſſiſte him to marre all Learning and Religion, (one whom you leave though he be your Chapleyne to anſwere for himſelfe) he, as his Learning and Skill, will at once ſhewe it ſelfe maketh the eldeſt Rabbines 300 Yeares later then the Apoſtles.

Errour of 800 *Yeares for Rabbins Age.*

So the *Maſſorites*, Obſervers of the Letters and ſhorte Wr'tings, and little Particles innumerable, often in one Line, with Millions of Millions of Notes, all they were nothing worth.

For we ſeeke how the Bible ſtood in *Ezraes* Age not how 800 Yeres after and all the *Jewes* hold that the *Maſſorites* began with *Ezra.* Neither could we otherwiſe ſay we had the Bible. Without Help and Knowledge of the *Maſſorites* no Printer can ever print the right Bible.

Without Maſſorites no Bible can ever be truly printed.

Rob. St. in *Eſter* tenth putting the Margine in the Text, for *Xerxes*, committed a great Faulte: and *Plantines* Heyres will now print after the *Maſſoreth*, miſſing often hitherto. As in *Daniel* 8. all miſſe though the *Maſſoreth* els where warned of that Place: *Bombergiana* the Leſſe mention in the Margine a right reading: but not yet printed.

By

By the *Massoreth* all Wordes be past Corruption: who if they had not bene of *Ezraes* Time, Bibles had infinitly disagreed, nowe they be sure, though Copiers misse now and then. So 800 Yeres in Rabbins Age are missed to disgrace all Certainty of Scripture. But wheras in the New Testament the Apostles still tell of *Jewes* Matters, and all their Speeches be in the *Talmud* (as Men of one Common weale must agree in the same chiefe Heades:) this would never be by *Jewes* 300 Yeres tossed from their own Tongue and State, that *Jerusalemy Talmud* should be parcelled, by later Men then the Tongue 300 Yeares: and that poore base Men voide of Wealth, Leisure and Liberty should search all the Lawe most curiously. Who would thinke so? They say, that from Age to Age their Fathers left Works: the chiefe Sayings of all which the *Jerusalemy Talmud* and the *Babylonian* and *Midras Rabba* and such like Record in the same Words.

Of other Rabbins Age.

Rabbins continued throughout all Ages.

And *Onkelos* by all Graunts is neare the Apostles Time: and *Uziel* of their Time, but a Complier of farre Elder: and *Targum Jerusalemy* in *Cyrillis* Age famous as auncient, called of him *Samariticon*, upon *Genes.* 4. And seeing many thousand *Levites* had Learning in their Charge and all *Israell* (saving Hand-laborers) frequented Divinity Schooles to heare and speak twise a Weeke; how should they omitt to write Observations, such as we have now, full of unspeakable Labour and long Study? All that is in the New Testament is handled here and there in the *Talmud*, and much largely, where, in knowen Things our Lord would be short: so D. *Bilson* missed much for Rabbins, to the Ruine of all Religion, and to augment *Sathans* Blindnes.

An other Matter of singular Use suffereth Disgrace by D. *Bilson*. The *Sadduces* noted that *Moses* never named Lyfe eternall, nor Resurrection, nor Place of Joy or Tormente, nor any Prophets, but in Visions. The *Scribes* graunt this; yet bring Matter from *Moses* for all this, and shew that the scoffing World was to be taught as Beastes by the Bellie openly, and closely to Lyfe. But when Prophets ceased and open prophecying, and iron-legged *Macedones* turned *Judah* much to be *Sadduces*, and Schooles were but of few: then they enacted Tearmes of better Hope, as World of Soules, Judgment Day, Paradise, *Gehenna*, Resurrection, Feasting in Heaven: and such. And this the Newe Testament alloweth.

That the Scribes knew no Terme in Moses for Hell.

By D. *Bilson* all this were vaine, or he himselfe. He can find in the Law a proper Name for Hell. And how would he have vexed the *Sadduces* if hee had bene in their Dayes; All the *Scribes* had bene nothing to him.

Now after *Ebrews* let us search *Greek* Affaires. God advanced *Greek* with daylie increase, first when *Judah* went to *Babell*, then

Of Greekes *in all Sortes.*

Pisistratus Tyrant of *Athens* brought *Homer* into high Use and Glory.

And many Poets for Sentences, Comedies, and Tragedies, florish daylie. So Phisicians, Philosophers, Orators, and Historiques for two hundred Yeres Paines, that the *Greek* Tongue came to an unspeakable Perfection of Elegancie.

And the *Jewes* (taught by *Daniell* that soone *Grecia* should Reigne) before hand studied *Greeke*. And God shewed the Use of their Labour. For when the Iron legged *Macedonians* began to reigne, they required, and had the *Ebrew* holy Bookes all turned into *Greeke*, wherein the Translaters shewed Wit in applying most divinely Heathen *Greeke* to Divinity. And they shewed excellent Skill in all *Greeke* Kindes.

The Septuagint:

And when the *Macedonians* by 300 Yeres Government, had carried *Greeke* from the *West* over all, and *Jewes* with *Greek* Bible: then our Lord commeth and his Apostles to shew *Greekes* in their owne Language and Meaning all the Mysteries of Salvation: and gather all brave Termes from Heathen plainely to Divine Use, 4000 several Wordes into one little Booke, that the most Parte of Woords are used but once which is not so in the Old Testament. The 70. did the like, who to one *Ebrewe* Word gave eleven *Greeke* now and then, to shew Heathen all Eloquence in their Kinde.

The Apostles have al the Jewells of Greeke *Elegancy.*

The Greeke *Fathers compared Heathen most narowly with Apostolique* Greeke.

To apply Heathen *Greeks* to the Prophets and Apostles, the *Greeke* Fathers laboured another 300 Yeres, to shew how they had the same Speeches still though in Matter not well carried. *Justine Martyr* to Heathen is much herein, and *Clemens Alexandrinus* hath contrived all Heathen hither, being a Store like *Alexandrian* Library.

Eusebius also is not a little in this Sorte, and infinite others specially for the maine, the eternall State in *Hades*; for good, as *Abraham*, *Luk.* 16. and *Joseph*, *Gen.* 37. and for wicked, as *Dives*, *Luk.* 16. And as Heathen 300 Yeres made *Haden* the Lodge of all Soules and the Philosophers helde it an happie Thing to go soone thither: so in the Creede Heathen would say that by *to katelthein eis hadou*, we meant a most happie Passage from this World to God. And so all the Fathers place the happie Fathers in *Hades*, and meant no worse Lodge. To dash all foure, thus ariseth *Bilson.*

D. Bilson *teacheth* Greeke *to all* Greeks.

Bilson leaveth Heathen to their Alleagers, and saith for *Josephes Hades*, that the *Greeke* Fathers that placed his Soule there as in Paradise, understood not the 70. and that St. *Luke* 16. teacheth to understande *Haden* for Hell, because the rich Man is in it, as though *Abraham* were not there also: and to conclude for Heathen *Greeke*, the 70. the Apostles, the Fathers, he disannulleth all common

common Agreement for their *Greeke*, as though he had made a Vowe to roote out all Learning, with Religion. Witt alſo cometh in Queſtion, our ſubſcribing to *Zuricke* ſayeth: *Per inferos intelligimus Paradiſum, &c.* moſt faithfully and learnedlie. Yet Doct. *Bilſon* being told that *Hades* to the Good is Paradiſe, would needs prove that Chriſt went to Hell becauſe he went to *Hades*. Yet when all *Greeke* Doctors place all the Fathers in *Hades*, (and they place Chriſt no lower) he will not have them in Hell. And thus with ſtrange Dealing, he hath by Preaching, and great Sale of his Errors, ſought the Deſtruction of Religion, of Scripture, of *Ebrew* Tongue and Learning, of all Kindes of *Greeke* Elegancie, and all Proceeding in diſputing; by taking that for all his Argument, that is truly affirmed to be cleane contrary.

To your G. by Order, Complaint was to be made, that you ſhould with all your Learning and Might bring D. *B.* into the right Way. It is a pitifull Thing that Biſhops ſhould be found infinitly fuller of Error for the Grounds of Faith, and learned Studies, then any other in all the Kingdome.

A Mind that loved the Truth and heard that the *Greeke* in the Creede for 3000 Yeares Uſe, in our Lordes Soules Paſſage, is no more then to go hence to God, would make no more Stirre, but wiſely confeſſe that by Heathen *Greeke* the Creede penned for Heathen muſt be expounded. And that cleare Plainneſſe beſeemeth a publike Abridgment of Faith, ſuch as to all the ſimple Folke ought to be expounded. Your Heart and Confeſſion by *Maiſter King* at *Frankfurt* knoweth who hath cleared the Trueth, and how can you ſuffer D. *Bilſon* to deceave the People?

And D. *Bilſon* being in high Place ſhould ſeeme flexible unto the Trueth, as his Blame for Stubburnes in Hereſie would be notorious, and if he would plainly and abſolutely confeſſe that he hath bene deceyved, and that the *Greeke* in the Creede teacheth moſt certainly that our Lordes Soule aſcended unto Paradiſe from the Croſſe, and never deſcended into Hell, this Humilitie would be his high Commendation, and cut of an infinite Companie of his Errors.

As you are holy Fathers and Partakers of the heavenly Callinge, kicke not againſt the Spurre. But ſay: let him be *Anathema Maran Atha* that loveth not the Trueth of Redemption. It is a moſt high Injurie againſt God and the Kinge, that the Church is led amiſſe by Biſhops Errors.

God give all us Underſtanding in all Thinges, and garde our Hearts and Mindes in the Knowledge and Love of our Lord and Saviour: that in all Partes of Holy Doctrine, we may nouriſh Peace and Trueth.

Two little Workes defensive of our Redemption, That our LORD went through the Veile of his Flesh into Heaven, to appeare before GOD for us.

Which Journey a Talmudist, as the Gospell, would terme, a going up to Paradise: But Heathen Greeke, a going downe to *Hades*; and Latin, *Descendere ad Inferos*. Wherein the unlearned Barbarous anger GOD and Man, saying, *That* JESUS *descended to HELL*: and yeelde unto the blasphemous *Jewes* by sure Consequence upon their Words, *That he should not be the Holy One of God.*

By *HUGH BROUGHTON.* 1604.

If any Man love not the Lord JESUS, let him be Anathema Maran Atha. 1 Cor. 16.

To the READER.

BY knowing that Hades, *a Terme used in the Creede, is the Place generall, where Soules are before Gods Throne, divided there, far enough, by Heaven and Hell, so that in Speach of the holy,* Hades *the generall, by Difference of the Person, is* Heaven, *and in the wicked* Hell, *as we commonly terme* Hell: *which Place is on high, out of this World by* Apo. 14. *and all* Jewes *in* Cether Malc. *fol.* 11. *by knowing of this great Light cometh to Religion. First their Opinion falleth, who thank God for sending his Sonne to redeeme the Fathers from* Hades, *to* Paradise: *that is, from Paradise to Paradise. So* Limbus Patrum *and* Purgatorie *fall: when* Hades *hath onely two Partes, Heaven and Hell. So our Madnes falleth, who in the Creede, put for that Part of* Hades, *which holdeth the faithfull, and is Heaven or Paradise, the Part which holdeth the wicked, and put for Heaven, Hell, to which they that goe, perish for ever. Here standeth the Article: Our Lord being in Body crucified, dead and buried, had a Soule immortall, as all Men, which went hence to God: and being in* Hades, *holy, had not Hell but Heaven. This is all. When the Gospel began scant any held Soules immortall.* Pliny *sheweth that. Therfore it was needfull the Creed should have it. When the Immortalitie was graunted, very many Creedes did omit the Article: because in Speach of a Man, to die and to go to* Hades *is all one. Of an Horse,* Grekes *would say,* he is dead. *Of a Man more:* He is dead and gone to Hades. *This Matter unknowen hath vexed the World by Ignorance of one* Greeke *Worde. And two Bishops vexed their owne. Against whom two smal Writings folow: besides much otherwise printed and written to them. The Style is not of their Gall, but it may gall, in Mildnes.*

The

The Argument of the Admonition following.

Br. wrote unto Queene *Elizabeth*, that King *Edward* the Sixt and her Majeſt. ſwearing to the Goſpell, ſware to this, That to goe to *Hades* in the Creede, was to goe to Paradiſe, even by Heathen *Greeke:* to whom *Hades* is the World of Soules: in which the holy have Paradiſe, and the godles, *Gehenna.* Both be on high before Gods Throne. And *Br.* commended the Cauſe to Q. *Elizabeths* M. and the King of *Scots* Majeſtie. Againſt that a Libell was allowed to ſcoff the *Scottiſh* Miſt, penned by ſome *Belial Bar Lo:* and againſt Salvation *Bilſon* raged: as this ſhort Worke telleth.

A Lye refumed of D. Bilson.

Doctor Bilſon in his Sermon Booke againſt Maiſter Jacob, *folio* 419. *fumeth thus:* Firſt then tell your Abettor that all the Realme will take him not onely for a Rayler againſt all Honeſtie, but a Lier againſt all Duty that voucheth ſo Confidentlie: King *Edward* the ſixt and his Subjectes helde that Chriſt his Soule never went to *Gehenna:* and the Realm knoweth the Qu. Oath, and alſo the Q. adventureth her eternall State. Theſe be no States to come within his uncleane Mouth. He may doe well to remember who they be of whom it is written: They deſpiſe Governement: and ſpeake ill of them that be in Authoritie: as raginge Waves of the Sea, foming out their owne Shame. *Thus the D. writeth. Marke now the* Zurich *Confeſſion, which K.* Edw. *and Queene* Eliz. *allowed.* Per inferos intelligimus non locum ſupplicii deſignatum impiis, ſed defunctos fideles, quemadmodum per ſuperos adhuc ſuperſtites in vitâ. Proinde anima Chriſti deſcendit ad inferos, id eſt, delata eſt in ſinum Abrahæ: in quo collecti fuerunt omnes defuncti fideles. Ergo cum Latroni ſecum crucifixo dixit, hodie mecum eris in Paradiſo, promiſit ei conſortium vitæ, & beatorum ſpirituum. Licet enim Dominus deſcendiſſe dicatur, fit tamen ex more loquendi. Confitemur in hoc articulo animas eſſe immortales, eaſque protinus à morte corporeâ tranſire ad vitam. *This is the* Zurick *Confeſſion, allowed by King* Edward *and Qu.* Eliz. *So Deſcending muſt be graunted to be Aſcending, and Hell * to be Paradiſe. If our Biſhops miſſe in Termes, they muſt blame them ſelves: and not rage with hereticall Satanean Madnes upon ſuch as force them to Faith. Now what grace the D. hath in his Wordes, all may ſoone judge: conſidering what him ſelfe graunteth: and how in his Eſcape afterwardes he differeth from all the Worlde. This was the Queſtion:* Whether our Lords Soul went hence to *Gehenna:* or hence to Paradiſe *: John Cant. and all vexed by him know that, and for one of theſe two Opinions the Princes Religion was to be eſteemed. And if* J. C. *had invented a going from Paradiſe to* Gehenna, Geneveans *would have renowned*

* Let no ſimple ever thinke that Hell, as Men commonly ſpeak is Heaven. But if a Foole put Hell, by his Tongue where Heaven is indeed: a Foole cannot by unlearnedſhip turne Heaven to Hell. The barbarous Tranſlation of the *Greeke* Creede which deceaved D. *Bilſon* is blamed: not the true Creede.

him

him over the World. Now marke how rightly the right reverend Father and Doctor taketh of him ſelfe the Lye unto him ſelfe, fol. 219. We have no Warrant in the Word of God ſo to faſten Chriſts Soule unto Hell for the Time of his Death, that it might not be in Paradiſe before it deſcended into Hell. *Now* John Cant. *will graunt, that he damneth them both: and juſtifieth the Adverſary, as a* Greeke *Epiſtle printed at* Hannawe *required Sir* John Forteſcue *once Queene* Elizabeths Greek *Reader, to determine, whether both Biſhops were not condemned moſt certeinly by their owne Graunt. The ridiculous feigning of a new* Satanean *Fable that our Lord went from Paradiſe to* Gehenna: *and to* Hades, *as from* Paulls *to* London, *from* Wincheſter *to* England, *from* England *to* Europe, *from* Europe *to this World, from part to the whole: and againe, the Fable that he went not to* Hades, *that is, in Trueth, to the World of Soules, till his Body was buried: and again, his feigning thriſe, at* Paules, Hades *in* S. Matthew, *cap.* 5. *twiſe, with* 10. *once, where* Gehenna *is the Text, perverting the Originall with wreſting Scriptures and Fathers to an Opinion that never came into Holy Mindes, this excuſeth not his Lye, but augmenteth his Impiety: that befooleth all Scriptures of God, and all Divines that ever have bene in the World. Curſed be he that maketh the Blinde wander out of the Way, and let all the People ſay, Amen.*

The Argument and Effect of the Epiſtle following.

J. C. was adviſed in a Worke dedicated to Queene *Elizabeth* and to the moſt Noble, our King now, That he ſhould not burne for *Gehennaes* Honour, leaſt he burned in *Gehennaes* Flame for ever and ever: At the firſt he ſkoffed all Trueth of God and the King: but being taught how he was caught in his owne Syllogiſme thus: The Place which our Lordes Soule went to hence, telleth what *Hades* (his *HELL)* meaneth in the Creede: But *Paradiſe* is the Place which our Lord went to hence: Therefore Paradiſe is the *HELL* of the Creed, being taught how he was caught, he ſent his Chaplayne M. *Geffrey King*, obteyning the Queenes Hand for his Leave, to agree with his Adverſarie: and he upon Agreement, returned preſently, ſaying that he ſhould be ſent againe: but preſently after he came home, hee would write. Conditions were not kept. The Libell was ſtill ſolde: and *Machmadiſme* was in it: and a contumelious Mockage of *Chriſt* and all *Chriſtians* and *Jewes:* when he ſaid *Ruben* the *Jewe* his *Ebrew* Epiſtle was forged: whereby he hindred the Defence of Chriſtianitie, and deſerved rooting out. Beſides that, after the King was ours, *Paules* ſold the Treaſon of the Libel. For not ſtanding to his Covenant, three *Greeke* Orations plaid upon him: and one dedicated to the King and *Brettiſh* Nation in Queene *Elizabets* Days: And after all, this Epiſtle. At the firſt Sight he laid the Blame on *Bar Lo*, that uſurped his Auctoritie, as being guiltleſs: yet when at the Court a Duke ſhewed what he had done, he fell as dead, and ſoone died. The Party greeved was much greeved at his Death: becauſe he had proteſted he never ſpake againſt him. Yet as *Ely*, ſo he by Softneſs paid for others Blame: while he repreſſed not bad Soules. And his

his Gentleman wiſhed *Bar Lo* unborne: as more Griefe to the Archbiſhop then all that ever were his Adverſaries: not only for his Libel againſt the *Scottiſh* Miſt: full of moſt deadly Treaſon, and full of Blaſphemy and Lying againſt God and Man: But alſo for his Satanean Declamation at *Paules* againſt the beſt Nobilitie, and the beſt bent for the Good of the State: againſt whom the *Iſcariot* railed and raged: whereby the Nobilitie juſtly terme him: The vileſt that is this Day under the Cope of Heaven: as bent againſt God, the King, the Nobilitie, and all Humanitie. So *Bar Lo* will be his Notation.

To the aged Sir, JOHN *of* Canterb. *Archbiſhop, Grace and Truth.*

MAiſter *Francis Hall* told that your G. deprived M. *Pickard* and him of their Benefices, and gave both to *Bar Lo* (whom he deſcribed after his Name, a *Babe moſt bad)* for defending your *Gehenna:* which Hæreſie of yours was uſed for a Barr, that you were not fit to confirme others, who ſo erred your ſelfe: againſt all the Bible, all *Greekes* and *Hebrewes.* That the Children whiche you would have confirmed and you together may be truly firmed herein, behold your owne Graunt in D. *Bilſon:* to whom in *Bar Lo* his Booke, your Grace and Wiſedome referreth the unlearned for a learned Defence of your Minde: which held that the Creed telleth whether our Lordes Soule went hence. And this is your Propoſition and myne too: and you will adventure your eternall State upon it, and I myne. This it is: The Place into which our Lordes Soule went hence, is *Hades* or *Hell* of the Creede. This Poſition is built upon a Rocke: that no Storme, Windes, nor Waves can ſhake it. And if we agree to what Place our Lord his Soule went hence, we agree what *Hades* or your *Hell* is in the Creede. Nowe to your Propoſition, this Aſſumption D. *Bilſon* layeth downe, folio 219. *Paradiſe is the Place to which our Lord went hence.* Therefore by your owne Graunt *Hades* or *Hell* in the Creede is *Paradiſe.* Seeing then the whole Tenour of *Moſes* and the Goſpell, cannot moove you: ſeeing the univerſall Judgement of the *Hebrewes* for their owne Tongue, can not moove you: ſeeing 3000 Yeares Heathen *Greeke* cannot moove you: and *Eulogines* Patriarcha 1200 Yeres old, with all other Chriſtian *Greekes* which doe place *Abraham* in *Hades*, can not moove you, and ſeeing the *Zurick* Confeſſion, which ſayth, *per Inferos intelligimus non locum ſupplicii deſignatum impiis, ſed defunctos fideles, & ſinum Abrahæ* can not move you, let your owne Confeſſion moove you: and publiſh it in Print, that the Simple deceaved by you, may know how you led them to deny that our Lorde went through the Vaile of his Fleſh into the moſt holy. Which they that will denie, may as well denie all Religion and Trueth of God. You have moſt highly injured the Majeſtie of God: pretendinge that *Sheol*, Pſal. 16. was the Devils Lodge, which no *Ebrew* ever thought, neither ſuffreth *Moſes* to thinke: contemning the Goſpell for the Hand of God receaving the Holy Soule of our Lorde: pervertinge Sorowes of Death into the ſecond Death, *Act.* 2. to befooll all Chriſtianitie, turning Saint *Paul* to *Gehennean* Darknes: where he purpoſelie

poſelie ſpeaketh of the Goſpells Brightnes: in theſe three Injuries you ſtaine all the Bible, while you make ſome Jarr from all the reſt, and befoole the moſt holy Writers. This your Sinne is haynous. So your deſpiſing of *Ebrew* DD. For their owne Tongue, wil be holden of the *Scottiſh* Miſt and *Brettiſh* Nation, and all Nations a brutiſh Parte, and no leſſe the rejecting of Heathen *Greeke*, for the Creede penned for Heathen: and your reſtrayning of *Greeke* only to Poets: and your teaching as generall that *Hades* in them is ugly, this your Learning wil be holden Babiſh. Alſo where D. *Bilſon* rejecteth the World of Soules, as checking all *Jewes* in their owne Tongue, his wrangling was Senſeles: that he knew no Place where Soules were togeather. Hath he ever ſeene in this World all Bodyes togeather; other ſaw them not, yet the Speach, this World is Currant with all Men. And for *Hades Macedones* call it Heaven. *Portus* Dictionarie would have taught you ſo much, though you ſought no deeper *Grætians*. And in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Hades* is *Juppiter*. To your Blame for denying the lxx. in *Pſal.* 110. a Warrant for the New Teſt. *Greeke*, you ſay nothing, as damned. And D. *Bilſon* ſaith: the *Greeke* Fathers underſtood not *Joſephs Haden*. Such Owles you bring to *Athens:* and make your *Witgifte* a Scoph to all learned. Alſo you anſwer nothing to your Blame for ſaying, that it were better the Trueth of *Daniel* were hid, then Antiquitie ſhould be diſgraced for miſſing. Others thought it a graceleſſe Speach. So when you condemne Saint *Paul* for curſing *Ananias*, which Thing he was bound to doe, by expreſſe Lawes, for ſtryking treacherouſlie, and miſleading the Blind, you check Chriſt that promiſed a Mouth that no Adverſarie could reſiſt, and befoole *Moſes* for making a Defence for an open impudent Judge. The Blind, the Deafe, the Officers may not lightly be curſed: but in open Wilfulnes they be curſed, as *Saul* of *David*, and *Sedechias* of *Ezechiel*, and the *Phariſes*, *Mat.* 23. Herein you ſtand at the Mercy of God. Moreover touching *Abraham Ruben* the *Jew*, you have injuried Chriſt our Lord, and all Chriſtians moſt wickedly. If he had not bene anſwered, all Chriſtians had bene worſe thought of. Now he and all the *Jewes* in the Empire ſpeak better of Chriſtianity. And ſome by that have bene baptized: and one D. told that he would be baptized and come to *Englande:* he is the Man that prefaced to *Aruc*. So a rare learned *Jew*, to whom at *Baſil* one gave *Rubens* Epiſtle, and ſhewed the Apoſtles *Thalmudicall* rare Skill, he made Requeſt to the Profeſſours, when the Party was gone, to deſire him to returne to inſtruct him more fully: (but the Party could not) and afore requeſted his Teacher to tranſlate into *Ebrew*, as he ſpake to him, the New Teſtament. This deſerved better then your Language. You ſay the Party feigned that whiche is written of his Praiſe: and Scoph his Skill in *Ebrew* and *Greeke:* and terme him an Aſſe, and offre all Diſgrace. For all, Chriſtians and *Jewes* ſhould thinke you unworthy to have the Benefit of Chriſtian Policie. And as you know you have the Anathema maran Atha given you. It returneth to the Giver if you deſerve it not. If your deſert be doubtles, you are ſurely miſerable: as in your perpetuall Untruthes and miſuſing of the Realmes Authoritie to *Satans* Slavery. So when you ſchophed the Hope in the *Scottiſh* Miſt, and the *Brittiſh* Nation, what meant you but

to

to endevor to ſet Millions to kill one another. Six Yeres *Beza* noiſed a Teſtament bent badly, and *Geneva* meant to kill one for leaning on the *Scottiſh* Miſt: as three Scottes there then tolde the Party: and *Beza* wrote much alike to your old Head. Yet the Party boldly printed the *Scottiſh* Miſt then to be his King. And now with what Face can you looke for any good Subject, who knowes the Bleſſing of the *Scottiſh* Miſt turned to a ſhyning Sunne ever to wiſh you well: after your ſo great Endevour to overthrow your owne Nation; The *Brettiſh* Nation would, as *Davids* 37 Worthies, have layde their Life in their Hands for their lefull Prince, then and now moſt deare King. And wiſheth you, after Pardon, to be an harty Subject. Great Cauſe you have.

To the READER.

AS Britanie *conteyning* England *with* Scotland, *a* Scott *is not born in* England *becauſe he is borne in* Britanie: *So* Hades *conteyning Heaven and HEL, our L. his holy Soule going to* Hades *to his holy Joy, can not be ſayd to goe to HEL, becauſe his went to* Hades. *But the barbarous Tranſlation ſhould be lothed of al wiſe and ſuch as would not deſcend to HEL, to their eternall Woe.*

The KINGS MAJESTIES Speech, as it was delivered by him in the Upper Houſe of the Parliament to the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and to the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes there aſſembled, on *Munday* the 19. Day of *March* 1603. being the firſt Day of this preſent Parliament, and the firſt Parliament of his Majeſties Raigne.

IT did no ſooner pleaſe God to lighten his Hand, and relent the Violence of his devouring Angel againſt the poore People of this Citie, but as ſoone did I reſolve to call this Parliament, and that for three chiefe and principall Reaſons: The firſt whereof is, (and which of it ſelfe, although there were no more, is not onely a ſufficient, but a moſt full and neceſſarie Ground and Reaſon for convening of this Aſſemblie) This firſt Reaſon I ſay is, That you who are heere preſently aſſembled to repreſent the Body of this whole Kingdome, and of all ſorts of People within the ſame, may with your owne Eares heare, and that I out of mine owne Mouth may deliver unto you the Aſſurance of my due Thankfulnes for your ſo joyfull and generall Applauſe to the declaring and receiving of me in this Seate (which God by my Birthright and lineall Deſcent had in the Fulneſſe of Time provided for me) and that, immediatly after it pleaſed God to call your late Soveraigne of famous

Memorie, full of Dayes, but fuller of immortall Trophes of Honour, out of this tranſitorie Life. Not that I am able to expreſſe by Wordes, or utter by Eloquence the vive Image of mine inward Thankfulneſſe, but onely that out of mine owne Mouth you may reſt aſſured to expect that Meaſure of Thankefulneſſe at my Hands, which is according to the Infiniteneſſe of your Deſerts, and to my Inclination and Abilitie for Requital of the ſame. Shall I ever? nay, can I ever bee able, or rather ſo unable in Memorie, as to forget your unexpected Readines and Alacritie, your ever memorable Reſolution, and your moſt wonderfull Conjunction and Harmonie of your Hearts in declaring and embracing me as your undoubted and lawfull King and Governour? Or ſhall it ever be blotted out of my Minde, how at my firſt Entrie into this Kingdome, the People of all Sorts rid and ran, nay rather flew to meete mee? their Eyes flaming nothing but Sparckles of Affection, their Mouthes and Tongues uttering nothing but Sounds of Joy, their Hands, Feete, and all the reſt of their Members in their Geſtures diſcovering a paſſionate longing, and earneſtneſſe to meete and embrace their new Soveraigne. *Quid ergo retribuam?* Shall I allow in my ſelfe, that which I could never beare with in an other? No I muſt plainely and freely confeſſe heere in all your Audiences, that I did ever naturally ſo farre miſlike a Tongue ſo ſmoothe, and diligent in paying their Creditors with lippe Payment and verball Thankes, as I ever ſuſpected that ſort of People meant not to pay their Debtors in more ſubſtantiall ſort of Coyne. And therefore for expreſſing my Thankfulneſſe, I muſt reſort unto the other two Reaſons of my convening of this Parliament, by them in Action to utter my Thankefulneſſe: Both the ſayd Reaſons having but one Ground, which is the Deedes, whereby all the Dayes of my Life, I am by Gods Grace to expreſſe my ſayd Thankfulneſſe towards you, but divided in this, That in the firſt of theſe two, mine Actions of Thankes, are ſo inſeparably conjoyned with my Perſon, as they are in a Maner become individually annexed to the ſame: In the other Reaſon, mine Actions are ſuch, as I may either doe them, or leave them undone, although by Gods Grace I hope never to be wearie of the doing of them.

As to the firſt: It is the Bleſſings which God hath in my Perſon beſtowed upon you all, wherin I proteſt, I doe more glorie at the ſame for your Weale, then for any particular Reſpect of mine owne Reputation, or Advantage therein.

The firſt then of theſe Bleſſings, which God hath joyntly with my Perſon ſent unto you, is outward Peace: that is, Peace abroad with all foreine Neighbours: for I thanke God I may juſtly ſay, that never ſince I was a King, I either received Wrong of any other Chriſtian Prince or State, or did Wrong to any: I have ever, I praiſe God, yet kept Peace and Amitie with all, which hath beene ſo farre tyed to my Perſon, as at my comming here you are Witneſſes I found the State embarqued in a great and tedious Warre, and onely by mine Arrivall heere, and by the Peace in my Perſon, is now Amitie kept, where Warre was before, which is no ſmall Bleſſing to a Chriſtian Commonwealth: for by Peace abroad with their Neighbours the

Townes

Townes floriſh, the Merchants become rich, the Trade doeth encreaſe, and the People of all Sorts of the Land enjoy free Libertie to exerciſe themſelves in their ſeveral Vocations without Perill or Diſturbance. Not that I thinke this outward Peace ſo unſeparably tyed to my Perſon, as I dare aſſuredly promiſe to my ſelfe and to you the certeine Continuance thereof: but thus farre I can very wel aſſure you, and in the Word of a King promiſe unto you, That I ſhall never give the firſt Occaſion of the Breach therof, neither ſhall I ever be mooved for any particular or private Paſſion of Minde to interrupt your publique Peace, except I be forced thereunto, either for Reparation of the Honour of the Kingdome, or elſe by Neceſſitie for the Weale and Preſervation of the ſame: In which Caſe, a ſecure and honourable Warre muſt be preferred to an unſecure and diſhonourable Peace: yet do I hope by my Experience of the by-paſt Bleſſings of Peace, which God hath ſo long ever ſince my Birth beſtowed upon mee, that hee will not be weary to continue the ſame, nor repent him of his Grace towards mee, transferring that Sentence of King *Davids* upon his by-paſt Victories of Warre to mine of Peace, That, *that God who preſerved me from the devouring Jawes of the Beare and of the Lyon, and delivered them into my Hands, ſhall alſo now grant me Victory over that uncircumciſed Philiſtine.*

2. But although outward Peace be a great Bleſſing; yet is it as farre inferiour to Peace within, as Civill Warres are more cruell and unnaturall then Warres abroad. And therefore the ſecond great Bleſſing that God hath with my Perſon ſent unto you, is Peace within, and that in a double Forme. Firſt, by my Deſcent lineally out of the Loynes of *Henry* the Seventh, is reunited and confirmed in me the Union of the two princely Roſes of the two Houſes of LANCASTER and YORKE, whereof that King of happy Memorie was the firſt Uniter, as hee was alſo the firſt Ground-layer of the other Peace. The lamentable and miſerable Events by the civil and bloody Diſſention betwixt theſe two Houſes was ſo greate and ſo late, as it neede not be renewed unto your Memories: which, as it was firſt ſetled and united in him, ſo is it now reunited and confirmed in me, being juſtly and lineally deſcended not onely of that happy Conjunction, but of both the Branches thereof * many Times before. But the Union of theſe two princely Houſes is nothing comparable to the Union of the two ancient and famous Kingdoms, which is the other inward Peace annexed to my Perſon.

And here I muſt crave your Patiences for a little Space, to give mee Leave to diſcourſe more particularly of the Benefites that doe ariſe of that Union which is made in my Blood, being a Matter that moſt properly belongeth to me to ſpeake of, as the Head wherein that great Body is united. And firſt, if we were to looke no higher then to naturall and phyſicall Reaſons, wee may eaſily bee perſwaded of the great Benefites that by that Union doe redound to the whole Iſland: for if twentie thouſand Men be a ſtrong Armie, is not the double thereof, fortie thouſand, a double the ſtronger Armie? If a Baron enricheth himſelfe with double as many Lands as hee had before, is

* From King *Edgar* the Greate and from King *Edgar Ethelin.*

hee not double the greater? Nature teacheth us, that Mountaines are made of Motes, and that at the firſt, Kingdomes being divided, and every particular Towne or little Countie, as Tyrants or Uſurpers could obtaine the Poſſeſſion, a Seigniorie apart, many of theſe little Kingdomes are now in Proceſſe of Time, by the Ordinance of God, joyned into great Monarchies, whereby they are become powerfull within themſelves to defend themſelves from all outward Invaſions, and their Head and Governour thereby enabled to redeeme them from forreine Aſſaults, and puniſh private Tranſgreſſions within. Doe wee not yet remember, that this Kingdome was divided into ſeven little Kingdomes, beſides *Wales?* And is it not now the ſtronger by their Union? And hath not the Union of *Wales* to *England* added a greater Strength thereto? Which though it was a great Principality, was nothing comparable in Greatnes and Power to the ancient and famous Kingdome of *Scotland.* But what ſhould wee ſticke upon any naturall Appearance, when it is manifeſt that God by his Almighty Providence hath preordained it ſo to be? Hath not God firſt united theſe two Kingdomes both in Language, Religion, and Similitude of Manners? Yea, hath hee not made us all in one Iland, compaſſed with one Sea, and of it ſelfe by Nature ſo indiviſible, as almoſt thoſe that were Borderers themſelves on the late Borders, cannot diſtinguiſh, nor know, or diſcerne their owne Limits? Theſe two Countries being ſeparated neither by Sea, nor great River, Mountaine, nor other Strength of Nature, but onely by little ſmall Brookes, or demoliſhed little Walles, ſo as rather they were divided in Apprehenſion, then in Effect. And now in the End and Fulneſſe of Time united, the Right and Title of both in my Perſon, alike lineally deſcended of both the Crownes, whereby it is now become like a litle World within it ſelfe, being intrenched and fortified round about with a naturall, and yet admirable ſtrong Pond or Ditch, whereby all the former Feares of this Nation are now quite cut off: The other Part of the Iland being ever before now not only the Place of Landing to all Strangers that was to make Invaſion here, but likewiſe moved by the Enemies of this State by untimely Incurſions, to make inforced Diverſion from their Conqueſts, for defending themſelves at home, and keeping ſure their Backe-doore as then it was called, which was the greateſt Hinderance and Lett that ever my Predeceſſors of this Nation gat in diſturbing them from their many famous and glorious Conqueſts abroad. What God hath conjoyned then, let no Man ſeparate. I am the Huſband, and all the whole Iſle is my lawfull Wife; I am the Head, and it is my Body; I am the Shepherd, and it is my Flocke: I hope therfore no Man wil be ſo unreaſonable as to thinke that I that am a Chriſtian King under the Goſpel, ſhould be a Polygamiſt and Huſband to two Wives; that I being the Head, ſhould have a divided and monſtrous Body; or that being the Shepheard to ſo faire a Flocke (whoſe Fold hath no Wall to hedge it but the foure Seas) ſhould have my Flocke parted in two. But as I am aſſured, that no honeſt Subject of whatſoever Degree within my whole Dominion, is leſſe glad of this joyfull Union then I am; So may the frivolous Objection of any that would be Hinderers of this Worke, which God hath in my Perſon already eſtabliſhed, bee eaſily anſwered, which

can

can be none, except ſuch as are either blinded with Ignorance, or els tranſported with Malice, being unable to live in a well governed Commonwealth, and onely delighting to fiſh in troubled Waters. For if they would ſtand upon their Reputation and Priviledges of any of the Kingdomes, I pray you was not both the Kingdomes Monarchies from the Beginning, and conſequently could ever the Bodie bee counted without the Head, which was ever unſeparably joyned thereunto? So that as Honour and Priviledges of any of the Kingdomes could not be divided from their Soveraigne, So are they nowe confounded and joyned in my Perſon, who am equall and alike kindly Head to you both. When this Kingdome of *England* was divided into ſo many little Kingdoms as I told you before, one of them behooved to eate up another, till they were all united in one. And yet can *Wiltſhire* or *Devonſhire*, which were of the *Weſt Saxons*, although their Kingdome was of longeſt Durance, and did by Conqueſt overcome divers of the reſt of the little Kingdoms, make Claime to Prioritie of Place or Honour before *Suſſex*, *Eſſex*, or other Shires, which were conquered by them? And have wee not the like Experience in the Kingdome of *France*, being compoſed of divers Dutchies, and one after another conquered by the Sword? For even as little Brookes loſe their Names by their Running and Fall into great Rivers, and the very Name and Memorie of the great Rivers ſwallowed up in the Ocean: ſo by the Conjunction of divers little Kingdomes in one, are all theſe private Differences and Queſtions ſwallowed up. And ſince the Succeſſe was happie of the *Saxons* Kingdomes being conquered by the Speare of *Bellona*; How much greater Reaſon have wee to expect a happie Iſſue of this greater Union, which is only faſtened and bound up by the Wedding Ring of *Aſtrea?* And as God hath made *Scotland* the one halfe of this Iſle to enjoy my Birth, and the firſt and moſt unperfect halfe of my Life, and you heere to enjoy the perfect and the laſt halfe thereof; ſo can I not think that any would be ſo injurious to me, no not in their Thoughts and Wiſhes, as to cut aſunder the one halfe of me from the other. But in this Matter I have farre enough inſiſted, reſting aſſured that in your Hearts and Mindes you all applaud this my Diſcourſe.

Mars.

Love and Peace.

3. Now although theſe Bleſſings before rehearſed of inward and outward Peace, be great: yet ſeeing that in all good Things, a great Part of their Goodneſſe and Eſtimation is loſt, if they have not Appearance of Perpetuity or long Continuance; ſo hath it pleaſed Almighty God to accompany my Perſon alſo with that Favour, having healthfull and hopefull Iſſue of my Bodie, whereof ſome are here preſent, for Continuance and Propagation of that undoubted Right which is in my Perſon; under whom I doubt not but it will pleaſe God to proſper and continue for many Yeeres this Union, and all other Bleſſings of inward and outward Peace which I have brought with me.

4. But neither Peace outward nor Peace inward, nor any other Bleſſings that can follow thereupon, nor Appearance of the Perpetuity thereof, by Propagation in the Poſterity, is but a weake Pillar and a rotten Reede to leane unto, if God doe not ſtrengthen and by the Staffe of his Bleſſing make them durable:

durable: for in vaine doth the Watchman watch the City, if the Lord be not the principall Defence thereof: in vaine doeth the Builder build the Houſe, if God give not the Succeſſe: And in vaine (as *Paul* ſaith) doeth *Paul* plant and *Apollo* water, if God give not the Increaſe. For all worldly Bleſſings are but like ſwift paſſing Shadowes, fading Flowers, or Chaffe blowen before the Wind, if by the Profeſſion of true Religion, and Workes according thereunto, God be not mooved to maintaine and ſettle the Thrones of Princes. And although that ſince mine Entry into this Kingdome, I have both by meeting with divers of the Eccleſiaſticall Eſtate, and likewiſe by divers Proclamations clearely declared my Mind in Points of Religion, yet doe I not thinke it amiſſe in this ſo ſolemne an Audience, I ſhould now take Occaſion to diſcover ſomewhat of the Secrets of my Heart in that Matter: For I ſhall never (with Gods Grace) be aſhamed to make publike Profeſſion therof at all Occaſions, leaſt God ſhould be aſhamed to profeſſe and allow me before Men and Angels, eſpecially leaſt that at this Time Men might preſume further upon the Miſknowledge of my Meaning to trouble this Parliament of ours then were convenient. At my firſt comming, although I found but one Religion, and that which by my ſelfe is profeſſed, publiquely allowed, and by the Law maintained: Yet found I another ſort of Religion, beſides a private Secte, lurking within the Bowels of this Nation. The firſt is the true Religion, which by me is profeſſed and by the Law is eſtabliſhed: The ſecond is the falſly called Catholikes, but truely Papiſtes. The third, which I call a Secte rather then Religion, is the Puritanes and Novelifts, who doe not ſo farre differ from us in Points of Religion, as in their confuſed Forme of Policie and Parity, being ever diſcontented with the preſent Governement, and impatient to ſuffer any Superioritie, which maketh their Sect unable to be ſuffered in any well governed Commonwealth. But as for my Courſe toward them, I remit it to my Proclamations made upon that Subject. And now for the Papiſts, I muſt put a Difference betwixt mine owne private Profeſſion of mine owne Salvation, and my Politique Government of the Realme for the Weale and Quietneſſe thereof. As for mine owne Profeſſion, you have me your Head now amongſt you of the ſame Religion that the Body is of. As I am no Stranger to you in Blood, no more am I a Stranger to you in Faith, or in the Matters concerning the Houſe of God. And although this my Profeſſion be according to mine Education, wherein (I thanke God) I ſucked the Milke of Gods Trueth, with the Milke of my Nurſe: yet doe I here proteſt unto you, that I would never for ſuch a Conceite of Conſtancy or other Prejudicate Opinion, have ſo firmely kept my firſt Profeſſion, if I had not found it agreeable to all Reaſon, and to the Rule of my Conſcience. But I was never violent nor unreaſonable in my Profeſſion: I acknowledge the Romane Church to be our Mother Church, although defiled with ſome Infirmities and Corruptions, as the *Jewes* were when they crucified Chriſt. And as I am none Enemie to the Life of a Sicke Man, becauſe I would have his Bodie purged of ill Humours, no more am I Enemie to their Church, becauſe I would have them reform their Errors, not wiſhing the downe-throwing of the Temple, but that it might be purged and cleanſed from Corruption: other-

wiſe

wiſe how can they wiſh us to enter, if their Houſe be not firſt made cleane? But as I would be loather to diſpenſe in the leaſt Point of mine owne Conſcience for any worldly Reſpect, then the fooliſheſt Preciſian of them all; ſo would I be as ſory to ſtraight the Politique Governement of the Bodies and Mindes of all my Subjectes to my private Opinions: Nay, my Minde was ever ſo free from Perſecution, or Thralling of my Subjects in Matters of Conſcience, as I hope that thoſe of that Profeſſion within this Kingdome have a Proofe ſince my Comming, that I was ſo farre from encreaſing their Burdens with *Rehoboam*, as I have ſo much as either Time, Occaſion, or Law could permit, lightened them. And even now at this Time have I bene carefull to reviſe and conſider deepely upon the Lawes made againſt them, that ſome Overture may be proponed to the preſent Parliament for clearing theſe Lawes by Reaſon (which is the Soule of the Law) in caſe they have bene in Times paſt further, or more rigorouſly extended by Judges, then the Meaning of the Lawe was, or might tend to the Hurt as well of the Innocent as of guiltie Perſons. And as to the Perſons of my Subjects which are of that Profeſſion, I muſt divide them into two Rankes, Clerickes and Layickes; for the Part of the Layicks, certainly I ever thought them farre more excuſable then the other Sort, becauſe that Sort of Religion containeth ſuch an ignorant, doubtfull, and implicit Kinde of Faith in the Layickes grounded upon their Church, as except they doe generally beleeve whatſoever their Teachers pleaſe to affirme, they cannot bee thought guilty of theſe particular Points of Hereſies and Corruptions, which their Teachers do ſo wilfully profeſſe. And againe, I muſt ſubdivide the ſame Layickes into two Rankes, that is, either quiet and well minded Men, peaceable Subjects, who either being old, have retayned their firſt drunken-in Liquor upon a certaine Shamefaſtneſſe to be thought curious or changeable: Or being young Men, through evill Education have never bene nurſed or brought up, but upon ſuch Venim in Place of wholeſome Nutriment. And that Sort of People I would be ſorry to puniſh their Bodies for the Errour of their Minds, the Reformation whereof muſt onely come of God and the true Spirit. But the other Ranke of Layicks, who either through Curioſitie, Affectation of Noveltie, or Diſcontentment in their privat Humours have changed their Coates, onely to bee factious Stirrers of Sedition, and Perturbers of the Commonwealth, their Backwardneſſe in their Religion giveth a Ground to me the Magiſtrate, to take the better Heede to their Proceeding, and to correct their Obſtinacie. But for the Part of the Clerickes, I muſt directly ſay and affirme, that as long as they maintaine one ſpeciall Point of their Doctrine, and another Point of their Practice, they are no Way ſufferable to remaine in this Kingdome. Their Point of Doctrine is that arrogant and ambitious Supremacie of their Head the Pope, whereby he not onely claimes to be ſpirituall Head of all Chriſtians, but alſo to have an imperiall civill Power over all Kings and Emperors, dethroning and decrowning Princes with his Foot as pleaſeth him, and diſpenſing and diſpoſing of all Kingdomes and Empires at his Appetite. The other Point which they obſerve in continuall Practiſe, is the Aſſaſſinates and Murtherers of Kings, thinking it no Sinne, but rather a Matter of Salvation, to doe

all

all Actions of Rebellion and Hoſtilitie againſt their naturall Soveraigne Lord, if he be once curſed, his Subjects diſcharged of their Fidelitie, and his Kingdom given a Praye by that three crowned Monarch, or rather Monſter their Head. And in this Point, I have no Occaſion to ſpeake further here, ſaving that I could wiſh from my Heart, that it would pleaſe God to make me one of the Members of ſuch a generall Chriſtian Union in Religion, as laying Wilfulneſſe aſide on both Hands, we might meete in the middeſt, which is the Center and Perfection of all Things. For if they would leave, and be aſhamed of ſuch new and groſſe Corruptions of theirs, as themſelves cannot maintaine, nor denie to be worthy of Reformation, I would for mine own Part be content to meete them in the Mid-Way, ſo that all Novelties might be renounced on either Side. For as my Faith is the True, Ancient, Catholike and Apoſtolike Faith, grounded upon the Scriptures and expreſſe Word of God: ſo will I ever yeeld all Reverence to Antiquitie in the Points of Eccſiaſticall Pollicy; and by that Meanes ſhall I ever with God's Grace keepe my ſelfe from either being an Hereticke in Faith, or Schiſmatick in Matters of Policie. But of one Thing would I have the Papiſts of this Land to bee admoniſhed, That they preſume not ſo much upon my Lenitie (becauſe I would bee loth to be thought a Perſecuter) as thereupon to thinke it lawfull for them dayly to encreaſe their Number and Strength in this Kingdome, whereby if not in my Time, at leaſt in the Time of my Poſteritie, they might be in Hope to erect their Religion againe. No, let them aſſure themſelves, that as I am a Friend to their Perſons if they be good Subjects: ſo am I a vowed Enemie, and doe denounce mortall Warre to their Errors: And that as I would be ſory to be driven by their ill Behaviour from the Protection and Conſervation of their Bodies and Lives; So will I never ceaſe as farre as I can, to tread downe their Errors and wrong Opinions. For I could not permit the Encreaſe and Growing of their Religion, without firſt betraying of my ſelfe, and mine owne Conſcience: Secondly, this whole Iſle, aſwel the Part I am come from, as the Part I remaine in, in betraying their Liberties, and reducing them to their former ſlaviſh Yoke, which both had caſten off, before I came amongſt them: And thirdly, the Libertie of the Crowne in my Poſteritie, which I ſhould leave againe under a new Slavery, having found it left free to mee by my Predeceſſors. And therefore would I wiſh all good Subjects that are deceived with that Corruption, firſt if they find any Beginning of Inſtinction in themſelves of Knowledge and Love to the Trueth, to foſter the ſame by all lawfull Meanes, and to beware of quenching the Spirit that worketh within them; And if they can finde as yet no Motion tending that Way, to be Studious to reade and conferre with learned Men, and to uſe all ſuch Meanes as may further their Reſolution, aſſuring themſelves, that as long as they are diſconformable in Religion from us, they cannot be but halfe my Subjects, bee able to doe but halfe Service, and I to want the beſt halfe of them, which is their Soules. And here have I Occaſion to ſpeake to you my Lords the Biſhops. For as you, my Lord of *Durham*, ſaid very learnedly to Day in your Sermon, Correction without Inſtruction, is but a Tyrannie: So ought you, and all the Clergie under you, to be more carefull, vigilant, and

and diligent then you have bene, to winne Soules to God, aſwell by your exemplary Life, as Doctrine. And ſince you ſee how carefull they are, ſparing neither Labour, Paines, nor extreme Peril of their Perſons to divert, (the Devill is ſo buſie a Biſhop) ye ſhould be the more carefull and wakefull in your Charges. Follow the Rule preſcribed you by S. *Paul*, *Bee carefull to exhort and to inſtruct in Seaſon, and out of Seaſon:* and where you have bene any Way ſluggiſh before, now waken your ſelves up againe with a new Diligence in this Point, remitting the Succeſſe to God, who calling them either at the ſecond, third, tenth or twelfth Houre, as they are alike welcome to him, ſo ſhall they be to me his Lieutenant here.

The third Reaſon of aſſembling the Parliament.

The third Reaſon of my convening of you at this Time, which conteineth ſuch Actions of my Thankefulneſſe toward you, as I may either doe, or leave undone, yet ſhall with Gods Grace ever preſſe to perfourme all the Dayes of my Life. It conſiſts in theſe two Points: In making of Lawes at certaine Times, which is onely at ſuch Times as this in Parliament; or in the carefull Execution thereof at all other Times. As for the making of them, I will thus farre faithfully promiſe unto you, That I will ever preferre the Weale of the Body and of the whole Commonwealth, in making of good Lawes and Conſtitutions, to any particular or private Ends of mine, thinking ever the Wealth and Weale of the Commonwealth to be my greateſt Weale and worldly Felicitie: A Point wherein a lawfull King doeth directly differ from a Tyrant. But at this Time I am onely thus farre to forewarne you in that Point, That you beware to ſeeke the making of too many Lawes, for two eſpeciall Reaſons: Firſt, becauſe *In corruptiſſima Republica plurimæ leges*; and the Execution of good Lawes is farre more profitable in a Commonwealth, then to burden Mens Memories with the making of too many of them. And next, becauſe the making of too many Lawes in one Parliament will bring in Confuſion, for lacke of Leiſure wiſely to deliberate before you conclude. For the Biſhop ſaid wel to Day, That to Deliberation would a large Time bee given, but to Execution a greater Promptneſſe was required. As for the Execution of good Lawes, it hath beene very wiſely and honourably foreſeene and ordered by my Predeceſſours in this Kingdome, in planting ſuch a Number of Judges and all ſorts of Magiſtrates in convenient Places for the Execution of the ſame: And therfore muſt I now turne mee to you that are Judges and Magiſtrates under me, as mine Eyes and Eares in this Caſe. I can ſay none otherwiſe to you, then as *Ezekias* the good King of *Juda* ſayd to their Judges, *Remember that the Thrones you ſit on are Gods, and neither yours nor mine.* And that as you muſt be anſwerable to me, ſo muſt both you and I be anſwerable to God for the due Execution of our Offices. That Place is no Place for you to utter your Affections in, you muſt not there hate your Foe nor love your Friend, feare the Offence of the greater Party, or pity the Miſery of Meaner; ye muſt be Blind and not ſee Diſtinctions of Perſons, Handleſſe, not to receive Bribes; but keepe that juſt Temper and Mid-Courſe in all your Proceedings, that like a juſt Ballance yee may neither ſway to the right nor left Hand. Three principall Qualities are required in you; Knowledge,

Courage, and Sincerity: that you may diſcerne with Knowledge, execute with Courage, and doe both in upright Sinceritie. And as for my Part, I doe vowe and proteſt here in the Preſence of God, and of this honourable Audience, I never ſhall be wearie, nor omit no Occaſion, wherein I may ſhewe my Carefulneſſe of the Execution of good Lawes. And as I wiſh you that are Judges not to bee wearie in your Office in doing of it; ſo ſhall I never be wearie, with Gods Grace, to take Account of you, which is properly my Calling.

And thus having tolde you the three Cauſes of my convening of this Parliament, all three tending onely to utter my Thankfulneſſe, but in divers Formes, the firſt by Word, the other two by Action; I doe confeſſe that when I have done and performed all that in this Speech I have promiſed, *Inutilis ſervus ſum.* Inutile, becauſe the Meaning of the Word *Inutilis* in that Place of Scripture is underſtoode, that in doing all that Service which wee can to God, it is but our due, and wee doe nothing to God but that which wee are bound to doe: And in like Maner, when I have done all that I can for you, I doe nothing but that which I am bound to doe, and am accomptable to God upon the contrarie. For I doe acknowledge, that the ſpeciall and greateſt Point of Difference that is betwixt a rightfull King and an uſurping Tyrant is in this: That wheras the proude and ambitious Tyrant doeth thinke his Kingdome and People are onely ordeined for Satisfaction of his Deſires and unreaſonable Appetites; The righteous and juſt King doth by the contrarie acknowledge himſelfe to be ordeined for the procuring of the Wealth and Proſperitie of his People, and that his greateſt and principall worldly Felicitie muſt conſiſt in their Proſperitie. If you be rich I cannot be poore, if you be happie I cannot but bee fortunate, and I proteſt that your Welfare ſhall ever bee my greateſt Care and Contentment: And that I am a Servant it is moſt true, that as I am Head and Governour of all the People in my Dominion who are my naturall Vaſſals and Subjects, conſidering them in Numbers and diſtinct Rankes; So if wee will take the whole People as one Bodie and Maſſe, then as the Head is ordeined for the Bodie and not the Body for the Head; ſo muſt a righteous King know himſelfe to bee ordeined for his People, and not his People for him. For although a King and People be *Relata:* yet can hee be no King if he want People and Subjects. But there be many People in the World that lacke a Head, wherefore I will never be aſhamed to confeſſe it my principall Honour to be the great Servant of the Commonwealth, and ever thinke the Proſperitie thereof to be my greateſt Felicity, as I have already ſaid.

But as it was the whole Body of this Kingdome; with an uniforme Aſſent and Harmonie, as I tolde you in the Beginning of my Speech, which did ſo farre oblige mee in good Will and Thankfulneſſe of Requital by their Alacritie and Readineſſe in declaring and receiving mee to that Place which God had provided for mee, and not any particular Perſons: (for then it had not bene the Body) So is my Thankfulnes due to the whole State. For even as in Matter of Faults, *Quod à multis peccatur, impunè peccatur:* Even ſo in the Matter of vertuous and good Deedes, what is done by the willing Conſent

and

and Harmonie of the whole Body, no particular Perſon can juſtly claime Thankes as proper to him for the ſame. And therefore I muſt here make a little Apologie for my ſelfe, in that I could not ſatisfie the particular Humours of every Perſon, that looked for ſome Advancement or Reward at my Hand ſince my Entrie into this Kingdome. Three kinde of Things were craved of me: Advancement to Honour, Preferment to Place of Credit about my Perſon, and Reward in Matters of Land or Profit. If I had beſtowed Honour upon all, no Man could have beene advanced to Honour: for the Degrees of Honour doe conſiſt in preferring ſome above their Fellowes. If every Man had the like Acceſſe to my Privy or Bedchamber, then no Man could have it, becauſe it cannot containe all. And if I had beſtowed Lands and Rewardes upon every Man, the Fountaine of my Liberalitie would be ſo exhauſted and dried, as I would lacke Meanes to bee liberall to any Man. And yet was I not ſo ſparing, but I may without vaunting affirme that I have enlarged my Favour in all the three Degrees, towards as many and more then ever King of *England* did in ſo ſhort a Space: No, I rather crave your Pardon that I have beene ſo bountifull; for if the Meanes of the Crowne bee waſted, I behoved then to have Recourſe to you my Subjects, and bee burdenſome to you, which I would be lotheſt to be of any King alive. For as it is true, that as I have already ſaid, it was a whole Bodie which did deſerve ſo well at my Hand, and not every particular Perſon of the People: yet were there ſome who by Reaſon of their Office, Credit with the People or otherwiſe, tooke Occaſion both before, and at the Time of my comming amongſt you, to give Proofe of their Love and Affection towards me. Not that I am any Way in doubt, that if other of my Subjects had beene in their Places, and had had the like Occaſion, but they would have uttered the like good Effects, (ſo generall and ſo great were the Love and Affection of you all towards me:) But yet this having beene performed by ſome ſpeciall Perſons, I could not without Unthankfulneſſe but requite them accordingly. And therefore had I juſt Occaſion to advance ſome in Honour, ſome to Places of Service about mee, and by rewarding, to enable ſome who had deſerved well of me, and were not otherwiſe able to maintaine the Rankes I thought them capable of, and others who although they had not particularly deſerved before, yet I found them capable and worthy of Place of Preferment and Credit, and not able to ſuſtaine thoſe Places for which I thought them fit, without my Helpe, Two eſpeciall Cauſes moved me to be ſo open handed: whereof the one was reaſonable and honourable; but the other I will not bee aſhamed to confeſſe unto you proceeded of mine owne Infirmitie. That which was juſt and honourable, was: That being ſo farre beholding to the Body of the whole State, I thought I could not refuſe to let runne ſome ſmall Brookes out of the Fountaine of my Thankefulneſſe to the whole, for refreſhing of particular Perſons that were Members of that Multitude. The other which proceeded out of mine owne Infirmitie, was the Multitude and Importunitie of Sutors. But although Reaſon come by Infuſion in a Maner, yet Experience groweth with Time and Labour: And therefore doe I not doubt, but Experience in Time comming will both teach the particular Subjects of this Kingdome, not

to be ſo importune and undiſcreete in craving: And mee not to be ſo eaſily and lightly mooved, in graunting that which may be harmefull to my Eſtate, and conſequently to the whole Kingdome.

And thus having declared unto you my Minde in all the Points, for the which I called this Parliament: My Concluſion ſhall onely now be to excuſe my ſelfe, in Caſe you have not found ſuch Eloquence in my Speech, as peradventure you might have looked for at my Hands. I might, if I liſt, alledge the great Weight of my Affaires and my continuall Buſineſſe and Diſtraction, that I could never have Leaſure to thinke upon what I was to ſpeake, before I came to the Place where I was to ſpeake: And I might alſo alledge that my firſt Sight of this ſo famous and honourable an Aſſembly, might likewiſe breede ſome Impedient. But leaving theſe Excuſes, I will plainely and freely in my Maner tell you the true Cauſe of it, which is: That it becommeth a King, in my Opinion, to uſe no other Eloquence then Plainneſſe and Sincerity. By Plainneſſe I meane, that his Speeches ſhould bee ſo cleare and voyde of all Ambiguitie, that they may not be throwne, nor rent a ſunder in contrarie Sences like the olde Oracles of the *Pagan* Gods. And by Sinceritie, I underſtand that Uprightneſſe and Honeſtie which ought to bee in a Kings whole Speeches and Actions: That as farre as a King is in Honour erected above any of his Subjects, ſo far ſhould he ſtrive in Sinceritie to be above them all, and that his Tongue ſhould be ever the true Meſſenger of his Heart: and this ſort of Eloquence may you ever aſſuredly looke for at my Hands.

His MAJESTIES Speech to both the Houſes of Parliament, in his Highneſſe great Chamber at *Whitehall*, the Day of the Adjournement of the laſt Seſſion, which was the laſt Day of *March* 1607.

Imprinted by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

To the READER.

HAving received (gentle Reader) divers and different Copies of his Majeſties Speech to this laſt Seſſion of Parliament in Whitehall, *at their Receſſion in the Paſſion Weeke; my Labour hath bene to conferre all theſe Copies together, and with the Helpe of ſome Gentlemen that were Auditors thereof, to make ſuch an Extraction as I here preſent unto thee. Which though I dare not maintaine to bee a true and full Relation of all his Majeſtie ſpake, as being farre ſhort both of the Life of his Majeſties eloquent Phraſes, and Fulneſſe of the Matter: yet ſeeing (as I hope) it conteines moſt of the ſubſtantiall Reaſons and Arguments that therein were uttered, and that it is a Thing deſired by ſo many, though not rightly related by any, I have taken the Boldneſſe to preſent it unto thee, ſuch as it is, being the rather at mine owne Suite permitted to print it,*

for

for eſchewing the Wrong that might be done unto thee, by the publiſhing of ſo many falſe Copies that begin already to be ſpread thereof. And thus hoping of thy kinde Acceptance of this my well meant Labour, I bid thee farewell.

His MAJESTIES Speech to both Houſes of Parliament.

MY Lords of the Higher Houſe, and you Knights and Burgeſſes of the Lower Houſe, all Men at the Beginning of a Feaſt bring foorth good Wine firſt, and after, worſe. This was the Saying of the Governour of the Feaſt at *Cana* in *Galile*, where CHRIST wrought his firſt Miracle by changing Water into Wine. But in this Caſe now whereof I am to ſpeake unto you, I muſt follow that Governours Rule, and not CHRISTS Example, in giving you the worſt and ſowreſt Wine laſt. For all the Time of this Long Seſſion of the Parliament you have bin ſo fed and cloy'd, (ſpecially you of the Lower Houſe) with ſuch Banquets, and choiſe of delicate Speeches, and your Eares ſo ſeaſoned with the Sweetneſſe of long precogitate Orations; as this my Speech now in the Breaking up of this Aſſembly, cannot but appeare unto your Taſte as the worſt Wine propoſed in the End of the Banquet, ſince I am onely to deliver nowe unto you Matter without curious Forme, Subſtance without Ceremonie, Trueth in all Sinceritie. Yet conſidering the Perſon that ſpeaketh, the Parties to whom I ſpeake, the Matter whereof I meane to ſpeake: it fits better to utter Matter, rather then Words, in Regard of the Greatneſſe of my Place who am to ſpeake to you, the Gravitie of you the Auditorie, which is the High Court of Parliament; the Weight of the Matter, which concernes the Securitie and Eſtabliſhment of this whole Empire, and little World. Studied Orations and much Eloquence upon little Matter is fit for the Univerſities, where not the Subject which is ſpoken of, but the Triall of his Wit that ſpeaketh, is moſt commendable: but on the contrary, in all great Councels of Parliaments feweſt Words with moſt Matter doeth become beſt, where the Diſpatch of the great Errands in Hand, and not the Prayſe of the Perſon is moſt to be looked unto: like the Garment of a chaſte Woman, who is onely ſet forth by her naturall Beautie, which is properly her owne: other Deckings are but Enſignes of an Harlot that flies with borrowed Feathers. And beſides the Conveniencie, I am forced hereunto by Neceſſitie, my Place calling mee to Action, and not leaving mee to the Libertie of Contemplation, having alwayes my Thoughts buſied with the publique Care of you all, where every one of you having but himſelfe and his owne private to thinke of, are at more Leiſure to make ſtudied Speeches. And therefore the Matter which I deliver you confuſedly as in a Sacke, I leave it to you when you are in your Chambers, and have better Leyſure then I can have, to ranke them in Order, every one in their owne Place.

Thus much by Way of Preface. But I proceed to the Matter. Whereof I might ſay with S. *Paul*, I could ſpeake in as many Tongues as you all, but I had rather ſpeake three Wordes to Edification, then talke all Day without Underſtanding. In vaine (ſayth the *Pſalmiſt*) doeth the Builder build the Houſe,

Houſe, or the Watchman watch the Citie, unleſſe the Lord give his Bleſſing thereunto. And in the New Teſtament S. *Paul* ſaith, that he may plant, *Apollo* may water, but it is GOD onely that muſt give the Increaſe. This I ſpeake, becauſe of the long Time which hath bene ſpent about the Treatie of the Union. For my ſelfe, I proteſt unto you all, when I firſt propounded the Union, I then thought there could have bene no more Queſtion of it, then of your Declaration and Acknowledgement of my Right unto this Crowne, and that, as two Twinnes, they would have growen up together. The Error was my miſtaking; I knew mine owne Ende, but not others Feares. But now finding many Croſſings, long Diſputations, ſtrange Queſtions, and nothing done; I muſt needes thinke it proceedes either of miſtaking of the Errand, or elſe from ſome Jealouſie of me the Propounder, that you ſo adde Delay unto Delay, ſearching out as it were the very Bowels of Curioſitie, and conclude nothing. Neither can I condemne you for being yet in ſome Jealouſie of my Intention in this Matter, having not yet had ſo great Experience of my Behaviour and Inclination in theſe fewe Yeeres paſt, as you may peradventure have in a longer Time hereafter, and not having Occaſion to conſult daily with my ſelfe, and heare mine owne Opinion in all thoſe Particulars which are debated among you.

But here I pray you now miſtake me not at the firſt, when as I ſeeme to find Fault with your Delayes and Curioſitie, as if I would have you to reſolve in an Houres Time, that which will take a Moneths Advertiſement: for you all know, that *Rex eſt lex loquens*, and you have oft heard me ſay, that the Kings Will and Intention being the ſpeaking Law, ought to be *Luce clarius*: and I hope you of the Lower Houſe have the Proofe of this my Cleereneſſe by a Bill ſent you down from the Upper-Houſe within theſe fewe Dayes, or rather few Houres: wherein may very well appeare unto you the Care I have to put my Subjects in a good Security of their Poſſeſſions for all Poſterities to come. And therefore that you may cleerely underſtand my Meaning in that Point, I doe freely confeſſe, you had Reaſon to adviſe at Leaſure upon ſo great a Cauſe: for great Matters doe ever require great Deliberation before they be well concluded. *Deliberandum eſt diu quod ſtatuendum eſt ſemel.* Conſultations muſt proceed *lento pede*, but the Execution of a Sentence upon the Reſolution would bee ſpeedie. If you will go on, it Matters not though you goe with leaden Feete, ſo you make ſtill ſome Progreſſe, and that there be no Let or needeleſſe Delay, and doe not *Nodum in ſcirpo quærere.* I am ever for the *Medium* in every Thing. Betweene fooliſh Raſhneſſe and extreame Length, there is a middle Way. Search all that is reaſonable, but omit that which is idle, curious, and unneceſſarie; otherwiſe there can never be a Reſolution or End in any good Worke.

And now from the generall I will deſcend to Particulars, and will onely for the Eaſe of your Memories divide the Matter that I am to ſpeake of, into foure Heads, by opening unto you, Firſt, what I crave: Secondly, in what Manner I deſire it: Thirdly, what Commodities will enſue to both the Kingdomes by it: Fourthly, what the ſuppoſed Inconveniencie may be that gives Impediments thereunto.

For

For the firſt, what I crave; I proteſt before God who knowes my Heart, and to you my People before whom it were a Shame to lie, that I claime nothing but with Acknowledgment of my Bond to you; that as yee owe to me Subjection and Obedience: So my Soveraigntie obligeth me to yeeld to you Love, Government, and Protection: Neither did I ever wiſh any Happineſſe to my ſelfe, which was not conjoyned with the Happineſſe of my People. I deſire a perfect Union of Lawes and Perſons, and ſuch a Naturalizing as may make one Body of both Kingdomes under mee your King, That I and my Poſteritie (if it ſo pleaſe God) may rule over you to the Worlds End; ſuch an Union as was of the *Scots* and *Pictes* in *Scotland*, and of the Heptarchie heere in *England*. And for *Scotland* I avow ſuch an Union as if you had got it by Conqueſt, but ſuch a Conqueſt as may be cemented by Love, the onely ſure Bond of Subjection or Friendſhip: that as there is over both but *unus Rex*, ſo there may bee in both but *unus Grex & una Lex*: For no more poſſible is it for one King to governe two Countreys *contiguous*, the one a great, the other a leſſe, a richer and a poorer, the greater drawing like an Adamant the leſſer to the Commodities therof, then for one Head to governe two Bodies, or one Man to bee Huſband of two Wives, whereof Chriſt himſelfe ſaid, *Ab initio non fuit ſic*.

But in the generall Union you muſt obſerve two Things: for I will diſcover my Thoughts plainly unto you; I ſtudy Clearenes, not Eloquence, and therfore with the olde Philoſophers, I would heartily wiſh my Breſt were a tranſparent Glaſſe for you all to ſee through, that you might looke into my Heart, and then would you be ſatisfied of my Meaning. For when I ſpeake of a perfect Union, I meane not Confuſion of all Things: you muſt not take from *Scotland* thoſe particular Priviledges that may ſtand as well with this Union, as in *England* many particular Cuſtomes in particular Shires, (as the Cuſtomes of *Kent*, and the Royalties of the Countie Palatine of *Cheſter*) do with the Common Law of the Kingdome: for every particular Shire almoſt, and much more every Countie, have ſome particular Cuſtomes that are as it were naturally moſt fit for that People. But I meane of ſuch a generall Union of Lawes as may reduce the whole Iland, that as they live alreadie under one Monarch, ſo they may all be governed by one Law. For I muſt needes confeſſe by that little Experience I have had ſince my comming hither, and I thinke I am able to proove it, that the Grounds of the Common Law of *England*, are the beſt of any Law in the World, either Civill or Municipall, and the fitteſt for this People. But as every Law would be cleare and full, ſo the Obſcuritie in ſome Points of this our written Law, and want of Fulneſſe in others, the Variation of Caſes and Mens Curioſitie, breeding every Day new Queſtions, hath enforced the Judges to judge in many Caſes here, by Caſes and Preſidents, wherein I hope Lawyers themſelves will not denie but that there muſt be a great Uncertaintie, and I am ſure all the reſt of you that are Gentlemen of other Profeſſions were long agoe wearie of it, if you could have had it amended. For where there is Varietie and Uncertaintie, although a juſt Judge may doe rightly, yet an ill Judge may take Advantage to doe Wrong, and then are all honeſt Men that ſucceede him, tied in a

Maner

Maner to his unjuſt and partiall Concluſions. Wherefore, leave not the Lawe to the Pleaſure of the Judge, but let your Lawes bee looked into: for I deſire not the aboliſhing of the Lawes, but onely the clearing and the ſweeping off the Ruſt of them, and that by Parliament our Lawes might bee cleared and made knowen to all the Subjects. Yea rather it were leſſe Hurt, that all the approved Caſes were ſet down and allowed by Parliament for ſtanding Lawes in all Time to come. For although ſome of them peradventure may be unjuſt as ſet downe by corrupt Judges; yet better it is to have a certaine Lawe with ſome Spots in it, nor live under ſuch an uncertaine and arbitrarie Law, ſince as the Proverbe is, it is leſſe Harme to ſuffer an Inconveniencie then a Miſchiefe. And now may you have faire Occaſion of amending and poliſhing your Lawes, when *Scotland* is to be united with you under them: for who can blame *Scotland* to ſay, If you will take away our owne Lawes, I pray you give us a better and cleerer in Place thereof.

But this is not poſſible to be done without a fit Preparation. Hee that buildeth a Ship, muſt firſt provide the Timber; and as Chriſt himſelfe ſaid, No Man will build an Houſe, but he wil firſt provide the Materials: nor a wiſe King will not make Warre againſt another, without he firſt make Proviſion of Money: and all great Workes muſt have their Preparation: and that was my End in cauſing the Inſtrument of the Union to be made. Union is a Mariage: would hee not be thought abſurd that for furthering of a Mariage betweene two Friends of his, would make his firſt Motion to have the two Parties be laid in Bedde together, and performe the other Turnes of Mariage? muſt there not precede the mutuall Sight and Acquaintance of the Parties one with another, the Conditions of the Contract, and Joincture to be talked of and agreed upon by their Friends, and ſuch other Things as in order ought to goe before the Ending of ſuch a Worke? The Union is an eternall Agreement and Reconciliation of many long bloody Warres that have bene betweene theſe two ancient Kingdomes. It is the readieſt Way to agree a private Quarrell betweene two, to bring them at the firſt to ſhake Hands, and as it were kiſſe other, and lie under one Roofe or rather in one Bedde together, before that firſt the Ground of their Quarell be communed upon, their Mindes mitigated, their Affections prepared, and all other Circumſtances firſt uſed, that ought to be uſed to proceed to ſuch a finall Agreement? Every honeſt Man deſireth a perfect Union, but they that ſay ſo, and admit no Preparation thereto, have *Mel in Ore, Fel in Corde.* If after your ſo long Talke of Union in all this long Seſſion of Parliament, yee riſe without agreeing upon any Particular; what will the neighbour Princes judge, whoſe Eyes are all fixed upon the Concluſion of this Action, but that the King is refuſed in his Deſire, whereby the Nation ſhould be taxed, and the King diſgraced? And what an ill Preparation is it for the Mindes of *Scotland* toward the Union, when they ſhall heare that Ill is ſpoken of their whole Nation, but nothing is done nor advanced in the Matter of the Union it ſelfe? But this I am glad was but the Fault of one, and one is no Number: yet have your Neighbours of *Scotland* this Advantage of you, that none of them hath ſpoken Ill of you (nor ſhall as long as I am King) in Parliament,

or

or any ſuch publique Place of Judicature. Conſider therefore well, if the Mindes of *Scotland* had not neede to be well prepared to perſwade their mutuall Conſent, ſeeing you here have all the great Advantage by the Union. Is not here the perſonall Reſidence of the King, his whole Court and Family? Is not here the Seate of Juſtice, and the Fountaine of Government? muſt they not be ſubjected to the Lawes of *England*, and ſo with Time become but as *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, and thoſe other Remote and Northerne Shires? you are to be the Huſband, they the Wife: you Conquerours, they as conquered, though not by the Sword, but by the ſweet and ſure Bond of Love. Beſides that, they as other Northerne Countreys will be ſeldome ſeene and ſaluted by their King, and that as it were but in a poſting or hunting Journey.

How little Cauſe then they may have of ſuch a Change of ſo ancient a Monarchie into the Caſe of private Shires, judge rightly herein. And that you may bee the more upright Judges, ſuppoſe your ſelves the Patients of whom ſuch Sentence ſhould bee given. But what Preparation is it that I crave? onely ſuch as by the Entrance may ſhew ſomething is done, yet more is intended. There is a Conceipt intertained, and a double Jealouſie poſſeſſeth many, wherein I am misjudged.

Firſt, that this Union wil be the *Criſis* to the Overthrow of *England* and ſetting up of *Scotland: England* will then bee overwhelmed by the Swarming of the *Scots*, who if the Union were effected, would raigne and rule all.

The ſecond is, my profuſe Liberalitie to the *Scottiſh* Men more then the *Engliſh*, and that with this Union all Things ſhalbe given to them, and you turned out of all: To you ſhall be left the Sweat and Labour, to them ſhall bee given the Fruite and Sweet; and that my Forbearance is but till this Union may be gained. How agreeable this is to the Trueth, judge you; and that not by my Wordes, but by my Actions. Doe I crave the Union without Exceptions; doe I not offer to binde my ſelfe and to reſerve to you, as in the Inſtrument, all Places of Judicature? Doe I intend any Thing which ſtandeth not with the equall Good of both Nations? I could then have done it, and not ſpoken of it: For all Men of Underſtanding muſt agree, that I might diſpoſe without Aſſent of Parliament, Offices of Judicature, and others, both Eccleſiaſticall and Temporall. But herein I did voluntarily offer by my Letters from *Royſton* to the Commiſſioners, to binde my Prerogative.

Some thinke that I will draw the *Scottiſh* Nation hither, talking idlely of tranſporting of Trees out of a barren Ground into a better, and of leane Cattell out of bad Paſture into a more fertile Soile. Can any Man diſplant you, unleſſe you will? or can any Man thinke that *Scotland* is ſo ſtrong to pull you out of your Houſes? or doe you not thinke I know *England* hath more People, *Scotland* more waſt Ground? So that there is Roumth in *Scotland* rather to plant your idle People that ſwarme in *London* Streets, and other Townes, and Diſburthen you of them, then to bring more unto you; and in Caſes of Juſtice, if I be partiall to either Side, let my owne Mouth condemne me, as unworthy to be your King.

I appeale to your ſelves, if in Favour or Juſtice I have bene partiall. Nay, my Intention was ever, you ſhould then have moſt cauſe to praiſe my Diſcretion, when you ſaw I had moſt Power. If hitherto I have done nothing to your Prejudice, much leſſe meane I hereafter. If when I might have done it without any Breach of Promiſe; Thinke ſo of me, that much leſſe I will doe it, when a Law is to reſtraine me. I owe no more to the *Scottiſh* Men then to the *Engliſh*. I was borne there, and ſworne here, and now raigne over both. Such particular Perſons of the *Scottiſh* Nation, as might claim any extraordinary Merit at my Handes, I have already reaſonably rewarded, and I can aſſure you that there is none left, whom for I meane extraordinary to ſtraine my ſelfe further, then in ſuch ordinary Benefit as I may equally beſtow without mine owne great Hurt, upon any Subject of either Nation; In which Caſe no Kings Handes can ever be fully cloſed. To both I owe Juſtice and Protection, which with God's Grace I ſhall ever equally ballance.

For my Liberalitie, I have told you of it heretofore: my three firſt Yeeres were to me as a Chriſtmas, I could not then bee miſerable: ſhould I have bene overſparing to them? they might have thought *Joſeph* had forgotten his Brethren, or that the King had bene drunke with his new Kingdome. But Suites goe not now ſo cheape as they were wont, neither are there ſo many Fees taken in the Hamper and Petibagge for the Great Seale as hath bene. And if I did reſpect the *Engliſh* when I came firſt, of whom I was received with Joy, and came as in a Hunting Journey, what might the *Scottiſh* have juſtly ſaid, if I had not in ſome Meaſure dealt bountifully with them, that ſo long had ſerved me, ſo farre adventured themſelves with me, and beene ſo faithfull to mee. I have given you now foure Yeeres Proofe ſince my Comming, and what I might have done more to have raiſed the *Scottiſh* Nation you all know, and the longer I live, the leſſe Cauſe have I to be acquainted with them, and ſo the leſſe Hope of extraordinary Favour towards them: For ſince my comming from them I doe not alreadie know the one halfe of them by Face, moſt of the Youth being now riſen up to be Men, who were but Children when I was there, and more are borne ſince my comming thence.

Now for my Lands and Revenues of my Crowne which you may thinke I have diminiſhed, they are not yet ſo farre diminiſhed, but that I thinke no Prince of Chriſtendome hath fairer Poſſeſſions to his Crowne then yet I have, and in Token of my Care to preſerve the ſame to my Poſteritie for ever, the Intaile of my Lands to the Crowne hath bene long agoe offered unto you: and that it is not yet done, is not my Fault as you know. My Treaſurer here knoweth my Care, and hath already in Part declared it, and if I did not hope to treble my Revenue more then I have empaired it, I ſhould never reſt quietly in my Bed. But notwithſtanding my comming to the Crowne, with that extraordinarie Applauſe which you all know, and that I had two Nations to be the Objects of my Liberalitie, which never any Prince had here before; will you compare my Gifts out of mine Inheritance with ſome Princes here that had onely this Nation to reſpect, and whoſe whole Time of Reigne was

litle

litle longer then mine hath bene already? It will be found that their Gifts have farre ſurpaſſed mine, albeit as I have already ſaid, they had nothing ſo great Cauſe of uſing their Liberalitie.

Secondly, For the Maner of the Union preſently deſired, it ſtandeth in 3. Parts: The firſt, taking away of hoſtile Lawes: for ſince there can be now no Warres betwixt you, is not Reaſon hoſtile Lawes ſhould ceaſe? For, *deficiente cauſa deficit effectus.* The King of *England* now cannot have Warres with the King of *Scotland*, therefore this failes of it ſelfe. The ſecond is Communitie of Commerce. I am no Stranger unto you: for you all knowe I came from the Loines of your ancient Kings. They of *Scotland* be my Subjects as you are. But how can I bee naturall Liege Lord to you both, and you Strangers one to the other? Shall they which be of one Alleagance with you, be no better reſpected of you, nor freer amongſt you, then *Frenchmen* and *Spaniards?* Since I am Soveraigne over both, you as Subjects to one King, it muſt needs follow that you Converſe and have Commerce together. There is a Rumour of ſome ill Dealings that ſhould bee uſed by the Commiſſioners, Merchants of *Scotland.* They be heere in *England*, and ſhall remaine till your next Meeting, and abide Triall, to proove themſelves either honeſt Men or Knaves.

Thirdly, For the third Point, of Naturalization, All you agree that they are no Aliens, and yet will not allow them to bee naturall. What Kind of Prerogative will you make? But for the *poſt nati*, your owne Lawyers and Judges at my firſt Comming to this Crowne, informed me, there was a Difference between the *antè* and the *poſt nati* of each Kingdome, which cauſed me to publiſh a Proclamation, that the *poſt nati* were naturalized *(ipſo facto)* by my Acceſſion to this Crowne. I do not denie but Judges may erre as Men, and therefore I doe not preſſe you here to ſweare to all their Reaſons. I onely urge at this Time the Conveniencie for both Kingdomes, neither preſſing you to judge nor to bee judged. But remember alſo it is as poſſible and likely your owne Lawyers may erre as the Judges. Therefore as I wiſh you to proceede herein ſo farre as may tend to the Weale of both Nations: So would I have you on the other Part to beware to diſgrace either my Proclamations or the Judges, who when the Parliament is done, have Power to trie your Lands and Lives, for ſo you may diſgrace both your King and your Lawes. For the doing of any Act that may procure leſſe Reverence to the Judges, cannot but breede a Looſeneſſe in the Government, and a Diſgrace to the whole Nation. The Reaſon that moſt mooves mee for ought I have yet heard, that there cannot but bee a Difference betweene the *antè nati* and the *poſt nati*, and that in the Favour of the laſt, is that they muſt bee neerer unto you being borne under the preſent Government and common Alleageance: but in Point of Conveniencie, there is no Queſtion but the *poſt nati* are more to bee reſpected. For if you would have a perfect and perpetuall Union, that cannot bee in the *antè nati*, who are but few in Compariſon of thoſe that ſhall be in all Ages ſucceeding, and cannot live long. But in the *poſt nati* ſhall the Union be continued and live ever Age after Age, which wanting a Difference cannot but leave a perpetual Marke of Separation

in the Worke of the Union: as alſo that Argument of Jealouſie will be ſo farre remooved in the Caſe of the *poſt nati* which are to reape the Benefit in all ſucceeding Ages, as by the contrarie there will then riſe *Pharaos* which never knew *Joſeph*, the Kings my Succeſſours, who being borne and bred here, can never have more Occaſion of Acquaintance with the *Scottiſh* Nation in generall, then any other *Engliſh* King that was before my Time. Be not therefore abuſed with the flattering Speeches of ſuch as would have the *antè nati* preferred, alleadging their Merit in my Service, and ſuch other Reaſons which indeed are but Sophiſmes. For, my rewarding out of my Liberalitie of any particular Men, hath nothing adoe with the generall Acte of the Union, which muſt not regard the Deſerts of private Perſons, but the generall Weale and Conjoyning of the Nations. Beſides that, the actuall Naturalizing, which is the onely Point that is in your Handes, is already granted to by your ſelves to the moſt Part of ſuch particular Perſons as can have any Uſe of it heere: and if any other well deſerving Men were to ſue for it hereafter, I doubt not but there would never be Queſtion mooved among you for the granting of it. And therefore it is moſt evident, that ſuch Diſcourſers have *Mel in Ore*, *Fel in Corde*, as I ſaid before; carrying an outward Appearance of Love to the Union, but indeed a contrary Reſolution in their Hearts, and as for Limitations and Reſtrictions, ſuch as ſhall by me be agreed upon to be reaſonable and neceſſarie after you have fully debated upon them, you may aſſure your ſelves I will with Indifferencie grant what is requiſite without partiall Reſpect of *Scotland*. I am, as I have often ſaid, borne and ſworne King over both Kingdomes; onely this farre let me entreat you, in debating the Point at your next Meeting, That ye be as ready to reſolve Doubts as to moove them, and to be ſatisfied when Doubts are cleered.

Third, And as for Commodities that come by the Union of theſe Kingdomes, they are great and evident; Peace, Plentie, Love, free Intercourſe and common Societie of two great Nations. All foreigne Kings that have ſent their Ambaſſadours to congratulate with me ſince my Comming, have ſaluted me as Monarch of the whole Iſle, and with much more Reſpect of my Greatneſſe, then if I were King alone of one of theſe Realmes: and with what Comfort doe your ſelves behold *Iriſh*, *Scottiſh*, *Welſh*, and *Engliſh*, divers in Nation, yet all walking as Subjects and Servants within my Court, and all living under the Allegeance of your King, beſides the Honour and Luſtre that the Encreaſe of gallant Men in the Court of divers Nations caries in the Eyes of all Strangers that repaire hither? Thoſe confining Places which were the Borders of the two Kingdomes, where heretofore much Blood was ſhed, and many of your Anceſtours loſt their Lives, yea, that lay waſte and deſolate, and were Habitations but for Runnagates, are now become the Navell or Umbilicke of both Kingdomes, planted and peopled with Civilitie and Riches: their Churches begin to be planted, their Doores ſtand now open, they feare neither robbing nor ſpoiling: and where there was nothing before heard nor ſeene in thoſe Parts but Bloodſhed, Oppreſſions, Complaints and Outcries, they now live every Man peaceably under his own Figgetree, and all their former Cryes and Complaints turned onely into Prayers to God

for

for their King, under whome they enjoy ſuch Eaſe and happie Quietneſſe. The Marches beyond and on this ſide *Twede*, are as fruitfull and as peaceable as moſt Parts of *England:* If after all this there ſhall be a Sciſſure, what Inconvenience will follow, judge you.

And as for the Inconveniences that are feared on *Englands* Part, It is alleadged, that the *Scots* are a populous Nation, they ſhall be harboured in our Neſts, they ſhall be planted and flouriſh in our good Soile, they ſhall eate our Commons bare, and make us leane: Theſe are fooliſh and idle Surmiſes. That which you poſſeſſe, they are not to enjoy; by Law they cannot, nor by my Partialitie they ſhall not: for ſet apart Conſcience and Honour, (which if I ſhould ſet apart indeed, I had rather wiſh my ſelfe to be ſet apart and out of all Being) can any Man conclude either out of common Reaſon or good Policie, that I will preferre thoſe which perhaps I ſhall never ſee, or but by Poſte for a Moneth, before thoſe with whome I muſt alwayes dwell? Can they conquer or overcome you with Swarmes of People, as the *Goths* and the *Vandals* did *Italy?* Surely the World knowes they are nothing ſo populous as you are: and although they have had the Honour and good Fortune never to be conquered, yet were they ever but upon the defenſive Part, and may in a Part thanke their Hilles and inacceſſible Paſſages that preſerved them from an utter Overthrow at the Hands of all that pretended to conquer them. Or are they ſo very poore and miſerable in their owne Habitations, that Neceſſitie ſhould force them all to make Incurſions among you?

And for my Part, when I have two Nations under my Government, can you imagine I wil reſpect the Leſſer, and neglect the Greater? Would I not thinke it a leſſe Evill and Hazard to me that the Plague were at *Northampton* or *Barwicke*, then at *London*, ſo neere *Weſtminſter*, the Seate of my Habitation, and of my Wife and Children? Will not a Man be more carefull to quench the Fire taken in his neereſt Neighbours Houſe, then if a whole Towne were a Fire farre from him? You know that I am carefull to preſerve the Woods and Game through all *England*, nay, through all the Iſle: yet none of you doubts, but that I would bee more offended with any Diſorder in the Forreſt of *Waltham*, for ſtealing of a Stagge there, which lieth as it were under my Noſe, and in a Maner joyneth with my Garden, then with cutting of Timber, or ſtealing of a Deare in any Forreſt of the North Parts of *Yorkeſhire* or the Biſhopricke. Thinke you that I will preferre them that be abſent, leſſe powerfull, and farther off to doe me Good or Hurt, before you, with whome my Securitie and Living muſt be, and where I deſire to plant my Poſteritie? If I might by any ſuch Favours raiſe my ſelfe to a Greatneſſe, it might bee probable: All I cannot draw, and to loſe a whole State here to pleaſe a few there, were Madneſſe. I need ſpeake no more of this with Proteſtations. Speake but of Wit, it is not likely: and to doubt of my Intention in this, were more then deviliſh.

For mine owne Part, I offer more then I receive, and Conveniencie I preferre before Law, in this Poynt. For three Parts, wherein I might hurt this Nation, by Partialitie to the *Scots*, you know do abſolutely lie in my Hands and Power: for either in Diſpoſition of Rents, or whatſoever Benefit,

or

or in the preferring of them to any Dignitie or Office, Civill or Eccleſiaſticall, or in Calling them to the Parliament, it doeth all fully and onely lie within the Compaſſe of my Prerogative, which are the Parts wherein the *Scottiſh* Men can receive either Benefite or Preferrement by the Union, and wherein for the Care I have of this People, I am content to binde my ſelfe with ſome reaſonable Reſtrictions.

As for the fourth Part, the naturalizing, which onely lieth in your Hands; It is the Poynt wherein they receive leaſt Benefit of any: for in that they can obteine nothing, but what they buy by their Purſe, or acquire by the ſelfe ſame Meanes that you do. And as for the Point of Naturalizing, which is the Poynt thought ſo fit, and ſo preciſely belonging to Parliament: not to ſpeake of the Common Lawe, wherein as yet I can profeſſe no great Knowledge, but in the Civill Law wherein I am a litle beter verſed, and which in the Point of Conjunction of Nations ſhould beare a great Sway: it being the Law of Nations: I will mainteine two Principles in it, which no learned and grave Civilian wil deny, as being clearly to be proved, both out of the Text it ſelfe in many Places, and alſo out of the beſt approved Doctours and Interpreters of that Law, The one, that it is a ſpeciall Poynt of the Kings owne Prerogative, to make Aliens and Citizens, and *donare Civitate*, The other, that in any Caſe wherein the Law is thought not to be cleare (as ſome of your ſelves do doubt, that in this Caſe of the *poſt nati*, the Law of *England* doth not clearely determine) then in ſuch a Queſtion wherein no poſitive Law is reſolute, *Rex eſt Judex*, for he is *Lex loquens*, and is to ſupply the Law, where the Law wants, and if many famous Hiſtories be to be beleeved, they give the Example for mainteining of this Law in the Perſons of the Kings of *England* and *France* eſpecially, whoſe ſpeciall Prerogative they alleadge it to be. But this I ſpeake only as knowing what belongeth to a King, although in this Caſe I preſſe no further then that which may agree with your Loves, and ſtand with the Weale and Conveniencie of both Nations.

And whereas ſome may thinke this Union will bring prejudice to ſome Townes and Corporations within *England:* It may be, a Merchant or two of *Briſtow*, or *Yarmouth*, may have an hundred Pounds leſſe in his Packe. But if the Empire gaine, and become the greater, it is no Matter: You ſee one Corporation is ever againſt another, and no private Companie can be ſet up, but with ſome Loſſe to another.

Fourth, For the ſuppoſed Inconveniences riſing from *Scotland*, they are three. Firſt, that there is an evill Affection in the *Scottiſh* Nation to the Union. Next, the Union is incompatible betweene two ſuch Nations. Thirdly, that the Gaine is ſmall or none. If this be ſo, to what End doe we talke of an Union? For Proofe of the firſt Point, there is alledged an Averſeneſſe in the *Scottiſh* Nation expreſſed in the Inſtrument, both in the Preface and Body of their Act; In the Preface, where they declare, That they will remaine an abſolute and free Monarchie; and in the Body of the Acte, where they make an Exception of the ancient fundamentall Lawes of that Kingdome. And firſt for the generall of their Averſeneſſe, All the maine

Current

Current in your Lower Houſe ranne this whole Seſſion of Parliament with that Opinion, That *Scotland* was ſo greedy of this Union, and apprehended that they ſhould receive ſo much Benefit by it, as they cared not for the Strictneſſe of any Conditions, ſo they might attaine to the Subſtance: And yet you now ſay, they are backwards and averſe from the Union. This is a direct Contradiction *in adjecto:* For, how can they both bee Beggers and backwards, in one and the ſelfe ſame Thing, at the ſame Time?

But for Anſwere to the Particulars, it is an old Schoole Point, *Ejus eſt explicare, cujus eſt condere.* You cannot interpret their Lawes, nor they yours; I that made them with their Aſſent, can beſt expound them.

And firſt I confeſſe, that the *Engliſh* Parliaments are ſo long, and the *Scottiſh* ſo ſhort, that a Meane betweene them would do well: For the Shortneſſe of their continuing together, was the Cauſe of their haſtie miſtaking, by ſetting theſe Wordes of Exception of fundamentall Lawes in the Body of the Acte, which they onely did in preſſing to imitate Word by Word the *Engliſh* Inſtrument, wherein the ſame Words be conteined in your Preface. And as to their Meaning and Interpretation of that Word, I will not onely deliver it unto you out of mine owne Conceipt, but as it was delivered unto mee by the beſt Lawyers of *Scotland*, both Counſellours and other Lawyers, who were at the making thereof in *Scotland*, and were Commiſſioners here for Performance of the ſame.

Their Meaning in the Word of fundamentall Lawes, you ſhall perceive more fully hereafter, when I handle the Objection of the Difference of Lawes: For they intend thereby onely thoſe Lawes whereby Confuſion is avoyded, and their Kings Deſcent mainteined, and the Heritage of the Succeſſion and Monarchie, which hath bene a Kingdome, to which I am in Deſcent, 300 Yeeres before CHRIST: Not meaning it, as you doe, of their Common Law, for they have none, but that which is called *Jus Regis*: and their Deſire of continuing a free Monarchie, was onely meant, that al ſuch particular Priviledges (whereof I ſpake before) ſhould not bee ſo confounded, as for Want either of Magiſtrate, Law, or Order, they might fall in ſuch a Confuſion, as to become like a naked Province, without Law or Libertie under this Kingdome. I hope you meane not I ſhould ſet Garriſons over them, as the *Spaniards* doe over *Sicily* and *Naples*, or governe them by Commiſſioners, which are ſeldome found ſucceedingly all wiſe and honeſt Men.

This I muſt ſay for *Scotland*, and I may truely vaunt it: Here I ſit and governe it with my Pen, I write and it is done, and by a Clearke of the Councell I governe *Scotland* now, which others could not doe by the Sword. And for their Averſeneſſe in their Heart againſt the Union, it is true indeede, I proteſt they did never crave this Union of mee, nor ſought it either in private, or the State by Letters, nor ever once did any of that Nation preſſe me forward or wiſh me to accelerate that Buſineſſe. But on the other Part, they offered alwayes to obey mee when it ſhould come to them, and all honeſt Men that deſire my Greatneſſe have beene thus minded, for the perſonall Reverence and Regard they beare unto my Perſon, and any of my reaſonable and juſt Deſires.

I know

I know there are many *Piggots* amongſt them, I meane a Number of ſeditious and diſcontented particular Perſons, as muſt be in all Common-wealths, that where they dare, may peradventure talke lewdly enough: but no *Scottiſh* Man ever ſpake diſhonourably of *England* in Parliament. For here muſt I note unto you the Difference of the two Parliaments in theſe two Kingdomes; for there they muſt not ſpeake without the Chauncellors Leave, and if any Man doe propound or utter any ſeditious or uncomely Speeches, he is ſtraight interrupted and ſilenced by the Chauncellors Authoritie: where as here, the Libertie for any Man to ſpeake what hee liſt, and as long as he liſt, was the onely Cauſe hee was not interrupted.

It hath bin objected, that there is a great Antipathy of the Lawes and Cuſtomes of theſe two Nations. It is much miſtaken: for *Scotland* hath no Common Law as here, but the Law they have is of three Sorts.

All the Lawe of *Scotland* for Tenures, Wards and Liveries, Seigniories and Lands, are drawen out of the Chauncerie of *England*, and for Matters of Equitie and in many Things elſe, differs from you but in certaine Termes. *James* the Firſt, bred here in *England*, brought the Lawes thither in a written Hand. The ſecond is Statute Lawes, which be their Acts of Parliament, wherein they have Power as you, to make and alter Lawes: and thoſe may be looked into by you, for I hope you ſhall be no more Strangers to that Nation. And the principall Worke of this Union will be, to reconcile the Statute Lawes of both Kingdomes. The third is the Civill Law. *James* the Fift brought it out of *France* by eſtabliſhing the Seſſion there, according to the Forme of the Court of Parliament of *Fraunce*, which he had ſeene in the Time of his being there: who occupie there the Place of Civil Judges in all Matters of Plee or Controverſie, yet not to governe abſolutely by the Civill Law as in *France*. For if a Man plead that the Law of the Nation is otherwiſe, it is a Barre to the Civill, and a good Chauncellor or Preſident, will oftentimes repell and put to Silence an Argument that the Lawyers brings out of the Civill Lawe, where they have a cleare Solution in their owne Lawe. So as the Civill Law in *Scotland* is admitted in no other Caſes, but to ſupply ſuch Caſes wherein the Municipall Law is defective. Then may you ſee it is not ſo hard a Matter as is thought, to reduce that Countrey to bee united with you under this Law, which neither are ſubject to the Civill Lawe, nor yet have any olde Common Law of their owne, but ſuch as in Effect is borrowed from yours. And for their Statute Lawes in Parliament, you may alter and change them as oft as Occaſion ſhall require, as you doe here. It hath likewiſe beene objected as an other Impediment, that in the Parliament of *Scotland* the King hath not a Negative Voice, but muſt paſſe all the Lawes agreed on by the Lords and Commons. Of this I can beſt reſolve you: for I am the eldeſt Parliament Man in *Scotland*, and have ſit in more Parliaments then any of my Predeceſſors. I can aſſure you, that the Forme of Parliament there, is nothing inclined to Popularitie. About a twentie Dayes or ſuch a Time before the Parliament, Proclamation is made throughout the Kingdome, to deliver in to the Kings Clearke of Regiſter (whome you heere call the Maſter of the Rolles) all Bils to bee exhibited that Seſſion before

before a certaine Day. Then are they brought unto the King, and peruſed and conſidered by him, and onely ſuch as I allow of are put into the Chancellors Hands to bee propounded to the Parliament, and none others; and if any Man in Parliament ſpeake of any other Matter then is in this Forme firſt allowed by me, the Chancellor tells him there is no ſuch Bill allowed by the King.

Beſides, when they have paſſed them for Lawes, they are preſented unto mee, and I with my Scepter put into my Hand by the Chancellor, muſt ſay, *I ratifie and approove all Things done in this preſent Parliament.* And if there bee any Thing that I diſlike, they raſe it out before. If this may bee called a Negative Voyce, then I have one I am ſure in that Parliament.

The laſt Impediment is the *French* Liberties: which is thought ſo great, as except the *Scots* forſake *Fraunce*, *England* cannot bee united to them. If the *Scottiſh* Nation would bee ſo unwilling to leave them as is ſaid, it would not lye in their Hands. For the League was never made betweene the People, as is miſtaken, but betwixt the PRINCES onely and their Crownes. The Beginning was by a Meſſage from a King of *Fraunce*, *Charlemaine* I take it (but I cannot certainely remember) unto a King of *Scotland*, for a League defenſive and offenſive betweene us and them againſt *England*, *Fraunce* being at that Time in Warres with *England*.

The like at that Time was then deſired by *England* againſt *Fraunce*, who alſo ſent their Embaſſadours to *Scotland*. At the firſt, the Diſputation was long maintained in Favour of *England*, that they beeing our neereſt Neighbours joyned in one Continent, and a ſtrong and powerfull Nation, it was more fitte for the Weale and Securitie of the State of *Scotland*, to bee in League and Amitie with them, then with a Countrey, though never ſo ſtrong, yet divided by Sea from us: eſpecially *England* lying betwixt us and them, where we might be ſure of a ſuddaine Miſchiefe, but behooved to abide the Hazard of Wind and Weather, and other Accidents that might hinder our Reliefe.

But after, when the contrarie Part of the Argument was maintained: wherein Allegation was made, that *England* ever ſought to conquer *Scotland*, and therefore in regarde of their pretended Intereſt in the Kingdome, would never keepe any ſound Amitie with them longer, then they ſaw their Advantage; whereas *France* lying more remote and clayming no Intereſt in the Kingdome, would therefore bee found a more conſtant and faithfull Friend: It was unhappily concluded in Favour of the laſt Partie; through which Occaſion *Scotland* gate many Miſchiefes after. And it is by the very Tenour thereof ordered to be renewed and confirmed from King to King ſucceſſively, which accordingly was ever performed by the Mediation of their Ambaſſadours, and therefore meerely perſonall, and ſo was it renewed in the QUEENE my Mothers Time, onely betweene the two Kings, and not by Aſſent of Parliament, or Convention of the three Eſtates, which it could never have wanted if it had beene a League between the People. And in my Time when it came to bee ratified, becauſe it appeared to bee in *odium tertii*, it was by me left unrenewed or confirmed as a Thing incompatible to

my Perſon, in Conſideration of my Title to this Crowne. Some Priviledges indeede in the Merchants Favour for Point of Commerce, were renewed and confirmed in my Time: wherein for my Part of it, there was ſcarce three Counſellours more then my Secretarie, to whoſe Place it belonged, that medled in that Matter.

It is true, that it behooved to be enterined, as they call it, in the Court of Parliament of *Paris:* but that onely ſerves for Publication, and not to give it Authoritie: That Parliament (as you know) being but a judiciall Seate of Judges and Lawyers, and nothing agreeing with the Definition or Office of our Parliaments in this Iſle. And therefore that any Fruites or Priviledges poſſeſſed by the League with *Fraunce* is able now to remaine in *Scotland*, is impoſſible. For yee may be ſure, that the *French* King ſtayes onely upon the Sight of the ending of this Union, to cut it off himſelfe. Otherwiſe when this great Worke were at an End, I would be forced for the generall Care I owe to all my Subjects, to crave of *France* like Priviledges to them all as *Scotland* alreadie enjoyes, ſeeing the perſonall Friendſhip remaines as great betweene us as between our Progenitors; and all my Subjects muſt be alike deare unto mee; which either he will never grant, and ſo all will fall to the Ground; or elſe it will turne to the Benefite of the whole Iſland: and ſo the *Scottiſh* Priviledges cannot hold longer then my League with *France* laſteth.

And for another Argument to proove that this League is only betwene the Kings, and not between the People: They which have Penſions, or are privie Intelligence Givers in *France* without my Leave, are in no better Caſe by the Law of *Scotland*, then if they were Penſioners to *Spaine*.

As for the *Scottiſh* Guard in *France*, the Beginning thereof was, when an Earle of *Boghan* was ſent in Aide of the *French* with tenne thouſand Men, and there being made Conſtable, and having obtained a Victorie, was murthered with the moſt of the *Scottiſh* Armie. In Recompence whereof, and for a future Securitie to the *Scottiſh* Nation, the *Scottiſh* Guard was ordeined to have the Priviledge and Prerogative before all other Guards in guarding the Kings Perſon.

And as for the laſt Point of this Subdiviſion concerning the Gaine that *England* may make by this Union, I thinke no wiſe nor honeſt Man will aſke any ſuch Queſtion. For who is ſo ignorant, that doeth not know the Gaine will bee great? Doe you not gaine by the Union of *Wales?* And is not *Scotland* greater then *Wales?* Shall not your Dominions bee encreaſed of Landes, Seas, and Perſons added to your Greatneſſe? And are not your Landes and Seas adjoyning? For who can ſet downe the Limits of the Borders, but as a Mathematicall Line or *Idæa?* Then will that Backe Doore bee ſhut, and thoſe Portes of *Janus* bee for ever cloſed: you ſhall have them that were your Enemies to moleſt you, a ſure Backe to defend you: their Bodies ſhall be your Aides, and they muſt be Partners in all your Quarels: Two Snow-Balls put together, make one the greater: Two Houſes joyned, make one the larger: two Caſtle Walles made in one, makes one as thicke and ſtrong as both. And doe you not ſee in the Low Countreys how availeable the *Engliſh* and the *Scottiſh* are being joyned together? This is a Point

ſo

plaine, as no Man that hath Wit or Honeſtie, but muſt acknowledge it feelingly.

And where it is objected that the *Scottiſh* Men are not tyed to the Service of the King in the Warres above forty Dayes; It is an ignorant miſtaking. For the Trueth is, That in reſpect the Kings of *Scotland* did not ſo abound in Treaſure and Money to take up an Armie under Pay, as the Kings of *England* did; Therefore was the *Scottiſh* Army wont to bee rayſed onely by Proclamation, upon the Penaltie of their Breach of Alleagance; So as they were all forced to come to the Warre like Snailes who carry their Houſe about with them; Every Nobleman and Gentleman bringing with him their Tents, Money, Proviſion for their Houſe, Victuals of all Sorts, and all other Neceſſaries, the King ſupplying them of nothing: Neceſſitie thereupon enforcing a Warning to be given by the Proclamation of the Space of their Attendance, without which they could not make their Proviſion accordingly, eſpecially as long as they were within the Bounds of *Scotland*, where it was not lawfull for them to helpe themſelves by the Spoile or Waſting of the Countrey. But neither is there any Law preſcribing preciſely ſuch a certaine Number of Dayes, nor yet is it without the Limits of the King's Power to keepe them together, as many more Dayes as hee liſt, to renew his Proclamations from Time to Time ſome reaſonable Number of Dayes, before the expiring of the former, they being ever bound to ſerve and waite upon him, though it were an hundredth Yeere if need were.

Now to conclude, I am glad of this Occaſion, that I might *Liberare animam meam*; You are nowe to recede: when you meete againe, remember I pray you, the Trueth and Sincerity of my Meaning, which in ſeeking Union, is onely to advance the Greatneſſe of your Empire ſeated here in *England*, And yet with ſuch Caution I wiſh it, as may ſtand with the Weale of both States. What is now deſired, hath oft before bene ſought when it could not bee obteined: To refuſe it now then, were double Iniquitie. Strengthen your owne Felicitie, LONDON muſt be the Seate of your King, and *Scotland* joyned to this Kingdome by a golden Conqueſt, but cymented with Love, (as I ſaid before) which within will make you ſtrong againſt all civill and inteſtine Rebellion, as without we will bee compaſſed and guarded with our Walles of Braſſe. Judge mee charitably, ſince in this I ſeeke your equall Good, that ſo both of you might be made fearefull to your Enemies, powerfull in your ſelves, and availeable to your Friendes. Studie therefore hereafter to make a good Concluſion, avoyd all Delayes, cut off all vaine Queſtions, that your King may have his lawfull Deſire, and be not diſgraced in his juſt Endes. And for your Securitie in ſuch reaſonable Points of Reſtrictions, whereunto I am to agree, ye need never doubt of my Inclination: For I will not ſay any Thing which I will not promiſe, nor promiſe any Thing which I will not ſweare; what I ſweare I will ſigne, and what I ſigne, I ſhall with GODS Grace ever performe.

An Apology for Actors. Containing three briefe Treatises. 1. Their Antiquity. 2. Their ancient Dignity. 3. The true Use of their Quality.

Written by *THOMAS HEYWOOD.* 1612.

Et prodesse solent & delectare ——

To the Right Honourable EDWARD, Earle of WORCESTER, Lord of *Chepstoll*, *Ragland*, and *Gower*, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, Maister of the Horse, and one of the KINGS most Honourable Privy Councel.

KNowing all the Vertues and Endowments of Nobility, which florisht in their Height of Eminence in your Ancestors, now, as by a divine Legacy, and lineall Inheritance, to survive in you; and so consequently from you, to your truly ennobled Issue. (Right Honourable) I presumed to publish this unworthy Worke under your gracious Patronage: first, as an Acknowledgment of that Duty I am bound to you in, as a Servant. Next, assured that your most judiciall Censure is as able to approve what therein is authentike and good, as your noble and accustomed Modesty will charitably connive: if there be any thing therein unworthy your learned Approbation. I have striv'd (my Lord) to make good a Subject, which many through Envy, but most through Ignorance, have sought violently, and (beyond Merit) to oppugne: in which, if they have either wandred through Spleene, or erred by Non-knowledge, I have (to my Power) plainly and freely illustrated, propounding a true, direct, and faithfull Discourse, touching the Antiquity, the ancient Dignity, and the true Use of Actors, and their Quality. If my Industry herein be by the common Adversary harshly received, but by your Honour charitably censured, I have from the Injuditious (whom I esteeme not) but what I expect: but from your Lordship (whom I ever reverence) more then I can merit.

Your Honours humbly devoted,

THOMAS HEYWOOD.

To my good Friends and Fellowes, the *Citty-Actors.*

OUT of my busiest Houres, I have spared my selfe so much Time as to touch some Particulars concerning us, to approve our Antiquity, ancient Dignity, and the true Use of our Quality. That it hath beene ancient, we have derived it from more then two thousand Yeeres agoe, successively to this Age. That it hath

hath been eſteemed by the beſt and greateſt: to omit all the noble Patrons of the former World, I need alledge no more then the Royall and Princely Services, in which we now live. That the Uſe thereof is authentique, I have done my Endeavour to inſtance by Hiſtory, and approve by Authority. To excuſe my Ignorance in affecting no Floriſh of Eloquence, to ſet a Gloſſe upon my Treatiſe, I have nothing to ſay for my ſelfe but this: A good Face needs no Painting, and a good Cauſe no abetting. *Some over-curious have too liberally taxed us: and hee (in my Thoughts) is held worthy Reproofe, whoſe Ignorance cannot anſwere for it ſelfe: I hold it more honeſt for the Guiltleſſe to excuſe, then the Envious to exclaime. And we may as freely (out of our Plainneſſe) anſwere, as they (out of their Perverſneſſe object) inſtancing my ſelfe by famous* Scalliger, *learned Doctor* Gager, *Doctor* Gentiles, *and others, whoſe Opinions and approved Arguments on our Part, I have in my briefe Diſcourſe altogether omitted; becauſe I am loath to bee taxed in borrowing from others: and beſides, their Workes being extant to the World, offer themſelves freely to every Mans Peruſall. I am profeſt Adverſary to none, I rather covet Reconcilement, then Oppoſition, nor proceedes this my Labour from any Envy in me, but rather to ſhew them wherein they erre. So wiſhing you judiciall Audiences, honeſt Poets, and true Gatherers, I commit you all to the Fulneſſe of your beſt Wiſhes.*

Yours ever,

T. H.

To the Judiciall READER.

I Have undertooke a Subject (curteous Reader) not of ſufficient Countenance to bolſter it ſelfe by his owne Strength; and therefore have charitably reached it my Hand to ſupport it againſt any ſucceeding Adverſary. I could willingly have committed this Worke to ſome more able then my ſelfe: for the Weaker the Combatant, he needeth the ſtronger Armes. But in Extremities, I hold it better to weare ruſty Armour, then to goe naked; yet if theſe weake Habilliments of Warre, can but buckler it from Part of the rude Buffets of our Adverſaries, I ſhall hold my Paines ſufficiently guerdoned. My Pen hath ſeldome appeared in Preſſe till now, I have beene ever too jealous of mine owne Weakneſſe, willingly to thruſt into the Preſſe: nor had I at this Time, but that a Kinde of Neceſſity enjoyned me to ſo ſudden a Buſineſſe. I will neither ſhew my ſelfe over-preſumtuous, in ſkorning thy Favour, nor too importunate a Beggar, by too ſervilly intreating it. What thou art content to beſtow upon my Pains, I am content to accept: if good Thoughts, they are all I deſire: if good Words, they are more then I deſerve: if bad Opinion, I am ſorry I have incurr'd it: if evil Language, I know not how I have merited it: if any Thing, I am pleaſed: if nothing, I am ſatisfied, contenting my ſelfe with this: I have done no more then (had I beene called to account) ſhewed what I could ſay in the Defence of my owne Quality.

Thine

T. HEYWOOD.

Firma valent per ſe, nullumq; Machaona querunt.

An

An Apology for Actors; and first touching their Antiquity.

MOoved by the ſundry Exclamations of many ſeditious Sectiſts in this Age, who in the Fatnes and Ranknes of a peaceable Common-wealth, grow up like unſavory Tufts of Graſſe, which though outwardly greene and freſh to the Eye, yet are they both unpleaſant and unprofitable, beeing too ſower for Food, and too ranke for Fodder: Theſe Men like the antient *Germans*, affecting no Faſhion but their owne, would draw other Nations to bee Slovens like them-ſelves, and undertaking to purifie and reforme the ſacred Bodies of the Church and Common-weale (In the trew Uſe of both which they are altogether Ignorant) would but like artleſſe Phiſitions, for Experiment Sake, rather miniſter Pils to poyſon the whole Body then Cordials to preſerve any or the leaſt Part. Amongſt many other Thinges tollerated in this peaceable and floriſhing State, it hath pleaſed the high and mighty Princes of this Land to limit the Uſe of certaine publicke Theaters, which ſince many of theſe over-curious Heads have laviſhly and violently ſlandered, I hold it not a miſſe to lay open ſome few Antiquities to approve the true Uſe of them, with Arguments (not of the leaſt Moment) which according to the Weaknes of my Spirit and Infancy of my Judgment I will (by God's Grace) commit to the Eyes of all favorable and judiciall Readers, as well to ſatisfie the Requeſts of ſome of our well qualified Favorers, as to ſtop the envious Acclamations of thoſe who chalenge to them-ſelves a priviledge Invective, and againſt all free Eſtates a railing Liberty: Loath am I (I proteſt) being the youngeſt and weakeſt of the Neſt wherin I was hatcht, to ſoare this Pitch before others of the ſame Brood more fledge, and of better Winge then my ſelfe: but though they whome more eſpecially this Taſke concernes, both for their Ability in Writing and Sufficiency in Judgement (as their Workes generally witneſſe to the World:) are content to over-ſlip ſo neceſſary a Subject, and have left it as to mee the moſt unworthy: I thought it better to ſtammer out my Mind, then not to ſpeake at all; to ſcribble downe a Marke in the ſtead of writing a Name, and to ſtumble on the Way, rather then to ſtand ſtill and not to proceede on ſo neceſſary a Journey. *Nox erat, & ſomnus laſſos ſubmiſit ocellos.*

It was about that Time of the Night when Darknes had already overſpread the World, and a Huſht and generall Sylence poſſeſt the Face of the Earth, and Mens Bodyes tyred with the Buſineſſe of the Day, betaking themſelves to their beſt Repoſe, their never-ſleeping Soules labored in uncoth Dreames and Viſions, when ſuddenly appeared to me the Tragicke Muſe *Melpomene*

——— *animoſa Tragedia.*
——— *& movit pictis imixa Cothurnis*
Denſum Ceſarie, terque quaterque Caput.

Her Heyre rudely diſheveled, her Chaplet withered, her Viſage with Teares ſtayned, her Brow furrowed, her Eyes dejected, nay her whole Complexion quite faded and altered: and peruſing her Habit, I might behold the Colour of

of her freſh Roabe all Crimſon, breathed, and with the invenomed Juice of ſome prophane ſpilt Inke in every Place ſtained: nay more, her Buſken of all the wonted Jewels and Ornaments, utterly deſpoyled: about which, in Manner of a Garter, I might behold theſe Letters written in a playne and large Character.

Behold my Tragicke Buſkin rent and torne,
Which Kings and Emperors in their Tymes have worne.

This I no ſooner had perus'd, but ſuddenly I might perceave the inraged Muſe, caſt up her ſkornfull Head: Her Eye-bals ſparkle Fire, and a ſuddain Flaſh of Diſdaine, intermixt with Rage, purple her Cheeke. When pacing with a majeſticke Gate and rowſing up her freſh Spirits with a lively and queint Action, ſhee began in theſe or the like Words.

Grande ſonant tragici, tragicos decet Ira Cothurnos.
Am I Melpomene *the buſkend Muſe,*
That held in awe the Tyrants of the World,
And playde their Lives in publicke Theaters,
Making them feare to ſinne, ſince feareleſſe I
Prepar'd to wryte their Lives in Crimſon Inke,
And act their Shames in Eye of all the World?
Have not I whipt Vice with a Scourge of Steele,
Unmaſkt ſterne Murther; ſham'd laſcivious Luſt.
Pluct off the Viſar from grimme Treaſons Face,
And made the Sunne point at their ugly Sinnes?
Hath not this powerfull Hand tam'd fiery Rage,
Kild poyſonous Envy with her owne keene Darts,
Choak't up their covetous Mouth with moulten Gold,
Burſt the vaſt Wombe of eating Gluttony,
And drownd the Drunkards Gall in Juice of Grapes?
I have ſhowed Pryde his Picture on a Stage,
Layde ope the ugly Shapes his Steele-Glaſſe hid,
And made him paſſe thence meekely: In thoſe Daies
When Emperours with their Preſence grac't my Sceanes,
And thought none worthy to preſent themſelves
Save Emperours: to delight Embaſſadours.
Then did this Garland floriſh, then my Roabe
Was of the deepeſt Crimſon, the beſt Dye:
Cura Ducum fuerant olim regumque poetæ.
Premiaque Antiqui magna tulere Chori
Who lodge them in the Boſome of great Kings.
Save he that had a grave Cothurnate Muſe.
A ſtately Verſe in an Iambick Stile
Became a Keſars Mouth. Oh theſe were Times
Fit for you Bards to vent your golden Rymes.
Then did I tread on Arras, Cloth of Tiſſue,
Hung round the Fore-front of my Stage: the Pillers

That

That did ſupport the Roofe of my large Frame.
Double apparreld in pure Ophir *Gold:*
Whilſt the round Circle of my ſpacious Orbe
Was throng'd with Princes, Dukes and Senators.
Nunc Hederæ ſine Honore jacent.
But now's the Iron Age, and black-mouth'd Curres,
Barke at the Vertues of the former World.
Such with their Breath have blaſted my freſh Roabe,
Pluckt at my flowry Chaplet, towſd my Treſſes.
Nay ſome whom for their Baſeneſſe hiſt and ſcorn'd
The Stage, as loathſome, hath long-ſince ſpued out,
Have watcht their Time to caſt invenom'd Inke
To ſtayne my Garments with: Oh Seneca
Thou Tragicke Poet, hadſt thou liv'd to ſee
This Outrage done to ſad Melpomene,
With ſuch ſharpe Lynes thou wouldſt revenge my Blot,
As Armed Ovid *againſt* Ibis *wrot.*

With that in Rage ſhee left the Place, and I my Dreame, for at the Inſtant I awaked, when having peruſed this Viſion over and over againe in my Remembrance, I ſuddenly bethought mee, How many antient Poets, Tragicke and Comicke, dying many Ages agoe live ſtill amongſt us in their Works; as amongſt the Greekes, *Euripides*, *Menander*, *Sophocles*, *Eupolis*, *Eſchilus*, *Ariſtophanes*, *Apollodorus*, *Anaxandrides*, *Nichomachus*, *Alexis*, *Tereus*, and others; ſo among the Latins: *Attilius*, *Actius*, *Melithus*, *Plautus*, *Terens*, and others whome for Brevity Sake I omit.

Hos Ediſcit & hos arcto ſtipata Theatro
Spectat Roma potens habet hos, numeratque Poetas.
Theſe potent Rome *acquires and holdeth deare.*
And in their round Theaters flocks to heare.

Theſe or any of theſe had they lived in the Afternoone of the World, as they dyed even in the Morning, I aſſure my ſelfe wold have left more memorable Tropheys of that learned Muſe, whome in their golden Numbers they ſo richly adorned. And amongſt our moderne Poets, who have bene induſtrious in many an elaborate and ingenious Poem, even they whoſe Pennes have had the greateſt Trafficke with the Stage, have bene in the Excuſe of theſe Muſes moſt forgetfull. But leaving theſe, leſt I make too large a Head to a ſmall Body, and ſo miſhape my Subject, I will begin with the Antiquity of acting Comedies, Tragedies, and Hyſtories. And firſt in the golden World.

In the firſt of the *Olimpiads*, amongſt many other active Exerciſes in which *Hercules* ever triumph'd as Victor, there was in his Nonage preſented unto him by his Tutor in the Faſhion of a Hiſtory, acted by the Choyſe of the Nobility of *Greece*, the worthy and memorable Acts of his Father *Jupiter*. Which being perſonated with lively and well-ſpirited Action, wrought ſuch Impreſſion in his noble Thoughts, that in meere Emulation of his Fathers Valor

Valor (not at the Beheſt of his Stepdame *Juno*) he performed his twelve Labours: Him valiant *Theſeus* followed, and *Achilles*, *Theſeus*. Which bred in them ſuch hawty and magnanimous Attempts, that every ſucceeding Age hath recorded their Worths, unto freſh Admiration. *Ariſtotle* that Prince of Philoſophers, whoſe Bookes carry ſuch Credit, even in theſe our Univerſities, that to ſay *Ipſe dixit* is a ſufficient *Axioma*, hee having the Tuition of young *Alexander*, cauſed the Deſtruction of *Troy* to be acted before his Pupill, in which the Valor of *Achilles* was ſo naturally expreſt, that it impreſt the Hart of *Alexander*, in ſo much that all his ſucceeding Actions were meerly ſhaped after that Patterne, and it may be imagined had *Achilles* never lived, *Alexander* had never conquered the whole World. The like Aſſertion may be made of that ever-renowned Roman *Julius Cæſar*; who, after the like Repreſentation of *Alexander* in the Temple of *Hercules* ſtanding in *Gades*, was never in any Peace of Thoughts, till by his memorable Exployts, hee had purchas'd to himſelfe the Name of *Alexander:* as *Alexander* till hee thought himſelfe of Deſert to be called *Achilles: Achilles Theſeus*, *Theſeus* till he had ſufficiently imitated the Acts of *Hercules*, and *Hercules* till hee held himſelfe worthy to bee called the Son of *Jupiter*. Why ſhould not the Lives of theſe Worthyes, preſented in theſe our Dayes, effect the like Wonders in the Princes of our Times, which can no Way bee ſo exquiſitly demonſtrated, nor ſo lively portrayed as by Action: Oratory is a Kind of a ſpeaking Picture, therefore may ſome ſay, is it not ſufficient to diſcourſe to the Eares of Princes the Fame of theſe Conquerors: Painting likewiſe, is a dumbe Oratory, therefore may we not as well by ſome curious *Pigmalion*, drawe their Conqueſts to worke the like Love in Princes towards theſe Worthyes by ſhewing them their Pictures drawne to the Life, as it wrought on the poore Painter to bee inamored of his owne Shadow? I anſwer this.

Non magis expreſſi vultus per ahenia ſigna
Quam per vatis opus, mores animique virorum
Clarorum apparent. ———

The Viſage is no better cut in Braſſe,
Nor can the Carver ſo expreſſe the Face
As doth the Poets Penne whoſe Arts ſurpaſſe,
To give Mens Lives and Vertues their due Grace.

A Deſcription is only a Shadow received by the Eare but not perceived by the Eye: ſo lively Portrature is meerely a Forme ſeene by the Eye, but can neither ſhew Action, Paſſion, Motion, or any other Geſture, to moove the Spirits of the Beholder to Admiration: but to ſee a Souldier ſhap'd like a Souldier, walke, ſpeake, act like a Souldier: to ſee a *Hector* all beſmered in Blood, trampling upon the Bulkes of Kinges. A *Troylus* returning from the Field in the Sight of his Father *Priam* as if Man and Horſe even from the Steeds rough Fetlockes to the Plume in the Champions Helmet had bene together plunged into a purple Ocean: To ſee a *Pompey* ride in Triumph, then a *Cæſar* conquer that *Pompey:* labouring *Hanniball* alive, hewing his Paſſage

through the *Alpes*. To ſee as I have ſeene, *Hercules* in his owne Shape hunting the Boare, knocking downe the Bull, taming the Hart, fighting with Hydra, murdering *Gerion*, ſlaughtring *Diomed*, wounding the *Stimphalides*, killing the Centaurs, paſhing the Lyon, ſqueezing the Dragon, dragging *Cerberus* in Chaynes, and laſtly, on his high Pyramides writing *Nil ultra*, oh theſe were Sights to make an *Alexander*.

To turne to our domeſticke Hyſtories, what *Engliſh* Blood ſeeing the Perſon of any bold *Engliſh* Man preſented and doth not hugge his Fame, and hunnye at his Valor, purſuing him in his Enterpriſe with his beſt Wiſhes, and as beeing wrapt in Contemplation, offers to him in his Hart all proſperous Performance, as if the Perſonater were the Man perſonated, ſo bewitching a Thing is lively and well ſpirited Action, that it hath Power to new Mold the Harts of the Spectators and faſhion them to the Shape of any noble and notable Attempt. What Coward to ſee his Countryman valiant would not bee aſhamed of his owne Cowardiſe? What *Engliſh* Prince ſhould hee behold the true Portrature of that famous King *Edward* the Third, foraging *France*, taking ſo great a King Captive in his owne Country, quartering the *Engliſh* Lyons with the *French* Flower-delyce, and would not bee ſuddenly inflam'd with ſo royall a Spectacle, being made apt and fit for the like Atchievement. So of *Henry* the Fift: but not to be tedious in any Thing. *Ovid* in one of his Poems holds this Opinion, that *Romulus* was the firſt that broght Plaies into *Italy*, which he thus ſets downe.

De Arte Amandi, 1.

Primum ſollicitos feciſti Romule Ludos.
Cum jurit viduos rapta Sabina viros
Tunc neque marmoreo pendebant vela Theatro, &c.

Which we *Engliſh thus:*

Thou noble Romulus *firſt Playes contrives,*
To get thy widdowed Souldiers Sabine *Wyves.*
In thoſe Dayes from the Marble Houſe did wave
No Saile, no ſilken Flagge, or Enſigne brave.
Then was the Tragicke Stage not painted red,
Or any mixed Staines on Pillers ſpred.
Then did the Sceane want Art, th' unready Stage
Was made of Graſſe and Earth in that rude Age:
About the which were thicke-leav'd Branches placed,
Nor did the Audients hold themſelves diſgraced
Of Turfe and heathy Sods to make their Seates,
Fram'd in Degrees of Earth, and moſſy Peates.
Thus plac'd in Order, every Roman *pry'd*
Into her Face that ſate next by his Side;
And cloſing with her ſeverally gan move,
The innocent Sabine *Woman to their Love:*
And whil'ſt the Piper Thuſcus *rudely plaid,*
And by thrice ſtamping with his Foote had made

A Signe unto the reſt, there was a Shout,
Whoſe ſhrill Report pierſt all the Aire about.
Now at a Signe of Rape given from the King,
Round through the Houſe the luſty Romans *fling,*
Leaving no Corner of the ſame unſought,
Till every one a frighted Virgin caught.
Looke as the trembling Dove the Eagle flyes,
Or a young Lambe when he the Wolfe eſpyes;
So ran the poore Girles, filling th' Aire with Skreekes,
Emptying of all the Colour their pale Cheekes.
One Feare poſſeſt them all, but not one Looke,
This teares her Haire, ſhe; hath her Wits forſooke.
Some ſadly ſit, ſome on their Mothers call,
Some chafe, ſome flye, ſome ſtay, but frighted all.
Thus were the raviſh'd Sabines *bluſhing led*
(Becoming Shame) unto each Romans *Bed.*
If any ſtriv'd againſt it, ſtreight her Man
Would take her on his Knee (whom Feare made wan)
And ſay; why weep'ſt thou ſweet? what ailes my deere?
Dry up theſe Drops, theſe Clowds of Sorrow cleere.
I'le be to thee, if thou thy Griefe will ſmother,
Such as thy Father was unto thy Mother.
Full well could Romulus *his Souldiers pleaſe,*
To give them ſuch faire Miſtreſſes as theſe.
If ſuch rich Wages thou wilt give to me,
Great Romulus, *thy Souldier I will be.*

Romulus having erected the Walles of *Rome*, and leading under him a warlike Nation, being in continuall Warre with the *Sabines*, after the choyce ſelecting of a Place, fit for ſo famous a Citty, and not knowing how to people the ſame, his Traine wholly conſiſting of Souldiers, who without the Company of Women (they not having any in their Army) could not multiply; but ſo were likely that their immortall Fames ſhould dye iſſuleſſe with their mortall Bodies. Thus therefore *Romulus* deviſed; After a Parle and Attonement made with the neighbour Nations, hee built a Theater, plaine, according to the Time; yet large, fit for the Entertainement of ſo great an Aſſembly, and theſe were they whoſe famous Iſſue peopled the Cittie of *Rome*, which in after Ages grew to ſuch Height, that not *Troy*, founded by *Dardanus*, *Carthage* layed by *Dido*, *Tyrus* built by *Agenor*, *Memphis* made by *Ogdous*, *Thebes* ſeated by *Cadmus*, nor *Babylon* reared by *Semiramis*, were any way equal to this Situation grounded by *Romulus:* to which all the diſcovered Kingdomes of the Earth after became Tributaries. And in the Noonetide of their Glory, and Height of all their Honor, they edified Theaters, and Amphi-theaters: for in their flouriſhing Common-weale, their publike *Comedians* and *Tragedians* moſt floriſhed, inſomuch that the Tragicke and Comicke Poets, were all generally admired of the People, and particularly every Man of his private *Mecenas.*

Imperante Auguſto, natus eſt Chriſtus. Imperante Tiberio crucifixus.

In the Reigne of *Auguſtus* Chriſt was borne, and as well in his Dayes as before his Birth, theſe Solemnities were held in the greateſt Eſtimation. In *Julius Ceſars* Time, Predeceſſor to *Auguſtus*, the famous hony-tong'd Orator *Cicero* floriſhed; who amongſt many other his eloquent Orations, writ certaine yet extant, for the Comedian *Roſcius (pro Roſcio Comædo)* of whom we ſhall ſpeake more large hereafter. Theſe continued in their Honour till the Reigne of *Tiberius Cæſar*, and under *Tiberius* Chriſt was crucified. To this End do I uſe this Aſſertion, becauſe in the full and perfect Time our Saviour ſojourned on the Earth, even in thoſe happy and peacefull Dayes the ſpacious Theaters were in the greateſt Opinion amongſt the *Romans*; yet, neither Chriſt himſelfe, nor any of his ſanctified Apoſtles, in any of their Sermons, Acts, or Documents, ſo much as named them, or upon any abuſive Occaſion, touched them. Therefore hence (me thinkes) a very probable and important Argument may be grounded, that ſince they, in their Divine Wiſdomes, knew all the Sinnes abounding in the World before that Time, taxt and reproved all the Abuſes reigning in that Time, and foreſaw all the Actions and Inconveniences (to the Church prejudiciall) in the Time to come; ſince they (I ſay) in all their holy Doctrines, Bookes, and Principles of Divinity, were content to paſſe them over, as Things tollerated, and indifferent, why ſhould any nice and over-ſcrupulous Heads, ſince they cannot ground their Curiouſneſſe either upon the Old or New Teſtament, take upon them to correct, controule, and carpe at that, againſt which they cannot finde any Text in the ſacred Scriptures?

In the Time of *Nero Cæſar*, the Apoſtle *Paul* was perſecuted and ſuffered, *Nero* was then Emperour, *Paul* writ his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, and at the ſame Time did the Theaters moſt floriſh amongſt the *Romans*; yet where can we quote any Place in his Epiſtles, which forbids the Church of God, then Reſident in *Rome*, to abſent themſelves from any ſuch Aſſemblies.

To ſpeake my Opinion with all Indifferency, God hath not enjoyned us to weare all our Apparrell ſolely to defend the Cold. Some Garments we weare for Warmth, others for Ornament. So did the Children of *Iſrael* hang Eare-rings in their Eares, nor was it by the Law forbidden them. That Purity is not look't for at our Hands, being mortall and humane, that is required of the Angels, being celeſtiall and divine. God made us of Earth, Men; knowes our Natures, Diſpoſitions and Imperfections, and therefore hath limited us a Time to rejoyce, as hee hath enjoyned us a Time to mourne for our Tranſgreſſions. And I hold them more ſcrupulous then well adviſed, that goe about to take from us the Uſe of all moderate Recreations. Why hath God ordained for Man, Varietie of Meates, Dainties and Delicates, if not to taſte thereon? why doth the World yeeld Choyce of honeſt Paſtimes, if not decently to uſe them? Was not the Hare made to be hunted: the Stagge to be chaced; and ſo of all other Beaſts of Game in their ſeverall Kindes? ſince God hath provided us of theſe Paſtimes, why may wee not uſe them to his Glory? Now if you aſke me why were not the Theaters as gorgeouſly built in all other Cities of *Italy* as *Rome?* And why

why are not Play-houſes maintained as well in other Cities of *England*, as *London?* my Anſwere is: It is not meet every meane Eſquire ſhould carry the Part belonging to one of the Nobility, or for a Noble-man to uſurpe the Eſtate of a Prince. *Rome* was a Metropolis, a Place whither all the Nations knowne under the Sunne, reſorted: ſo is *London*, and being to receive all Eſtates, all Princes, all Nations, therefore to affoord them all Choyce of Paſtimes, Sports, and Recreations: yet were there Theaters in all the greateſt Cities of the World, as we will more largely particularize hereafter.

I never yet could read any Hiſtory of any Common-weale, which did not thrive and proſper while theſe publike Solemnities were held in Adoration. Oh but (ſay ſome) *Marcus Aurelius* baniſht all ſuch triviall Exerciſes beyond the Confines of *Italy*. Indeed this Emperour was a Philoſopher of the Sect of *Diogenes*, a Cinicke, and whether the Hand of *Diogenes* would become a Scepter, or a Root better, I leave to your Judgments. This *Aurelius* was a great and ſharpe Reprover, who becauſe the Matrons and Ladies of *Rome*, in Scorne of his Perſon made a Play of him; in his Time, interdicted the Uſe of their Theaters. So, becauſe his Wife *Fauſtine* plaid falſe with him, he generally exclaimed againſt all Women: becauſe himſelfe could not touch an Inſtrument, he baniſht all the Muſitians in *Rome*, and being a meere Coward, put all the Gladiators and Sword-Players into Exile. And leſt his owne ſuſpected Life ſhould be again acted by the Comedians, as it before had beene by the noble Matrons, he profeſt himſelfe Adverſary to all of that Quality, ſo ſevere a Reformation of the Weale publike hee uſed, reſtraining the Citizens of their free Liberties, which till his Daies was not ſeene in *Rome*; but what profited this the Weale publicke? Do but peruſe the ancient Roman Chronicles, and you ſhall undoubtedly finde, that from the Time of this preciſe Emperour, that ſtately City, whoſe lofty Buildings crowned ſeven high Hils at once, and over-peered them all, ſtreight way began to hang the Head, by degrees the forreigne Kingdomes revolted, and the Homage done them by ſtrange Nations, was in a little Space quite abrogated: for they governed all the World, ſome under Conſuls, ſome under Pro-conſuls, Preſidents and Pretors, they divided their Dominions and Countryes into Principalities, ſome into Provinces, ſome into Toparchyes, ſome into Tetrarchyes, ſome into Tribes, others into Ethnarchyes: but now their Homage ceaſt, *Marcus Aurelius* ended their Mirth, which preſaged that ſhortly after ſhould begin their Sorrow; he baniſht their Liberty, and immediatly followed their Bondage. For *Rome*, which till then kept all the Nations of the World in ſubjective Awe; was in a little Space awd even by the baſeſt Nations of the World. To leave *Italy*, and looke backe into *Greece*, the Sages and Princes of *Grecia*, who for the Refinedneſſe of their Language, were in ſuch Reputation through the World, that all other Tongues were eſteemed barbarous; Theſe that were the firſt Underſtanders, trained up their youthfull Nobility to bee Actors, debarring the baſe Mechanickes ſo worthy Imployment: for none but the yong Heroes were admitted that Practiſe, ſo to embolden them in the Delivery of any forraine Embaſſy. Theſe wiſe Men of *Greece* (ſo called by the Oracle) could by their Induſtry, finde out no neerer or directer Courſe to plant Humanity

manity and Manners in the Hearts of the Multitude then to instruct them by moralized Mysteries, what Vices to avoyd, what Vertues to embrace; what Enormityes to abandon, what Ordinances to observe: whose Lives (being for some speciall Endowments in former Times honoured) they should admire and follow: whose vicious Actions (personated in some licentious Liver) they should despise and shunne: which borne out as well by the Wisedome of the Poet, as supported by the Worth of the Actors, wrought such Impression in the Hearts of the Plebe, that in short Space they excelled in Civility and Governement, insomuch that from them all the neighbour Nations drew their Patternes of Humanity, as well in the establishing of their Lawes, as the Reformation of their Manners. These *Magi* and *Gymnosophistæ*, that liv'd (as I may say) in the Childhood and Infancy of the World, before it knew how to speake perfectly, thought even in those Dayes, that Action was the neereſt Way to plant Understanding in the Hearts of the Ignorant. Yea (but say some) you ought not to confound the Habits of either Sex, as to let your Boyes weare the Attires of Virgins, *&c.* To which I answere: The Scriptures are not alwayes to be expounded meerely, according to the Letter: (for in such Estate stands our mayne Sacramentall Controversie) but they ought exactly to bee conferred with the Purpose they handle. To do as the *Sodomites* did, use prepostorous Lusts in prepostorous Habits, is in that Text flatly and severely forbidden: nor can I imagine any Man, that hath in him any Taste or Relish of Christianity, to be guilty of so abhorred a Sinne. Besides, it is not probable, that Playes were meant in that Text, because we read not of any Playes knowne in that Time that *Deuteronomie* was writ, among the Children of *Israel*; nor do I hold it lawfull to beguile the Eyes of the World in confounding the Shapes of either Sex, as to keepe any Youth in the Habit of a Virgin, or any Virgin in the Shape of a Lad, to shroud them from the Eyes of their Fathers, Tutors, or Protectors, or to any other sinister Intent whatsoever. But to see our Youths attired in the Habit of Women, who knowes not what their Intents be? who cannot distinguish them by their Names, assuredly knowing, they are but to represent such a Lady, at such a Time appoynted?

Do not the Universities, the Fountaines and Well-springs of all good Arts, Learning and Documents, admit the like in their Colledges? And they (I assure my selfe) are not ignorant of their true Use. In the Time of my Residence in *Cambridge*, I have seene Tragedyes, Comedyes, Historyes, Pastorals and Shewes, publickly acted, in which Graduates of good Place and Reputations have bene specially parted, this is held necessary for the emboldening of their junior Schollers, to arme them with Audacity, against they come to bee imployed in any publicke Exercise, as in the reading of the Dialecticke, Rhetoricke, Ethicke, Mathematicke, the Physicke, or Metaphysick Lectures. It teacheth Audacity to the bashfull Grammarian, beeing newly admitted into the private Colledge, and after matriculated and entred as a Member of the University, and makes him a bold Sophister, to argue *pro & contra*, to compose his Sillogismes, Cathegoricke, or Hypotheticke (simple or compound) to reason and frame a sufficient Argument to prove his Questions, or to defend

fend any *Axioma*, to diſtinguiſh of any Dilemma, and be able to moderate in any Argumentation whatſoever.

To come to Rhetoricke, it not onely emboldens a Scholer to ſpeake, but inſtructs him to ſpeake well, and with Judgement, to obſerve his Comma's, Colons, and full Poynts, his Parentheſes, his breathing Spaces, and Diſtinctions, to keepe a Decorum in his Countenance, neither to frowne when he ſhould ſmile, nor to make unſeemely and diſguiſed Faces in the Delivery of his Words, not to ſtare with his Eies, draw awry his Mouth, confound his Voice in the Hollow of his Throat, or teare his Words haſtily betwixt his Teeth, neither to buffet his Deſke like a Mad-man, nor ſtand in his Place like a liveleſſe Image, demurely plodding, and without any ſmooth and formal Motion. It inſtructs him to fit his Phraſes to his Action, and his Action to his Phraſe, and his Pronuntiation to them both.

Tully in his Booke *ad Caium Herennium*, requires five Things in an Orator, *Invention*, *Diſpoſition*, *Eloquution*, *Memory*, and *Pronuntiation*, yet all are imperfect without the ſixt, which is *Action:* for be his Invention never ſo fluent and exquiſite, his Diſpoſition and Order never ſo compoſed and formall, his Eloquence, and elaborate Phraſes never ſo materiall and pithy, his Memory never ſo ferme and retentive, his Pronuntiation never ſo muſicall and plauſive, yet without a comely and elegant Geſture, a gratious and a bewitching Kinde of Action, a naturall and a familiar Motion of the Head, the Hand, the Body, and a moderate and fit Countenance ſutable to all the reſt, I hold all the reſt as nothing. A Delivery and ſweet Action is the Gloſſe and Beauty of any Diſcourſe that belongs to a Scholler. And this is the Action behoovefull in any that profeſſe this Quality, not to uſe any impudent or forced Motion in any Part of the Body, no rough, or other violent Geſture, nor on the contrary, to ſtand like a ſtiffe ſtarcht Man, but to qualifie every Thing according to the Nature of the Perſon perſonated: for in overacting Trickes, and toyling too much in the anticke Habit of Humors, Men of the ripeſt Deſert, greateſt Opinions, and beſt Reputations, may breake into the moſt violent Abſurdities. I take not upon me to teach, but to adviſe: for it becomes my Juniority rather to be pupild my ſelfe, then to inſtruct others.

To proceed, and to looke into thoſe Men that profeſſe themſelves Adverſaries to this Quality, they are none of the graveſt, and moſt ancient Doctors of the Academy, but onely a ſort of finde-faults, ſuch as intereſt their prodigall Tongues in all Mens Affaires without Reſpect. Theſe I have heard as liberally in their ſuperficiall Cenſures, taxe the Exerciſes performed in their Colledges, as theſe acted on our publicke Stages, not looking into the true and direct Uſe of either, but ambitiouſly preferring their owne preſumptuous Humors, before the profound and authenticall Judgements of all the learned Doctors of the Univerſitie. Thus you ſee, that touching the Antiquity of Actors and Acting, they have not beene new lately begot by any upſtart Invention, but I have derived them from the firſt *Olimpiads*, and I ſhall continue the Uſe of them even till this preſent Age. And ſo much touching their Antiquity.

Pars ſupereſt cæpti: pars eſt exhauſta laboris.

Of

Of Actors, and their ancient Dignity.

The SECOND BOOKE.

IULIUS CÆSAR, the famous Conqueror, discourſing with *Marcus Cicero*, the as famous Orator, amongſt many other Matters debated, It pleaſed the Emperour to aſke his Opinion of the Hiſtriones, the Players of *Rome*, pretending ſome Cavell againſt them, as Men whoſe Imployment in the Common-weale was unneceſſary. To whom *Cicero* anſwered thus: Content thee *Cæſar*, there bee many Heads buſied and bewitched with theſe Paſtimes now in *Rome*, which otherwiſe would be inquiſitive after thee and thy Greatneſſe. Which Anſwere, how ſufficiently the Emperour approved, may bee conjectured by the many Guifts beſtowed, and Priviledges and Charters after granted to Men of that Quality. Such was likewiſe the Opinion of a great Stateſman of this Land, about the Time that certaine Bookes were called in Queſtion. Doubtleſſe there be many Men of that Temper, who were they not carried away, and weaned from their owne corrupt and bad Diſpoſition, and by accidentall Meanes removed and altered from their dangerous and ſullen Intendments, would be found apt and prone to many notorious and trayterous Practiſes. Kings and Monarches are by God placed and inthroaned *ſupra nos*, above us, and we are to regard them as the Sun from whom we receive the Light to live under, whoſe Beauty and Brightneſſe we may onely admire, not meddle with: *Ne ludamus cum Diis*, they that ſhoot at the Starres over their Heads, their Arrowes fall directly downe and wound themſelves. But this Alluſion may bee better referred to the Uſe of Action promiſed in our third Treatiſe. Then to their Dignity, which next and immediatly (by Gods Grace) our Purpoſe is to handle.

The Word *Tragedy*, is derived from the *Greeke* Word τραγος, *Caper* a Goat, becauſe the Goat being a Beaſt moſt injurious to the Vines, was ſacrificed to *Bacchus:* Heereupon *Diodorus* writes, that Tragedies had their firſt Names from the Oblations due to *Bacchus*; or elſe of τρυξ, a Kinde of Painting, which the Tragedians of the old Time uſed to ſtayne their Faces with. By the Cenſure of *Horace*, *Theſpis* was the firſt Tragicke Writer.

Horace, Arte Poetica.

Ignotum Tragicæ genus inveniſſe Camenæ
Dicitur, & plauſtris vexiſſe poëmata Theſpis.

The unknowne Tragicke Muſe Theſpis *firſt ſought,*
And her high Poems in her Chariot brought.

This *Theſpis* was an *Athenian* Poet, borne in *Theſpina*, a free Towne in *Bœtia* by *Helicon*, of him the nine Muſes were called *Theſpiades*. But by the Cenſure of *Quintilian*, *Æſchiles* was before him, but after them *Sophocles* and *Euripides* clothed their Tragedies in better Ornament. *Livius Andronicus* was the firſt that writ any *Roman* Tragedy, in which Kinde of Poeſie *Accius*, *Pacuvius*, *Seneca*, and *Ovidius* excelled.

Polid. Virgil.

Sceptra

Sceptra tamen ſumpſi curáq; Tragedia noſtra
Crevit, at huic operi quamlibet aptus eram.
Ovid. Amorum. lib. 2. Eleg. 18.

The ſcepter'd Tragedy then proov'd our Wit,
And to that Worke we found us apt and fit.

Againe, in his fift Booke *de Triſtibus, Eleg.* 8.

Carmen quod veſtro ſaltari noſtra Theatro
Verſibus & plaudi ſcribis (amice) meis.

Deere Friend thou writ'ſt our Muſe is 'mongſt you ſong,
And in your Theaters with Plaudits rong.

Likewiſe in his Epiſtle to *Auguſtus*, writ from the Ponticke Iſland, whither he was baniſht.

Et dedimus tragicis ſcriptum regale Cothurnis,
Quæq; gravis debet verba Cothurnus habet.

With royall Style ſpeakes our Cothurnate Muſe,
A buſkind Phraſe in buſkin'd Playes we uſe.

The Word *Comedy* is derived from the *Greeke* Word Κωμος, a Street, and ωδη, *Cantus*, a Song, a Street Song, as ſignifying there was ever Mirth in thoſe Streets where Comedies moſt floriſht.

Hæc paces habuere bonæ ventiq; ſecundi.

In this Kinde *Ariſtophanes*, *Eupolis*, *Cratinus* were famous, after them *Menander* and *Philemon:* ſucceeding them *Cicilius*, *Nevius*, *Plautus* and *Terentius.*

Muſaq; Turani tragicis innixa Cothurnis
Et tua cum ſocco, Muſa, Meliſſe levis.

Turanus *tragicke Buſkin grac'd the Play,*
Meliſſa'es *comicke Shooe made lighter Way.*

The ancient Hiſtriographers write, that among the *Greekes* there were divers Places of Exerciſes, appointed for Poets, ſome at the Grave of *Theſeus*, others at *Helicon*, where they in Comedies and Tragedies contended for ſeveral Priſes, where *Sophocles* was adjudged Victor over *Æſchilus:* There were others in the Citty of *Elis*, where *Menander* was foyled by *Philomene.* In the ſame Kinde *Heſiod* is ſayd to have triumpht over *Homer.* So *Corinna* for her Excellencies in theſe Inventions, (called *Muſcalyrica*) excelled *Pindarus* the *Theban* Poet, for which ſhe was five Times crowned with Garlands. Alex. Metapol.

The firſt publicke Theater was by *Dionyſius* built in *Athens*, it was faſhioned in the Manner of a Semi-circle, or Halfe-moone, whoſe Galleries and Degrees were reared from the Ground, their Staires high, in the midſt of which did ariſe the Stage, beſide, ſuch a convenient Diſtance from the Earth, that the Audience aſſembled might eaſily behold the whole Project without Impediment. From this the *Romanes* had their firſt Pat- *Theaters.*

terne, which at the firſt not being roof't, but lying open to all Weathers; *Quintus Catulus* was the firſt that cauſed the Out-ſide to bee covered with Linnen Cloth, and the In-ſide to bee hung round with Curtens of Silke. But when *Marcus Scaurus* was *Ædilis*, hee repaired it, and ſupported it round with Pillers of Marble.

Caius Curio, at the ſolemne Obſequies of his Father, erected a famous Theater of Timber, in ſo ſtrange a Forme, that on two ſeverall Stages, two ſundry Playes might bee acted at once, and yet the one bee no Hinderance or Impediment to the other; and when hee ſo pleaſed the whole Frame was artificially compoſed to meet in the middeſt, which made an Amphitheater.

Pompey the Great, after his Victories againſt *Methridates*, King of *Pontus*, ſaw in the Citty *Mitelene* a Theater of another Forme, and after his Triumphes and Returne to *Rome*, he raiſed one after the ſame Patterne, of Free Stone, of that Vaſtneſſe and Receipt, that within his Spaciouſneſſe it was able at once to receive fourſcore thouſand People, every one to ſit, ſee and heare.

In Emulation of this ſumptuous and gorgious Building, *Julius Cæſar*, ſucceſſor to *Pompeyes* Greatneſſe, exceeded him in his famous Architecture, hee raiſed an Amphitheater, *Campo Martio*, in the Field of *Mars*, which as farre excelled *Pompeyes*, as *Pompeyes* did exceed *Caius Curioes*, *Curioes* that of *Marcus Scaurus*, *Scaurus* that of *Quintus Catulus*, or *Catulus* that which was firſt made in *Athens* by *Dionyſius:* for the Baſſes, Columnes, Pillars, and Pyramides were all of hewed Marble, the Coverings of the Stage, which wee call the Heavens (where upon any Occaſion their Gods deſcended) were geometrically ſupported by a Giant like *Atlas*, whom the Poets for his Aſtrology, feigne to beare Heaven on his Shoulders, in which an artificiall Sunne and Moone of extraordinary Aſpect and Brightneſſe had their diurnall, and nocturnall Motions; ſo had the Starres their true and cœleſtiall Courſe; ſo had the Spheares, which in their continuall Motion made a moſt ſweet and raviſhing Harmony: Here were the Elements and Planets in their Degrees, the Sky of the *Moone*, the Sky of *Mercury*, *Venus*, *Sol*, *Mars*, *Jupiter*, and *Saturne*; the Starres, both fixed and wandering: and above all theſe, the firſt Mover, or *primum mobile*, there were the 12 Signes? the Lines Equinoctiall and Zodiacall, the Meridian Circle, or Zenith, the Orizon Circle, or Emiſphere, the Zones torrid and frozen, the Poles articke and antarticke, with all other Tropickes, Orbs, Lines, Circles, the *Solſtitium* and all other Motions of the Stars, Signes and Planets. In Briefe, in that little Compaſſe were comprehended the perfect Modell of the Firmament, the whole Frame of the Heavens, with all Grounds of Aſtronomicall Conjecture. From the Roofe grew a Loover, or Turret, of an exceedding Altitude, from which an Enſigne of Silke waved continually, *Pendebant vela Theatro.* But leſt I waſte too much of that Compendiouſneſſe I have promiſed in my Diſcourſe, in idle Deſcriptions, I leave you to judge the Proportion of the Body by the making of this one Limbe, every Piller, Seat, Foot-poſt, Staire, Gallery, and whatſoever elſe belongs to the furniſhing of ſuch a Place, being in Coſt, Subſtance, Forme, and artificiall Workmanſhip, moſt ſutable. The Floore, Stage, Roofe,

Roofe, Out-ſide, and In-ſide, as coſtly as the *Pantheon* or *Capitols*. In the principall Galleries were ſpeciall, remote, ſelected and choſen Seats for the Emperour, *patres conſcripti*, Dictators, Conſuls, Pretors, Tribunes, Triumviri, Decemviri, Ediles, Curules, and other noble Officers among the Senators: all other Roomes were free for the Plebe, or Multitude. To this Purpoſe I introduce theſe famous Edifices, as wondring at their Coſt and State, thus intimating, that if the Quality of Acting, were (as ſome propoſe) altogether unworthy, why for the ſpeciall Practice, and memorable Imployment of the ſame, were founded ſo many rare and admirable Monuments: and by whom were they erected? But by the greateſt Princes of their Times, and the moſt famous and worthieſt of them all, builded by him that was the greateſt Prince of the World, *Julius Cæſar*, at what Time in his Hand he grip't the univerſal Empire of the Earth. So of *Auguſtus Cæſar*.

Inſpice ludorum ſumptus Auguſte tuorum
Empta tibi magno ———

Behold Auguſtus *the great Pompe and State*
Of theſe thy Playes payd deere for, at hye Rate

Hæc tu ſpectaſti ſpectandaq; ſepe dediſti.

And could any inferiour Quality bee more worthily eſteemed or noblier graced, then to have Princes of ſuch Magnificence and State to beſtow on them Places of ſuch Port and Countenance, had they been never well regarded, they had been never ſo ſufficiently provided for, nor would ſuch worthy Princes have ſtrived who ſhould (by their greateſt Expence and Proviſion) have done them the ampleſt Dignity, had they not with incredible Favour regarded the Quality. I will not traverſe this too farre, leaſt I incurre ſome Suſpition of Selfe-love, I rather leave it to the favourable Conſideration of the Wiſe, though to the Perverſeneſſe of the Ignorant, who had they any Taſte either of Poeſie, Phyloſophy, or Hiſtoricall Antiquity, would rather ſtand mated at their owne impudent Ignorance, then againſt ſuch noble, and notable Examples ſtand in publicke Defiance.

I read of a Theater built in the midſt of the River *Tyber*, ſtanding on Pillars and Arches, the Foundation wrought under Water like *London-bridge*, the Nobles and Ladyes in their Barges and Gondelayes, landed at the very Stayres of the Galleryes. After theſe, they compoſed others, but differing in forme from the Theater, or Amphitheatre, and every ſuch was called *Circus*, the Frame globe-like, and merely round.

Circus in hanc exit clamataq; palma Theatris.

And the Yeare from the firſt Building of *Rome*, five Hundred threeſcore and ſeven, what Time *Spurius Poſthumus Albinus*, and *Quintus Martius Philippus*, were Conſuls, *Nero* made one, and the noble *Flaminius* another; but the greateſt was founded by *Tarquinius Priſcus*, and was called *Circus maximus*: In this the Gladiators practiſed, the Wideneſſe and Spaciouſneſſe was ſuch, that in it they fought at Barriers, and many times ran at Tilt. *Dion*

records eighteene Elephants ſlain at once in one Theater. More particularly to ſurvey the rarer Monuments of *Rome*, neere to the *Pantheon* (the Temple of the *Roman* Gods, at the Diſcent from the Hil *Capitolinus*, lies the great *Forum*, by which is ſcituate the great Amphi-theater of *Tytus*, firſt erected by *Veſpatian*, but after (almoſt ruined by Fire) by the *Roman Tytus* rarely re-edified. It is called *Colliſeus*, alſo a *Cavea*, which ſignifies a Scaffold, alſo *Arena*, a Place of Combate, by *Silvianus* and *Prudentius*, which Name *Tertullian*, *Pliny*, *Ovid*, *Firmicus*, and *Apuleius* likewiſe give it. It had the Title of *Circus*, *Caula* and *Stadium*, by *Suetonius*, *Capitolinus* and *Arcadius*. *Caſſianus* affirmes theſe Theaters conſecrated to *Diana Taurica*, *Tertullian*, to *Mars* and *Diana*, *Martiall* to *Jupiter Latiaris*, and to *Stigian Pluto*, whoſe Opinion *Minutius* and *Prudentius* approve. The firſt Structures were by the Tribune *Curio*, which *Dio*, *lib.* 37. affirmes. *Vitruvius*, *lib.* 5. ſaith, *Multa Theatra, Romæ ſtructa quotannis.* Of *Julius Cæſars* Amphi-theater *Campo Martio*, *Dio Caſſius* records, which *Auguſtus* after patronized, as *Victor* remembers of them, whoſe Charge *Statilius Taurus* aſſiſted, of whom *Dio* ſpeaketh thus: Ο ταυρος ςατιλιος θεατρου, &c. *Anno Urbis* DCCXXV. *Pub. Victor* forgets not *Circus Flaminii*, and *Suetonius* remembers one builded by *Caligula*, at *Septa*, whoſe Building *Claudius* at firſt interdicted. *Nero* erected a magnificent Theater in the Field of *Mars*. *Suetonius*, *lib. Ner.* 12.

Ammianus, lib. 29.

Pliny, l. 36.

Dio Caſſius, lib. 43.

Dio, lib. 51.

Suetonius, cap. 21.

Tacitus, lib. 13. Annal.

Publius Victor ſpeakes further of a *Caſtrenſe Theatrum*, a Theater belonging to the Campe in the Country of the *Æſquiles*, built by *Tiberius Cæſar*, and of *Pompies* Theatre *Pliny* witneſſeth. The great Theater of *Statilius* being in greateſt Uſe, was burnt in the Time of *Nero*, which *Xiphilinus* thus ſpeakes of, το τεκαλατιον τὸ ερ& συμπαν & το θεατρου τε ταυρε εχαυθε. This was built in the middeſt of the old Citty, and after the Combuſtion repaired by *Veſpatian*, *Conſulatu ſuo* 8. whoſe Coyne of one Side, beares the expreſſe Figure of his Theater, yet was it onely begun by him, but perfected by his Sonne *Tytus*. *Eutropius* and *Caſſiodorus*, attribute this Place ſoly to *Titus*, but *Aurelius Victor* gives him onely the Honour of the perfecting a Place ſo exquiſitely begun: this after was repaired by *Marcus Anthonius Pius*, by whoſe Coſt, ſayth *Capitolinus*, the Temple of *Hadrianus* was repaired, and the great Theater reedified, which *Heliogabalus*, by the Teſtimony of *Lampridius*, patronized, and after the Senate of *Rome*, tooke to their Protection, under the *Gordians*.

Plin. lib. 36. cap. 15.

Touching Theaters without *Rome*, *Lipſius* records *Theatra circa Romani, extructa paſſim*, even in *Jeruſalem*, *Herodes magnificus & illuſtris Rex non uno loco Judeæ Amphi-theatra ædificavit, exſtruxit in ipſa urbe ſacra*, εν το πηδιω (as *Joſephus* ſaith) Αμφιθεατρον μεγιςον. *Herod*, a magnificent and illuſtrious King, not in one Place of *Judea*, erected Amphitheatres, but even in the holy Citty hee built one of greateſt Receit. Alſo in *Greece*, *Aſia*, *Affricke*, *Spaine*, *France*: nor is there any Province in which their antient Structures do not yet remaine, or their periſhing Ruines are not ſtill remembred. In *Italy*,

Italy, ad Lyrim campaniæ Fluvium juxta Minturnas, remaines part of an ample Amphitheater.

At *Puteolis*, a City by the Sea-side in *Campania*, 8 Miles from *Naples*, one.

At *Capua*, a magnificent one of solid Marble.

At *Alba* in *Italy* one.

At *Ocriculum* in *Umbria* one.

At *Verona*, one most beautifull.

At *Florens*, one whose Compasse yet remaines.

At *Athens* in *Greece*, one of Marble.

At *Pola* in *Istria*, by the *Hadriaticke* Sea, one described by *Sebastian Serlius*.

At *Hyspalis* in *Spaine*, one built without the Walles of the Citty.

In *Turamace* at *Vesuna* one of squared Stone, the Length 30 Perches, or Poles, the Bredth 20.

At *Arelate* one.

At *Burdegall* one.

At *Nemaus* one, remembred by *Eusеb. in Ecclesiastica Historia*.

At *Lygeris* one.

Another among the *Helvetians*.

The *Veronense Theatrum Marmoreum*, erected before the Time of *Augustus* as *Torellus Serayna* in his Description of *Verona*, records: but *Cyrnicus Anconitanus* reports it built in the nine and thirtieth Yeare of *Octavian*. *Carolus Sigonius* referres it to the Reigne of *Maximinian*, who saith, *Maximinian* built Theaters in *Mediolanum*, *Aquilea*, and *Brixium*. The like *Cornelius Tacitus* 2. *Hist.* remembers in *Placentia*, but the Description of the *Verona* Theater *Levinus Kersmakerus* sets downe. This the great King *Francis Anno* 1539. gave to certaine Actors, who thirty Dayes Space together, represented in the same the Acts of the Apostles, nor was it lawfull by the Edict of the King for any Man to remove any Stone within thirty Poles of his Scituation, lest they should endanger the Foundation of the Theater. Sicon. lib. Hist. Occident.

The like have been in *Venice*, *Millan*, *Padua*. In *Paris* there are divers now in Use by the *French* Kings Comedians, as the *Burgonian*, and others. Others in *Massilia*, in *Trevers*, in *Magontia*, in *Agripina*, and infinite Cities of *Greece*, *Thebes*, *Carthage*, *Delphos*, *Creet*, *Paphos*, *Epyrus*, also in the Citie *Tydena*, so at *Civil* in *Spaine*, and at *Madrill*, with others.

At the Entertainement of the Cardinall *Alphonsus*, and the Infant of *Spaine* into the *Low-Countryes*, they were presented at *Antwerpe*, with sundry Pageants and Playes: the King of *Denmarke*, Father to him that now reigneth, entertained into his Service, a Company of *English Comedians*, commended unto him by the Honourable the Earle of *Leicester*: the Duke of *Brounswicke*, and the *Landsgrave* of *Hessen* retaine in their Courts certaine of ours, of the same Quality. But among the *Romans* they were in highest Reputation: for in Comparison of their Playes they never regarded any of their Solemnities, there *ludi funebres*, there *Floralia*, *Cerealia*, *Fugalia*, *Bachinalia*, or *Lupercalia*. *Archduke* Alphonsus.

And

Stowe. And amongſt us, one of our beſt *Engliſh* Chroniclers records, that when *Edward* the Fourth would ſhew himſelfe in publicke State to the View of the People, hee repaired to his Palace at S. *Johnes*, where he accuſtomed to ſee the Citty Actors. And ſince then, that Houſe by the Princes Free Gift, hath belonged to the Office of the Revels, where our Court Playes have beene in late Daies yearely reherſed, perfected, and corrected before they come to the publike View of the Prince and the Nobility. *Ovid* ſpeaking of the Tragicke Muſe, thus writes.

Venit & ingenti violenta tragedia paſſu,
Fronte comæ torva palla jacebat humi
Læva manus ſceptrum late regale tenebat,
Lydius apta pedum vincta cothurnus habet.

Then came the Tragicke Muſe with a proud Pace
Meaſuring her ſlow Strides with Majeſticke Grace.
Her long Traine ſweepes the Earth, and ſhe doth ſtand,
With buſkin'd Legge, rough Brow, and ſceptred Hand.

Well knew the Poet what Eſtimation ſhe was in with *Auguſtus*, when he deſcribes her holding in her left Hand a Scepter. Now to recite ſome famous *Actors* that lived in the preceding Ages: the firſt Comedians were *Cincius* and *Faliſcus*; the firſt Tragedians were *Minutius* and *Prothonius*. *Elius Donatus* in his Preface to *Terence* his *Andrea*, faith, that in that Comedy *Lucius Attilius*, *Latinus Preneſtinus*, and *Lucius Ambivius Turpio* were Actors: this Comedy was dedicated to *Cibil*, and ſuch were called *ludi Megalenſes*, acted in the Yeare that M. *Fulvius* was Edilis, and *Quintus Minutius Valerius*, and M. *Glabrio* were Curules, which were Counſellors and chiefe Officers in *Rome*, ſo called becauſe they cuſtomably ſate in Chayres of Ivory. The Songs that were ſung in this Comedy were ſet by *Flaccus*, the Sonne of *Clodius*. *Terence* his *Eunuchus*, or ſecond Comedy, was acted in the Yeare *L. Poſthumus*, and *L. Cornelius* were Edil. Curules, *Marcus Valerius*, and *Caius Fannius* Conſuls. The Yeare from the Building of *Rome* 291. in his *Adelphi* one *Protinus* acted, and was highly applauded, in his *Hecyra*, *Julius Servius*. *Cicero* commends one *Rupilius*, a rare Tragedian. I read of another called *Aroſſus*, another called *Theocrines*, who purchaſed him a great Applauſe in the Playes called *Terentini*. There were other Playes in *Rome*, called *Actia* and *Pythia*, made in the Honour of *Apollo*, for killing the Dragon *Python*. In thoſe one *Æſopus* bare the Praiſe, a Man generally eſteemed, who left behind him much Subſtance, which *Clodius* his Sonne after poſſeſt.

Cincius. Faliſcus. Minutius. Prothonius. L. Attilius. Latinus. Preneſtinus. Lucius. Ambivius Turpio. Flaccus. Protinus. J. Servius. Offic. 1. Rupilius. Aroſſus. Theocrines. Æſopus.

Quæ gravis Æſopus, quæ doctus Roſſius egit.

Labericus. *Labericus* was an excellent Poet, and a rare Actor, who writ a Booke of the Geſture and Action to be uſed by the Tragedians and

and Comedians in Performance of every Part in his native Humor. *Plautus* himſelfe was ſo inamored of the Actors in his Dayes, that hee publiſhed many excellent and exquiſite Comedies, yet extant. *Ariſtotle* commends one *Theodoretes* to be the beſt Tragedian in his Time. This in the Preſence of *Alexander* perſonated *Achilles*, which ſo delighted the Emperour, that hee beſtowed on him a Penſion of *quinque mille Drachmæ*, five thouſand Drachmaes, and every thouſand Drachmaes are twenty nine Pounds, three Shillings, four Pence Sterling. Theodoretes.

Roſſius, whom the eloquent Orator, and excellent Stateſman of *Rome*, *Marcus Cicero*, for his elegant Pronuntiation and formall Geſture called his Jewell, had from the common Treſury of the *Roman* Exchequer, a daily Pention allowed him of ſo many Seſtertii as in our Coine amount to 16 Pound and a Marke, or thereabouts, which yearely did ariſe to any noble Mans Revenues. So great was the Fame of this *Roſcius*, and ſo good his Eſtimation, that learned *Cato* made a Queſtion whether *Cicero* could write better then *Roſcius* could ſpeake and act, or *Roſcius* ſpeake and act better then *Cicero* write. Many Times when they had any important Orations, to be with an audible and loud Voyce delivered to the People, they imployed the Tongue and Memory of this excellent Actor, to whom for his Worth, the Senate granted ſuch large Exhibition.

——— *que pervincere voces,*
Evaluere ſonum referunt quem noſtra Theatra,
Gorganum mugire putes nemus aut mare Thuſcum,
Tanto cum ſtrepitu ludi ſpectantur & artes.

What Voyce can be compared with the Sound,
Our Theaters from their deepe Concaves ſend,
For their reverberate Murmures ſeeme to drownd
The Gorgan Wood when the proud Windes contend,
Or when rough Stormes the Thuſcan *Billowes raiſe,*
With ſuch loud Joy they ring our Arts and Playes.

To omit all the Doctors, Zawnyes, Pantaloones, Harlakeenes, in which the *French*, but eſpecially the *Italians*, have beene excellent; and according to the Occaſion offered to do ſome Right to our *Engliſh* Actors, as *Knell*, *Bentley*, *Mils*, *Wilſon*, *Croſſe*, *Lanam*, and others: theſe, ſince I never ſaw them, as being before my Time, I cannot (as an Eye-witneſſe of their Deſert) give them that Applauſe, which no doubt, they worthily merit, yet by the Report of many juditiall Auditors, their Performance of many Parts have been ſo abſolute, that it were a Kinde of Sinne to drowne their Worths in Lethe, and not commit their (almoſt forgotten) Names to Eternity. Heere I muſt needs remember *Tarleton*, in his Time gratious with the Queene his Soveraigne, and in the Peoples generall Applauſe, whom ſucceeded *Will. Kemp*, as wel in the Favour of her Majeſty, as in the Opinion and good Thoughts of the generall Audience. *Gabriel*, *Singer*, *Pope*, *Phillips*, *Sly*, all the Right I can do them, is but this, that though they be dead, their Deſerts yet live in the Remembrance of many. Among ſo many dead let me not forget one

yet

yet alive in his Time the moſt worthy famous, Maiſter *Edward Allen.* To omit theſe, as alſo ſuch as for divers Imperfections, may be thought inſufficient for the Quality. Actors ſhould be Men pick'd out perſonable, according to the Parts they preſent, they ſhould be rather Schollers, that though they canot ſpeake well, know how to ſpeake, or elſe to have that Volubility, that they can ſpeake well, though they underſtand not what, and ſo both Imperfections may by Inſtructions be helped and amended: but where a good Tongue and a good Conceit both faile, there can never be good Actor. I alſo could wiſh, that ſuch as are condemned for their Licentiouſneſſe, might by a generall Conſent bee quite excluded our Society: for as we are Men that ſtand in the broad Eye of the World, ſo ſhould our Manners, Geſtures, and Behaviours, ſavour of ſuch Government and Modeſty, to deſerve the good Thoughts and Reports of all Men, and to abide the ſharpeſt Cenſures even of thoſe that are the greateſt Oppoſites to the Quality. Many amongſt us, I know, to be of Subſtance, of Government, of ſober Lives, and temperate Carriages, Houſe-keepers, and contributary to all Duties enjoyned them, equally with them that are rank't with the moſt bountifull; and if amongſt ſo many of ſort, they be any few degenerate from the reſt in that good Demeanor, which is both requiſite and expected at their Hands, let me entreat you not to cenſure hardly of all for the Miſdeeds of ſome, but rather to excuſe us, as *Ovid* doth the Generality of Women.

Parcite paucarum diffundere crimen in omnes,
Spectetur meritis quæq; puella ſuis.

For ſome Offenders (that perhaps are few)
Spare in your Thoughts to cenſure all the Crew,
Since every Breaſt containes a ſundry Spirit,
Let every one be cenſur'd as they merit.

Others there are of whom ſhould you aſke my Opinion, I muſt refer you to this, *Conſule Theatrum.* Here I might take fit Opportunity to reckon up all our *Engliſh* Writers, and compare them with the *Greeke*, *French*, *Italian*, and *Latine* Poets, not onely in their *Paſtorall*, *Hiſtoricall*, *Elegeicall*, and *Heroicall* Poems, but in their *Tragicall* and *Comical* Subjects, but it was my Chance to happen on the like learnedly done by an approved good Scholler, in a Booke called *Wits Common-wealth*, to which Treatiſe I wholy referre you, returning to our preſent Subject. *Julius Cæſar* himſelfe for his Pleaſure became an Actor, being in Shape, State, Voyce, Judgement, and all other Occurrents, exterior and interior excellent. Amongſt many other Parts acted by him in Perſon, it is recorded of him, that with generall Applauſe in his owne Theater he played *Hercules Furens*, and amongſt many other Arguments of his Compleatneſſe, Excellence, and extraordinary Care in his Action, it is thus reported of him: Being in the Depth of a Paſſion, one of his Servants (as his Part then fell out) preſenting *Lychas*, who before had from *Dejaneira* brought him the poyſoned Shirt, dipt in the Bloud of the Centaure *Neſſus*: he in the middeſt of his Torture and Fury, finding this *Lychas* hid in a remote Corner (appoynted him to creep into of Purpoſe) although he was, as

our

our Tragedians uſe, but ſeemingly to kill him by ſome falſe imagined Wound, yet was *Cæſar* ſo extremely carryed away with the Violence of his practiſed Fury, and by the perfect Shape of the Madneſſe of *Hercules*, to which he had faſhioned all his active Spirits, that he ſlew him dead at his Foot, and after ſwoong him *terq; quaterq;* as the Poet ſayes, about his Head. It was the Manner of their Emperours, in thoſe Dayes, in their publicke Tragedies to chooſe out the fitteſt amongſt ſuch, as for capital Offences were condemned to dye, and imploy them in ſuch Parts as were to be kil'd in the Tragedy, who of themſelves would make Suit rather ſo to dye with Reſolution, and by the Hands of ſuch Princely *Actors*, then otherwiſe to ſuffer a ſhamefull and moſt deteſtable End. And theſe were Tragedies naturally performed. And ſuch *Caius Caligula*, *Claudius Nero*, *Vitellius*, *Domitianus*, *Commodus*, and other Emperours of *Rome*, upon their Feſtivals and Holy Daies of greateſt Conſecration, uſed to act. Therefore M. *Kid* in the *Spaniſh* Tragedy, upon Occaſion preſenting it ſelfe thus writes.

Why Nero *thought it no Diſparagement,*
And Kings and Emperours have tane Delight,
To make Experience of their Wits in Playes.

Theſe Exerciſes, as Traditions, have beene ſince (though in better Manner) continued through all Ages, amongſt all the nobleſt Nations of the Earth. But I have promiſed to be altogether Compendious, preſuming that what before is diſcourſt, may for the Practiſe of Playes, their *Antiquity*, and *Dignity* be altogether ſufficient. I omit the Shewes and Ceremonies even in theſe Times generally uſed amongſt the Catholikes, in which by the Churchmen and moſt religious, divers Pageants, as of the Nativity, Paſſion, and Aſcention, with other Hiſtoricall Places of the Bible, are at divers Times and Seaſons of the Yeare uſually celebrated; *ſed hæc preter me.* In the Yeare of the World 4207. of Chriſt 246. *Origin* writ certaine godly Epiſtles to *Philip*, then Emperour of *Rome*, who was the firſt Chriſtian Emperour, and in his Life I reade, that in the fourth Yeare of his Reigne, which was the 1000. Yeare after the Building of *Rome*, he ſolemnized that Yeare, as a Jubilee with ſumptuous Pageants and Playes. *Homer*, the moſt excellent of all Poets, compoſed his Illiads in the Shape of a Tragedy, his *Odiſſeas* like a Comedy. *Virgil* in the firſt of his *Æneiads*, in his Deſcription of *Didoes Carthage.*

——— *hic altra Theatris*
Fundamenta locant alii immaneſq; Columnas,
Rupibus excidunt ſcenis decora alta futuris.

Which proves, that in thoſe Dayes immediatly after the Ruine of *Troy*, when *Carthage* had her firſt Foundation, they built Theaters with ſtately Columnes of Stone, as in his Deſcription may appeare. I have ſufficiently diſcourſt of the firſt Theaters, and in whoſe Times they were erected, even till the Reigne of *Julius Cæſar*, the firſt Emperour, and how they continued in their Glory from him till the Reigne of *Marcus Aurelius* the 23. Emperour, and from him even to theſe Times. Now to prove they were in as high

Eſtimation at *Lacedemon*, and *Athens*, two the moſt famous Citties of *Greece* *Cicero* in his Booke *Cato major, ſeu de ſenectute. Cum Athenis ludis quidam grandis natu in Theatrum veniſſet, &c.* An ancient Citizen comming into one of the *Athenian* Theaters to ſee the Paſtimes there ſolemnized (which ſhewes that the moſt antient and grave frequented them) by Reaſon of the Throng, no Man gave him Place or Reverence: but the ſame Citizen being imploy'd in an Embaſſy to *Lacedemon*, and comming like a private Man into the Theater, the generall Multitude aroſe at once, and with great ceremonious Reverence gave his Age place. This *Cicero* alledges due to Age, and this I may fitly introduce to the Approbation of my preſent Subject. Moreover, this great Stateſman of *Rome*, at whoſe Exile twenty thouſand of the chiefeſt *Roman* Citizens wore mourning Apparrel, oftentimes commends *Plautus*, calling him *Plautus noſter*, and *Atticorum antiqua Comedia*, where he proceeds further to extoll *Æſopus*, for perſonating *Aiax*, and the famous Actor *Rupilius*, in *Epigonus*, *Medæa*, *Menalip*, *Clytemneſtra* and *Antiopa*, proceeding in the ſame Place, with this worthy and grave Sentence, *Ergo Hiſtrio hoc videbit in ſcena, quod non videbit ſapiens in vita?* Shall a Tragedian ſee that in his Scene which a wiſe Man cannot ſee in the Courſe of his Life? So in another of his Workes, amongſt many Inſtructions to his Sonne *Marcus*, he applauds *Turpio Ambinius* for his Action, *Statius*, *Nevius*, and *Plautus* for their writing. *Ovid* in *Auguſtum.*

Luminibuſq; tuis totus quibus utitur orbis,
Scenica vidiſti luſus adulteria.

Thoſe Eyes with which you all the World ſurvay,
See in your Theaters our Actors play.

Auguſtus Cæſar, becauſe he would have ſome Memory of his Love to thoſe Places of Paſtime, reared in *Rome* two ſtately Obeliſci, or Pyramides, one in *Julius Cæſars* Temple in the Field of *Mars*, another in the great Theater, called *Circus Maximus*, built by *Flaminius:* theſe were in Height an hundred Cubits a Peece, in Bredth foure Cubits, they were firſt raiſed by King *Pheron* in the Temple of the Sunne, and after removed to *Rome* by *Auguſtus:* the Occaſion of their firſt Compoſure was this: *Pheron* for ſome great Crime, committed by him in his Youth againſt the Gods, was by them ſtrooke Blinde, and ſo continued the Space of ten Yeares: but after by a Revelation in the Citty *Bucis*, it was told, that if he waſht his Eyes in the Water of a Woman that was Chaſte, and never adulterately touch't with any ſave her Huſband, he ſhould againe recover his Sight: the King firſt tride his Wife, then many other of the moſt grave and beſt reputed Matrons, but continued ſtill in Deſpaire, till at length he met with one vertuous Lady, by whoſe Chaſtity his Sight was reſtored: whom (having firſt commanded his *Queene* and the reſt to be conſumed with Fire) he after married. *Pheron* in Memory of this, buildeth his two Pyramides, after removed to *Rome* by AUGUSTUS.

Sanctaq; majeſtas & erat venerabile nomen,

Of

Of Actors, and the true Use of their Quality.

The THIRD BOOKE.

TRagedies and Comedies, saith *Donatus*, had their Beginning *à rebus divinis*, from divine Sacrifices, they differ thus: In Comedies, *turbulenta prima, tranquilla ultima*, In Tragedyes, *tranquilla prima, turbulenta ultima*, Comedies begin in Trouble, and end in Peace; Tragedies begin in Calmes, and end in Tempest. Of Comedies there be three Kindes, moving Comedies, called *Motoriæ*, standing Comedies, call'd *Stataríæ*, or mixt betwixt both, called *Mistæ:* they are distributed into foure Parts, the *Prologue*, that is, the Preface; the *Protasis*, that is, the Proposition, which includes the first Act, and presents the Actors; the *Epitasis*, which is the Businesse and Body of the Comedy; the last the *Catastrophe*, and Conclusion: the Deffinition of the Comedy, according to the *Latins:* a Discourse consisting of divers Institutions, comprehending civill and domesticke Things, in which is taught, what in our Lives and Manners is to be followed, what to bee avoyded, the *Greekes* define it thus: Κομεδια ἐστὶν ἰδωτικῶν καὶ πολίτικῶν πραγματων αχιν δονος ποροιχην. *Cicero* saith, a Comedy is the Imitation of Life, the Glasse of Custome, and the Image of Truth, in *Athens* they had their first Originall. The ancient Comedians used to attire their Actors thus: the old Men in White, as the most ancient of all, the yong Men in Party-coloured Garments, to note their Diversity of Thoughts, their Slaves and Servants in thin and bare Vesture, either to note their Poverty, or that they might run the more lighter about their Affaires: their Parasites wore Robes that were turned in, and intricately wrapped about them: the fortunate in White, the discontented in decayed Vesture, or Garments, growne out of Fashion; the Rich in Purple, the Poore in Crimson, Souldiers wore Purple-jackets, Handmaids the Habits of strange Virgins, Bawds, Pide Coates, and Curtezans, Garments of the Colour of Mud, to denote their Covetousnesse: the Stages were hung with rich Arras, which was first brought from King *Attalus* into *Rome:* his State-hangings were so costly, that from him all Tapestries, and rich Arras were called *Attalia.* This being a Thing ancient as I have proved it, next of Dignity, as many Arguments have confirmed it, and now even in these Dayes by the best, without Exception, favourably tollerated, why should I yeeld my Censure, grounded on such firme and establisht Sufficiency, to any Tower, founded on Sand, any Castle built in the Aire, or any triviall Upstart, and meere imaginary Opinion.

Oderunt Hilarem tristes tristemq; jocosi.

I hope there is no Man of so unsensible a Spirit, that can inveigh against the true and direct Use of this Quality: Oh but say they, the *Romanes* in their Time, and some in these Dayes have abused it, and therefore we volly out our Exclamations against the Use. Oh shallow? Becaus such a Man had his House burnt, we shall quite condemne the Use of Fire, becaus one Man

quaſt Poyſon, we muſt forbeare to drinke, becauſe ſome have beene Sihp-wrak't, no Man ſhall hereafter trafficke by Sea. Then I may as well argue thus: he cut his Finger, therefore muſt I weare no Knife, this Man fell from his Horſe, therefore muſt I travell a Foot: that Man ſurfeited, therefore dare not I eate. What can appeare more abſurd then ſuch a groſſe and ſenceleſſe Aſſertion? I could turne this unpoynted Weapon againſt his Breaſt that aimes it at mine, and reaſon thus: *Roſcius* had a large Penſion allowed him by the Senate of *Rome*, why ſhould not an Actor of the like Deſert, have the like Allowance now? or this, the moſt famous City and Nation in the World held Playes in great Admiration: *Ergo*, but it is a Rule in *Logicke*, *Ex particularibus nihil fit.* Theſe are not the Baſſes we muſt build upon, nor the Columnes that muſt ſupport our Architecture.

Et latro, & cautus, precingitur enſe viator.
Ille ſed inſidias, hic ſibi portat opem.

Both Thieves and true Men, Weapons weare alike:
Th'one to defend, the other comes to ſtrike.

Let us uſe Fire to warme us, not to ſcortch us, to make ready our Neceſſaries, not to burne our Houſes. let us drinke to quench our Thirſt, not to ſurfet; and eate to ſatisfie Nature, not to gormondize.

——*Comedia recta ſi mente legatur,*
Conſtabit nulli poſſe nocere——

Playes are in Uſe as they are underſtood,
Spectators Eyes may make them bad or good.

Shall we condemne a Generallity for any one particular Miſconſtruction? give me then Leave to argue thus: Amongſt Kings have there not beene ſome Tyrants? yet the Office of a King is the Image of the Majeſty of God. Amongſt true Subjects have there not crept in ſome falſe Traitors? even amongſt the twelve there was one *Judas*, but ſhall we for his Fault, cenſure worſe of the eleven? God forbid: Art thou Prince or Peaſant? Art thou of the Nobility, or Commonalty? Art thou Merchant or Souldier? Of the Citty or Countrey? Art thou Preacher or Auditor? Art thou Tutor or Pupill? There have beene of thy Function bad and good, prophane and holy. I induce theſe Inſtances to confirme this common Argument, that the Uſe of any generall Thing is not for any one particular Abuſe to be condemned: for if that Aſſertion ſtood firme, wee ſhould run into many notable Inconveniences.

Qui locus eſt templis anguſtior hanc quoq; vitet,
In culpam ſi qua eſt ingenioſa ſuam.

To proceed to the Matter: Firſt, playing is an Ornament to the Citty, which Strangers of all Nations, repairing hither, report of in their Countries, beholding them here with ſome Admiration: for what Variety of Entertainment can there be in any Citty of Chriſtendome, more then in *London?* But

ſome

ſome will ſay, this Diſh might be very well ſpared out of the Banquet: to him I anſwere, *Diogenes*, that uſed to feede on Rootes, cannot reliſh a Marchpane. Secondly, our *Engliſh* Tongue, which hath ben the moſt harſh, uneven, and broken Language of the World, part *Dutch*, part *Iriſh*, *Saxon*, *Scotch*, *Welſh*, and indeed a Gallimaffry of many, but perfect in none, is now by this ſecondary Meanes of playing, continually refined, every Writer ſtriving in himſelfe to adde a new floriſh unto it; ſo that in Proceſſe, from the moſt rude and unpoliſht Tongue, it is growne to a moſt perfect and compoſed Language, and many excellent Workes, and elaborate Poems writ in the ſame, that many Nations grow inamored of our Tongue (before deſpiſed.) Neither Saphicke, Ionicke, Iambicke, Phaleuticke, Adonicke, Gliconicke, Hexamiter, Tetramiter, Pentamiter, Aſclepediacke, Choriambicke, nor any other meaſured Verſe uſed amongſt the *Greekes*, *Latins*, *Italians*, *French*, *Dutch*, or *Spaniſh* Writers, but may be expreſt in *Engliſh*, be it in Blanke Verſe, or Meeter, in Diſtichon, or Hexaſtichon, or in what Forme or Feet, or what Number you can deſire. Thus you ſee to what Excellency our refined *Engliſh* is brought, that in theſe Daies we are aſhamed of that *Euphony* and Eloquence which within theſe 60 Yeares, the beſt Tongues in the Land were proud to pronounce. Thirdly, Playes have made the Ignorant more apprehenſive, taught the unlearned the Knowledge of many famous Hiſtories, inſtructed ſuch as cannot reade in the Diſcovery of all our *Engliſh* Chronicles: and what Man have you now of that weake Capacity, that cannot diſcourſe of any notable Thing recorded even from *William* the *Conquerour*, nay from the Landing of *Brute*, untill this Day, beeing poſſeſt of their true Uſe, for, or becauſe Playes are writ with this Ayme, and carryed with this Methode, to teach the Subjects Obedience to their King, to ſhew the People the untimely Ends of ſuch as have moved Tumults, Commotions, and Inſurrections, to preſent them with the flouriſhing Eſtate of ſuch as live in Obedience, exhorting them to Allegeance, dehorting them from all trayterous and fellonious Stratagems.

Uſe of Tragedies.

Omne genus ſcripti gravitate Tragedia vincit.

If we preſent a Tragedy, we include the fatall and abortive Ends of ſuch as commit notorious Murders, which is aggravated and acted with all the Art that may be, to terrifie Men from the like abhorred Practices. If wee preſent a forreigne Hiſtory, the Subject is ſo intended, that in the Lives of *Romans*, *Grecians*, and others, either the Vertues of our Country-men are extolled, or their Vices reproved, as thus, by the Example of *Cæſar* to ſtir Souldiers to Valour, and Magnanimity: by the Fall of *Pompey*, that no Man truſt in his owne Strength: we preſent *Alexander*, killing his Friend in his Rage, to reprove Raſhneſſe: *Mydas*, choked with his Gold, to taxe Covetouſneſſe: *Nero* againſt Tyranny? *Sardanapalus*, againſt Luxury: *Nynus*, againſt Ambition, with infinite others by ſundry Inſtances, either animating Men to noble Attempts, or attaching the Conſciences of the Spectators, finding themſelves toucht in preſenting the Vices of others. If a Morall, it is to perſwade

Uſe of Hiſtoricall Playes

Uſe of Morals.

Uſe of Comedyes.

perſwade Men to humanity and good Life, to inſtruct them in Civility and good Manners, ſhewing them the Fruits of Honeſty, and the End of Villany.

Verſibus exponi Tragicis res Comica non vult.

Againe, *Horace*, *Arte Poetica.*

Et noſtri proavi Plautinos & numeros et
Laudavere ſales ———

If a Comedy, it is pleaſantly contrived with merry Accidents, and intermixt with apt and witty Jeſts, to preſent before the Prince at certain Times of Solemnity, or elſe merily fitted to the Stage. And what is then the Subject of this harmeleſſe Mirth? Either in the Shape of a Clowne, to ſhew others their ſlovenly and unhanſome Behaviour, that they may reforme that Simplicity in themſelves, which others make their Sport, leſt they happen to become the like Subject of generall Scorne to an Auditory, elſe it entreates of Love, deriding fooliſh Inamorates, who ſpend their Ages, their Spirits, nay themſelves, in the ſervile and ridiculous Imployments of their Miſtreſſes: and theſe are mingled with ſportfull Accidents, to recreate ſuch as of themſelves are wholly devoted to melancholly, which corrupts the Bloud: or to refreſh ſuch weary Spirits as are tired with Labour or Study, to moderate the Eares and Heavineſſe of the Minde, that they may returne to their Trades and Faculties with more Zeale and Earneſtneſſe, after ſome ſmall and pleaſant Retirement. Sometimes they diſcourſe of Pantaloones, Uſurers that have unthrifty Sonnes, which both the Fathers and the Sonnes may behold to their Inſtructions; ſometimes of Curteſans, to divulge their Subtelties and Snares, in which yong Men may be intangled, ſhewing them the Meanes to avoyd them. If we preſent a Paſtorall, we ſhew the harmleſſe Love of Sheepheards diverſly moralized, diſtinguiſhing betwixt the Craft of the Citty, and the Innocency of the Sheep-coat. Briefly, there is neither Tragedy, Hiſtory, Comedy, Morrall or Paſtorall, from which an infinite Uſe cannot be gathered. I ſpeake not in the Defence of any laſcivious Shewes, ſcurrelous Jeaſts, or ſcandalous Invectives: If there be any ſuch, I baniſh them quite from my Patronage; yet *Horace*, *Sermon* 1. *Satyr* 4. thus writes.

Uſe of Paſtorals.

Eupolis atque Cratinus Ariſtophaneſq; Poetæ,
Atque alii quorum Comœdia priſca virorum eſt:
Si quis erat dignus deſcribi, quod malus, aut fur,
Quod Mœchus foret, aut ſicarius, aut alioqui,
Famoſus, multa cum libertate notabunt.

Eupolis, *Cratinus*, *Ariſtophanes*, and other Comike Poets in the Time of *Horace*, with large Scope, and unbridled Liberty boldly and plainly ſcourged all ſuch Abuſes as in their Ages were generally practiſed, to the ſtaining and blemiſhing of a faire and beautifull Common-weale. Likewiſe, a learned Gentleman in his Apology for Poetry, ſpeakes thus: Tragedies well handled be a moſt worthy Kinde of Poeſie. Comedies make Men ſee and ſhame at their

their Faults, and proceeding further amongſt other Univerſity-Playes, he remembers the Tragedy of *Richard* the Third, acted in Saint *Johns* in *Cambridge*, ſo eſſentially, that had the Tyrant *Phaleris* beheld his bloudy Proceedings, it had mollified his Heart, and made him relent at Sight of his inhumane Maſſacres. Further, he commends of Comedies, the *Cambridge Pedantius*, and the *Oxford Bellum Grammaticale*; and leaving them paſſes on to our publicke Playes, ſpeaking liberally in their Praiſe, and what commendable Uſe may bee gathered of them. If you peruſe *Margarita Poetica*, you may ſee what excellent Uſes and Sentences he hath gathered out of *Terence* his *Andrea*, *Eunuchus*, and the reſt. Likewiſe out of *Plautus* his *Amphitrio*, *Aſinaria*, and moreover, *Ex Comœdiis Philodoxis*, *Caroli Acretini: De falſa Hipocrita*, *& triſti Mercurii*, *Ronſii verſellenſis: Ex Comœdia Philanira Ugolini parmenſis*, all reverend Schollers, and Comicke Poets, read elce the 4 Tragedies, *Philunica*, *Petrus*, *Aman*, *Katherina*, *Claudii*, *Roiletti Beluenſis:* But I ſhould tire my ſelfe to reckon the Names of all *French*, *Roman*, *German*, *Spaniſh*, *Italian*, and *Engliſh* Poets, being in Number infinite, and their Labours extant to prove their Worthineſſe.

Is thy Minde noble? And wouldſt thou be further ſtir'd up to Magnanimity? Behold, upon the Stage thou maiſt ſee *Hercules*, *Achilles*, *Alexander*, *Cæſar*, *Alcibiades*, *Lyſander*, *Sertorius*, *Haniball*, *Antigonus*, *Phillip* of *Macedon*, *Methridates* of *Pontus*, *Pyrrhus* of *Epire*, *Ageſilaus*, among the *Lacedemonians*, *Epaminondas*, amongſt the *Thebans: Scevola* alone entring the armed Tents of *Porſenna: Horatius Chocles* alone withſtanding the whole Army of the *Hetrurians: Leonides* of *Sparta*, chooſing a Lyon to leade a Band of Deere, rather then one Deere to conduct an Army of Lyons, with infinite others in their owne Perſons, Qualities, and Shapes, animating thee with Courage, deterring thee from Cowardiſe. Haſt thou of thy Country well deſerved? And art thou of thy Labour evill requited? To aſſociate thee thou mayeſt ſee the valiant *Roman Marcellus* purſue *Hannibal* at *Nola*, conquering *Syracuſa*, vanquiſhing the *Gauls*, all *Padua*, and preſently (for his Reward) baniſht his Country into *Greece*. There thou mayeſt ſee *Scipio Affricanus*, now triumphing for the Conqueſt of all *Affrica*, and immediatly exil'd the Confines of *Romania*. Art thou inclined to luſt? Behold the Falles of the *Tarquins*, in the Rape of *Lucrece:* the Guerdon of Luxury in the Death of *Sardanapalus*: *Appius* deſtroyed in the raviſhing of *Virginia*, and the Deſtruction of *Troy* in the Luſt of *Helena*. Art thou proud? Our Scene preſents thee with the Fall of *Phaeton*, *Narciſſus* pining in the Love of his Shadow, ambitious *Hamon*, now calling himſelfe a God, and by and by thruſt headlong among the Divels. We preſent Men with the Uglineſſe of their Vices, to make them the more to abhorre them, as the *Perſians* uſe, who above all Sinnes, loathing Drunkenneſſe, accuſtomed in their ſolemne Feaſts, to make their Servants and Captives extremely overcome with Wine, and then call their Children to view their naſty and lothſome Behaviour, making them hate that Sin in themſelves, which ſhewed ſo groſſe and abominable in others. The like Uſe may be gathered of the Drunkards ſo naturally imitated in our Playes, to the Applauſe of the Actor, Content of the Auditory, and reproving of the Vice. Art

thou

thou Covetous? Go no further then *Plautus* his Comedy called *Euclio.*

Dum fallax ſervus, durus pater, improba lena
Vixerit, & meretrix blanda, Menandros erit.

Whilſt ther's falſe Servant, or obdurate Sire,
Sly Baud, ſmooth Whore, Menandros wee'l admire.

To end in a Word. Art thou addicted to Prodigallity? Envy, Cruelty? Perjury? Flattery? or Rage? Our Scenes affoord thee Store of Men to ſhape your Lives by, who be frugall, loving, gentle, truſty, without ſoothing, and in all Things temperate. Wouldſt thou be honourable? juſt, friendly, moderate, devout, mercifull, and loving Concord? thou mayeſt ſee many of their Fates and Ruines, who have beene diſhonourable, injuſt, falſe, gluttenous, ſacrilegious, bloody-minded, and Brochers of Diſſention. Women likewiſe that are Chaſte, are by us extolled, and encouraged in their Vertues, being inſtanced by *Diana*, *Belphebe*, *Matilda*, *Lucrece*, and the Counteſſe of *Saliſbury.* The Unchaſte are by us ſhewed their Errors, in the Perſons of *Phrine*, *Lais*, *Thais*, *Flora:* and amongſt us, *Roſamond*, and Miſtreſſe *Shore.* What can ſooner print Modeſty in the Soules of the Wanton, then by diſcovering unto them the Monſtrouſneſſe of their Sinne? It followes that we prove theſe Exerciſes to have beene the Diſcoverers of many notorious Murders, long concealed from the Eyes of the World. To omit all farre fetcht Inſtances, we wil prove it by a Domeſtike, and home-borne Truth, which within theſe few Yeares happened. At *Lin* in *Norfolke*, the then Earle of *Suſſex* Players acting the old Hiſtory of Fryer *Francis*, and preſenting a Woman, who inſatiately doting on a yong Gentleman, had (the more ſecurely to enjoy his Affection) miſchievouſly and ſecretly murdered her Huſband, whoſe Ghoſt haunted her, and at divers Times in her moſt ſolitary and private Contemplations, in moſt horrid and fearefull Shapes, appeared, and ſtood before her. As this was acted, a Townes-Woman (till then of good Eſtimation and Report) finding her Conſcience (at this preſentment) extremely troubled, ſuddenly ſkritched and cryed out, Oh my Huſband, my Huſband! I ſee the Ghoſt of my Huſband fiercely threatning and menacing me. At which ſhrill and unexpected Outcry, the People about her, moov'd to a ſtrange Amazement, inquired the Reaſon of her Clamour, when preſently un-urged, ſhe told them, that ſeven Yeares ago, ſhe, to be poſſeſt of ſuch a Gentleman (meaning him) had poyſoned her Huſband, whoſe fearefull Image perſonated it ſelfe in the Shape of that Ghoſt: whereupon the Murdreſſe was apprehended, before the Juſtices further examined, and by her voluntary Confeſſion after condemned. That this is true, as well by the Report of the Actors as the Records of the Towne, there are many Eye-witneſſes of this Accident yet living, vocally to confirme it.

A ſtrange Accident happening at a Play.

A ſtrange Accident happening at a Play.

As ſtrange an Accident happened to a Company of the ſame Quality ſome 12 Yeares ago, or not ſo much, who playing late in the Night at a Place called *Perin* in *Cornwall*, certaine *Spaniards* were landed the ſame Night unſuſpected, and undiſcovered, with

with Intent to take in the Towne, ſpoyle and burne it, when ſuddenly, even upon their Entrance, the Players (Ignorant as the Townes-Men of any ſuch Attempt) preſenting a Battle on the Stage with their Drum and Trumpets ſtrooke up a lowd Alarme: which the Enemy hearing, and fearing they were diſcovered, amazedly retired, made ſome few idle Shot in a Bravado, and ſo in a hurly-burly fled diſorderly to their Boats. At the Report of this Tumult, the Townes-Men were immediatly armed, and purſued them to the Sea, prayſing God for their happy Deliverance from ſo great a Danger, who by his Providence, made theſe Strangers the Inſtrument and ſecondary Meanes of their Eſcape from ſuch imminent Miſchife, and the Tyranny of ſo remorceleſſe an Enemy.

A ſtrange Accident happening at a Play.

Another of the like Wonder happened at *Amſterdam* in *Holland*, a Company of our *Engliſh* Comedians (well knowne) travelling thoſe Countreyes, as they were before the Burghers and other the chiefe Inhabitants, acting the laſt Part of the 4 Sons of *Aymon*, towards the laſt Act of the Hiſtory, where penitent *Renaldo*, like a common Labourer, lived in Diſguiſe, vowing as his laſt Pennance, to labour and carry Burdens to the Structure of a goodly Church there to be erected: whoſe Diligence the Labourers envying, ſince by reaſon of his Stature and Strength, hee did uſually perfect more worke in a Day, then a Dozen of the beſt, (hee working for his Conſcience, they for their Lucres.) Whereupon by reaſon his Induſtry had ſo much diſparaged their living, conſpired amongſt themſelves to kill him, waiting ſome Opportunity to finde him aſleepe, which they might eaſily doe, ſince the ſoreſt Labourers are the ſoundeſt Sleepers, and Induſtry is the beſt Preparative to Reſt. Having ſpy'd their Opportunity, they drave a Naile into his Temples, of which Wound immediatly he dyed. As the Actors handled this, the Audience might on a ſodaine underſtand an Out-cry, and loud ſhrike in a remote Gallery, and preſſing about the Place, they might perceive a Woman of great Gravity, ſtrangely amazed, who with a diſtracted and troubled Braine oft ſighed out theſe Words: Oh my Huſband, my Huſband! The Play without further Interruption proceeded; the Woman was to her owne Houſe conducted, without any apparant Suſpition, every one conjecturing as their Fancies led them. In this Agony ſhe ſome few Daies languiſhed, and on a Time, as certaine of her well diſpoſed Neighbours came to comfort her, one amongſt the reſt being Church-Warden, to him the Sexton poſts, to tell him of a ſtrange Thing happening him in the ripping up of a Grave: ſee here (quoth he) what I have found, and ſhewes them a faire Skull, with a great Nayle pierſt quite through the Braine-Pan, but we cannot conjecture to whom it ſhould belong, nor how long it hath laine in the Earth, the Grave being confuſed, and the Fleſh conſumed. At the Report of this Accident, the Woman, out of the Trouble of her afflicted Conſcience, diſcovered a former Murder. For 12 Yeares ago, by driving that Nayle into that Skull, being the Head of her Huſband, ſhe had trecherouſly ſlaine him. This being publickly confeſt, ſhe was arraigned, condemned, adjudged, and burned. But I draw my Subject to greater Length

then I purpoſed; theſe therfore out of other Infinites, I have collected, both for their Familiarneſſe and Lateneſſe of Memory.

Thus our Antiquity we have brought from the *Grecians* in the Time of *Hercules:* from the *Macedonians* in the Age of *Alexander:* from the *Romans* long before *Julius Cæſar*, and ſince him, through the Reigns of 23 Emperours ſucceeding, even to *Marcus Aurelius:* after him they were ſupported by the *Mantuans*, *Venetians*, *Velencians*, *Neapolitans*, the *Florentines* and others, ſince, by the *German* Princes, the *Palſgrave*, the *Landſgrave*, the Dukes of *Saxony*, of *Brounſwicke*, &c. The Cardinall at *Bruxels*, hath at this Time in Pay, a Company of our *Engliſh* Comedians. The *French* King allowes certaine Companies in *Paris*, *Orleans*, beſides other Cities: ſo doth the King of *Spaine*, in *Civill*, *Madrill*, and other Provinces. But in no Country they are of that Eminence that ours are: ſo our moſt royall, and ever renouned Soveraigne, hath licenced us in *London:* ſo did his Predeceſſor, the thrice vertuous Virgin, Queene *Elizabeth*, and before her, her Siſter, Queene *Mary*, *Edward* the Sixth, and their Father, *Henry* the Eighth: and before theſe in the tenth Yeare of the Reigne of *Edward* the Fourth, *Anno*, 1490. *John Stowe*, an ancient and grave Chronicler, records (amongſt other Varieties tending to the like Effect) that a Play was acted at a Place called *Skinners*-well, faſt by *Clerken*-well, which continued eight Dayes, and was of Matter from *Adam* and *Eve*, (the firſt Creation of the World.) The Spectators were no worſe then the Royalty of *England*. And amongſt other commendable Exerciſes in this Place, the Company of the Skinners of *London* held certaine yearely ſolemne Playes. In Place wherof, now in theſe latter Daies, the Wraſtling, and ſuch other Paſtimes have been kept, and is ſtill held about *Bartholmew-tide*. Alſo in the Yeare 1390. the 14. Yeare of the Reigne of *Richard* the Second, the 18. of *July*, were the like *Interludes* recorded at the ſame Place, which continued 3 Dayes together, the King and Queene, and Nobility being there preſent. Moreover, to this Day, in divers Places of *England*, there be Townes that hold the Priviledge of their Faires, and other Charters by yearely Stage-Playes, as at *Manningtree* in *Suffolke*, *Kendall* in the *North*, and others. To let theſe paſſe, as Things familiarly knowne to all Men. Now to ſpeake of ſome Abuſe lately crept into the Quality, as an inveighing againſt the State, the Court, the Law, the Citty, and their Governements, with the particularizing of private Mens Humors (yet alive) Noble-men, and others. I know it diſtaſtes many; neither do I any Way approve it, nor dare I by any Meanes excuſe it. The Liberty which ſome arrogate to themſelves, committing their Bitterneſſe, and liberall Invectives againſt all Eſtates, to the Mouthes of Children, ſuppoſing their Juniority to be a Priviledge for any rayling, be it never ſo violent, I could adviſe all ſuch, to curbe and limit this preſumed Liberty within the Bounds of Diſcretion and Government. But wiſe and juditiall Cenſurers, before whom ſuch Complaints ſhall at any Time hereafter come, wil not (I hope) impute theſe Abuſes to any Tranſgreſſion in us, who have ever been carefull and provident to ſhun the like. I ſurceaſe to proſecute this any further, leſt my good Meaning be (by ſome) miſconſtrued;

Cardinall *Alfonſus.*

Times kept Tide.

ſtrued: and fearing likewiſe, leſt with Tediouſneſſe I tire the Patience of the favourable Reader, heere (though abruptly) I conclude my third and laſt TREATISE.

Sultitiam patiuntur opes, mihi parvula res eſt.

The Order and Solemnitie of the Creation of the high and mightie Prince HENRIE, eldeſt Sonne to our ſacred Soveraigne, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornewall*, Earle of *Cheſter*, &c. As it was celebrated in the Parliament Houſe, on *Munday* the fourth of *Junne* laſt paſt.

Together with the Ceremonies of the Knights of the Bath, and other Matters of ſpeciall Regard, incident to the ſame.

Whereunto is annexed the Royall Maſke, preſented by the Queene and her Ladies, on *Wedneſday* at Night following.

Printed at *Britains Burſſe* for *John Budge*. 1610.

HIS Majeſtie aſwell to ſhew the Bounty of his Affection towards his deereſt Sonne the Prince, as to ſettle in the Hearts of his loving Subjects a lively Impreſſion of his royall Care for Continuance of the happy, and peacefull Governement of this Land, in his Iſſue and Poſterity; having determined to inveſt his Princely Highneſſe, with thoſe Titles and Dignities which the former Princes of this Realme have uſually beene adorned: It ſeemed fitteſt, both in Regard of his Highneſſe Yeeres, now arriving at Mans Eſtate, and ſhewing rare Proofes of heroicall Vertue, and alſo for that it would be a Matter moſt gratefull and acceptable to that honourable Aſſembly, to have the Solemnities thereof performed in this preſent Parliament.

Wherefore the Time approaching, his Majeſties Pleaſure ſignified, and Preparation made accordingly, on *Wedneſday*, the thirtieth of *May* laſt, his Highneſſe accompanied (beſides the ordinary Traine of his Houſehold) with divers young Lords and Gentlemen of ſpeciall Marke, departed from his Houſe of St. *James*, towards *Richmond*, where being come towards Evening, he ſupped and repoſed himſelfe for that Night.

Next Morning, being *Thurſday* about nine of the Clocke, he tooke Water to returne againe to *London*, attended only with ſome few Barges of his owne Followers, and ſuch Noblemen and others, as accompanied him thither the Day before.

Paſſing ſoftly downe the Streame, he was ſeverally encountered by divers Lords, which came to meete him on the Way: the Thames began ſoone to flote with Botes and Barges, haſting from all Parts to meete him, and the Shores on eyther Side, where Conveniency of Place would give Way to their Deſires, ſwarmed with Multitudes of People, which ſtood wayting with greedy Eyes to beholde his triumphant Paſſage.

About Eleven of the Clocke, underſtanding that the Tide was falne ſo low, as there would not be convenient Roome for all the Barges in his Traine to go orderly downe, notwithſtanding his firſt Appointment was to have come to *London* about Noone, and Dinner prepared for him accordingly at *Whiteball*, hee made ſtay at *Barne Elmes*, and there Landing, refreſhed himſelfe in an Arbour by the Water Side, and tooke a ſhort Repaſt of ſuch Sweet-Meats and other Things, as could there be provided on the ſudden.

By this Time the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, with the ſeverall Companies of the Citie, honorably furniſh't and appointed, and diſpoſed in faire Order, were ready attending with a great Traine and ſumptuous Showe, to receive his Highneſſe at *Chelſey:* their Barges deck't with Banners, Streamers and Enſignes, and ſundry Sortes of loud-ſounding Inſtruments, aptly placed amongſt them.

There were alſo two artificiall Sea-Monſters, one in Faſhion of a Whale, the other like a Dolphin, with Perſons richly apparrelled, ſitting upon them, who at the meeting and parting of the Lord Mayor and his Company, with the Prince, were to deliver certaine Speeches unto him.

In this goodly Manner this well furniſh't Fleet of the City received his Highnes ſomewhat beyond *Chelſey* about two of the Clock in the Afternoone: and after the Lord Mayor and Aldermens Salutation, humbly preſented and gratiouſly accepted by his Highneſſe, they turned their Stemmes, and ſo proceeded towards *London:* obſerving this Courſe, that whereas at their Approach the Lord Mayors Barge, came foremoſt, and the Companies every one in their Degrees followed after; now that Order being chaunged, the Companies went before, the meaneſt in Place firſt, the reſt according to their ſeverall Rankes ſucceſſively enſuing, and laſtly the Lord Mayor attended with his two Sea-monſters on eyther Side, going immediately before the Prince and conducting his joyfull Paſſage to the Citie.

Next after the Princes Barge followed his Servants, and the Barges of ſundry Noble-men, and others which had met him on the Way; and on every Side, ſuch a confuſed Company of Botes of all Sortes fraught with Beholders, as it ſeemed the River (though then enlarged to her utmoſt Limits by the Tides friendly Advantage) was too little to containe them: as likewiſe the Land on eyther Shore, which never felt the Weight of ſuch an Infinity of People upon any former Occaſion.

Approaching neere to *White-hall*, the King and Queene with the young Duke of *Yorke* and Lady *Elizabeth* ſtood in the privie Gallerie Window, to ſee the Order of their Comming, and that his Majeſtie might take the better Viewe of the Lord Mayor and Citizens Show, they were appointed to paſſe along on *London* Side, whilſt the Prince in the meane while fetched a Com-

paſſe

paſſe about by *Lambeth*; and ſo comming to *White-hal* Bridge (where the Lord Maior and Aldermen tooke Leave of his Highneſſe) there landed, his Landing being congratulated with a loude peale of Chambers from the other Side of the Water: which in their thundring Voyces carried up to the Skie, the Joy of the Peoples Hearts conveyed in the Iſſue of theſe happy Triumphs.

At his Highneſſe comming on Shore his Servants attended upon the Bridge to receive him, making a Guard for him to paſſe thorow to the Hall, where he was entertained by the Lord *Knols*, and the Lord *Wotton* Treaſurer and Controller of the Houſhold: likewiſe in the great Chamber by Vicount *Fenton* Captaine of the Guard, in the Preſence by the Earle of *Suffolke*, Lord Chamberlaine, and laſtly by the King and Queene in the Privy Chamber. After which his Highneſſe repoſed himſelfe, and ſo ended that Dayes Solemnity.

On *Munday* following the Lords and Peeres of the Realme being all aſſembled in Parliament, his Majeſty accompanied with the Prince, who was that Morning to be inveſted in his Principalitie, tooke Water at the Privy Staires at *White-hal*, and landing together at *Weſtminſter* Bridge, his Majeſty paſſed directly to the Parliament houſe, and the Prince to the Court of Wardes, from whence, after a whiles tarryance for the diſpoſing of Things in due Order, his Highneſſe proceeded in this Manner to his Creation.

Firſt went the Heralds and Officers of Armes in their rich Coates, next followed the Knights of the Bath, being five and twentie in Number, apparrelled in long Roabes of purple Satin, lyned with white Taffata; then *Garter* principall King of Armes, bearing the Letters Patents, the Earle of *Suſſex* the purple Robes, the Train borne by the Earle of *Huntingdon*, the Earle of *Cumberland* the Sword, the Earle of *Rutland* the Ring, the Earle of *Derby* the Rod, and the Earle of *Shrewſbury* the Cap and Coronet. His princely Highneſſe ſupported by the Earles of *Nottingham* and *Northampton* came bare headed, and ſo entring the Parliament Chamber, where the King was ſet in his Throne, and the whole State of the Realme in Order (divers Strangers and forraigne Ambaſſadours being preſent) he made low Obeyſance to his Majeſtie three Times, and after the third Time, when he was come neere to the King, kneeled downe on a rich Pillow or Cuſhion, whilſt the Earle of *Saliſbury* read his Letters Patents. Then his Majeſtie at the reading of the Wordes of Inveſtiture put the Robes upon him, and girded on the Sword, inveſted him with the Rod and Ring, and ſet the Cap and Coronet on his Head; with which Ceremony the Creation being accompliſhed, he aroſe, and was by the Earles of *Worceſter* and *Suffolke* brought and ſeated in his Place of Parliament on the left Hand of his Majeſtie.

Having ſo remained a while, all Ceremonies finiſhed, his Majeſtie with the whole Court of Parliament, roſe up and deſcended into the Hal, paſſing forth towards the Bridge in ſolemne and ſtately Manner: the foremoſt as they proceeded in Order, were the Clerkes and Maſters of the Chancerie, with the Kings Councell and other Miniſters of the Law: next came the Officers of Armes, and then the Knights of the Bath as before: after them the

Judges,

Judges, and ſo ſucceſſively the Barons, Vicounts, Earles, Marqueſſes and Dukes, according to their Degrees in the Parliament Houſe and Offices of State, all in their Parliament Roabes; and laſtly, the King himſelfe, with the Prince, who tooke Water together, the Trumpets ſounding in the Row-barge all the Way as they went, and the Heralds going before them in the ſame. At *White-hal* Staires they landed, where the Knights of the Bath and Noble-men being landed before, ſtood ready on the Bridge in goodly and gallant Order to receive them, and going all before them, conducted them in this Manner up to the great Chamber.

The King that Day dined above, but the Prince dined in the Hall and was ſerved with great State and Magnificence. He was accompanyed at his Table with divers great Lords, as the Earles of *Nottingham*, *Saliſbury*, *Worceſter* and *Derby*, and namely all thoſe that exerciſed any Place or Office about his Creation.

At another Table in the ſame Roome on the left Hand of the Prince ſat the Knights of the Bath, all upon one Side, and had likewiſe great Service and Attendance.

About the midſt of Dinner Garter principall King of Armes, with the reſt of the Heralds, approached the Princes Table, and with a loud and audible Voyce, proclaimed the Kings Stile, in *Latine*, *French*, and *Engliſh*, thriſe, and the Princes in like Manner twiſe, then the Trumpets ſounding, the ſecond Courſe came in, and Dinner done, that Daies Solemnitie ceaſed.

At Night, a ſtately Maſke was preſented before his Majeſtie, the Invention and Manner whereof I leave to the Author when he ſhall thinke good to publiſh.

The ſame Day the Deviſe of the Fireworks and Sea-fight upon the Thames ſhould likewiſe have beene ſhewed, but for ſome Reſpects were put off till the *Wedneſday* following, and then performed to the much Content and Admiration of the Beholders.

The Names of ſuch Noblemen as were imployed in ſeverall Places of Office or Attendance at the Creation of the PRINCE.

The Earle of Saliſbury.
The Earle of Suffolke.
The Earle of Notingham.
The Earle of Northampton.
The Earle of Worceſter.
The Earle of Derby.
The Earle of Shrewſbury.
The Earle of Cumberland.
The Earle of Huntingdon.
The Earle of Suſſex.
The Earle of Rutland.

Other Noblemen that were preſent in the Parliament Houſe at the Princes Creation, beſides thoſe which were employed in Attendance about him.

EARLES.

The Earle of Arundell.
The Earle of Bath.
The Earle of Southampton.
The Earle of Bedford.
The Earle of Penbroke.
The Earle of Hertford.
The Earle of Lincolne.
The Earle of Exceter.
The Earle of Montgomery.

VICOUNTS.

The Lord Vicount Mountague.
The Lord Vicount Bindon.
The Lord Vicount Liſle.

BARONS.

The Lord Aburgavenny.
The Lord Audley.
The Lord Zouche.
The Lord Willowby.
The Lord Barkley.
The Lord Morley.
The Lord Scroope.
The Lord Dudley.
The Lord Herbert.
The Lord Monteagle.
The Lord Mordant.
The Lord Ev're.
The Lord Rich.
The Lord Sheffeld.
The Lord Paget.
The Lord Effingham.
The Lord North.
The Lord Chandos.
The Lord Hunſdon.
The Lord Saint John.
The Lord Burgleigh.
The Lord Compton.
The Lord Norreys.
The Lord Knolles.
The Lord Wotton.
The Lord Elleſmere.
The Lord Ruſſell.
The Lord Grey.
The Lord Peter.
The Lord Harrington.
The Lord Gerrard.
The Lord Spenſer.
The Lord Say.
The Lord Denny.
The Lord Stanhope.
The Lord Carew.
The Lord Cavendiſh.
The Lord Knivet.
The Lord Clifton.

Having thus briefly deſcribed the Manner of his Highnes Creation, I ſhould here ſet a Period to my Diſcourſe, but that the Knights of the Bath being a principall Part and Ornament of his princely Triumphes, and my ſelfe particularly bound to many of them, I could not paſſe them over without ſome Remembrance. Therefore thus much out of the Note of Directions from the Office of Armes, and ſome Obſervation of Credit, concerning the Order and Ceremonies of the Knighthood.

The

The Manner of the Creation of the Knights of the Bath, and the Ceremonies obſerved in ſolemnizing the ſame.

ACcording to the Order given from the Commiſſioners appointed for the Overſight and Direction of theſe Ceremonies, the Lords and others that were to receive the honourable Order of the Bath, repaired on *Saterday* the ſecond of *June* to *Durham* Houſe in the *Strond*, and there in the Afternoone heard Evening Prayer, obſerving no other Ceremony at that Time but only paſſing through the Hall, the Heralds going before them with their Coates upon their Armes, into the Chappel, from whence after Service ended they returned into the Chamber they were to ſuppe in.

Their Supper was prepared all at one Table, and all ſat upon one Side of the ſame, every Man having an Eſcutcheon of his Armes placed over his Head, and certaine of the Kings Officers beeing appointed to attend them. In this Manner having taken their Repaſt, the Tables were removed, and ſeverall Beds made ready for their Lodging, in the ſame Place, after the ſame Manner, al on one Side, and each one as afore, right under the Scutcheon of his owne Armes. Their Beds were Pallets with Coverings, Teſters or Canopies of red Say, but they uſed no Curtaines.

The Knights in the meane while were withdrawne into the bathing Chamber, which was the next Roome to that they ſupped in, where for each of them were provided a ſeveral bathing Tub which was lined both within and without with white Linnen, and covered with red Say. After the Bath they betooke themſelves to their Reſt.

Early the next Morning they were wakened with Muſicke, and at their uppriſing inveſted in their Hermits Habits, which was a Gowne of gray Cloth girded cloſe, and a Hood of the ſame, with a Linnen Coyſe underneath, and a Handkercher hanging at his Girdle, cloth Stockings ſoled with Leather, but no Shooes; and thus apparrelled, their Eſquires Governours, with the Heralds wearing the Coats of Armes, and ſundry Sorts of winde Inſtruments going before them, they proceeded from their Lodging downe through the Hall, the meaneſt in Order formoſt as the Night before, till they came to the Chappell. Where after Service ended their Oath was miniſtred unto them by the Earle of *Worceſter* and the Earle of *Suffolke*, in a ſolemne and ceremonious Manner, all of them ſtanding forth before their Stalles, and at their Comming out making low Reverence towards the Altar, by which the Commiſſioners ſate; then were they brought up by the Heralds by two at once, the chiefeſt firſt, and ſo the reſt till all ſucceſſively had received their Oath: which in Subſtance was this. That above al Things they ſhould honour God and maintaine true Religion, love their Soveraigne, ſerve their Country, help Maidens, Widdowes, and Orphans, and to the utmoſt of their Power cauſe Equity and Juſtice to be obſerved.

This done whileſt they were yet in the Chappell, Wine and ſweet Meates were brought them, and then they departed to their Chamber to be diſrobed of their Hermits Weeds, and new reveſted againe in Robes of Crimſon Taffata

lined

lined with white Sarcenet, having white Hats on their Heads with white Feathers, white Boots on their Legs, and white Gloves tyed to the Strings of their Mantles. Al which performed, they mount on Horſbacke, their Saddles being of blacke Leather, and Bridles of the ſame, with white Croſſes upon their Breſts and Cruppers of their Horſes; each Knight betweene his two Eſquires well apparrelled, his Footeman attending, and his Page riding before him, carrying his Sword with the Hilt upward, and his Spurres hanging thereon.

In this Order rankte every Man according to his Degree, the beſt or chiefeſt firſt, they rode faire and ſoftly towards the Court, the Trumpets ſounding, and the Heralds all the Way riding before them. Beeing alighted at the Court Gate, they were conducted by the Heralds and others appointed for that Purpoſe, into the Hall, where his Majeſtie ſitting under his Cloth of Eſtate gave them their Knighthood in this Manner.

Firſt the principall Lord that is to receive the Order comes led by his two Eſquires, and his Page before him bearing his Sword and Spurres, and kneeleth downe before his Majeſtie. The Lord Chamberlaine takes the Sword of the Page and delivers it to the King, who puts the Belt over the Necke of the Knight aſlope his Breſt, placing the Sword under his left Arme. Then two Noble-men of the Chiefe about the King put on his Spurres, and ſo is the Ceremony performed. In this Sort the Earle of *Oxford* which was the principall of this Number, beeing firſt created, the reſt were al conſequently knighted alike: and when the Solemnity thereof was fully finiſhed, they all returned againe in Order as they came, ſaving ſome ſmal Difference, in that the youngeſt and meaneſt Knight went now formoſt, and their Pages behinde them.

Comming backe to *Durham* Houſe, their Dinner was ready prepared in the ſame Roome, and after the ſame Faſhion as their Supper was the Night before, but being ſet, they were not to taſte of any Thing that ſtood before them, but with a modeſt Carriage and gracefull Abſtinence to refraine, divers Kindes of ſweet Muſicke being played the while, and after a convenient Time of ſitting, to ariſe and withdraw themſelves, leaving the Table furniſhed to their Eſquires and Pages.

About foure of the Clocke in the Afternoone they rode againe to Court, to heare Service in the Kings Chappell, keeping the ſame Order they did at their Returne from thence in the Morning: every Knight riding betweene his two Eſquires and his Page following him. At their Entrance into the Chappell, the Heralds conducting them, they make a ſolemne Reverence, the youngeſt Knight beginning, the reſt orderly enſuing: and ſo one after another take their ſtanding before their Stalles, where all being placed, the eldeſt Knight maketh a ſecond Reverence, which is followed to the youngeſt; and then all aſcend into their Stalles, and take their accuſtomed Places.

Service then beginneth, and is very ſolemnely celebrated, with ſinging of divers Antheames, and playing on the Organes: And when the Time of their Offertory is come, the youngeſt Knights are ſummoned forth of the Stalles by the Heralds, doing Reverence firſt within the Stalles, and againe after they

are diſcended, which is likewiſe imitated by all the reſt. And being al thus come forth, ſtanding before their Stalles, as at firſt, the two eldeſt Knights with their Swords in their Handes, are brought up by the Heralds to the Altar, where they offer their Swords and the Deane receives them, of whom they preſently redeem them with an Angell in Golde, and then come downe to their former Places, whilſt two other are led up in like Manner: ſo doing ſucceſſively till the whole Ceremony be performed: which done, and Service ended, they depart in ſuch Order as they came, with accuſtomed Reverence.

At the Chappell Doore as they came foorth, they were encountered by the Kings Maſter Cooke, who ſtood there with his white Apron and Sleeves, and a Chopping-Knife in his Hand, and challenged their Spurres, which were likewiſe redeemed with a Noble in Money, threatning them nevertheleſſe that if they proved not true and loyall to the King his Lord and Maſter, it muſt be his Office to hew them from their Heeles.

On *Monday* Morning they al met together again at the Court, where in a private Roome, appointed for them, they were cloathed in long Roabes of purple Sattin with Hoods of the ſame, all lined and edged about with white Taffata. And thus apparrelled they gave their Attendance upon the Prince at his Creation, and dined that Day in his Preſence at a Side-bord, as is already declared.

The Names of ſuch Lordes and Gentlemen as were made Knights of the BATH, in Honour of his Highneſſe Creation, in Order as they were knighted on *Sonday* the third of *June*. 1610.

THE Earle of Oxford.
The Lord Gourdon, *Sonne and Heire of the Marqueſſe* Huntley.
The Lord Clifford, *Sonne and Heire to the Earle of* Cumberland.
The Lord Fitz-walter, *Sonne and Heire to the Earle of* Suſſex.
The Lord Fitzwaren, *Son and Heire to the Earle of* Bath.
The Lord Hay, *Sonne and Heire to the Earle of* Arroll.
The Lord Erſkin, *Sonne and Heire to Vicount* Fenton.
The Lord Windſor.
The Lord Wentworth.
Maſter Charles Somerſet, *third Sonne to the Earle of* Worceſter.
Maſter Edward Somerſet, *fourth Sonne to the Earle of* Worceſter.
Maſter Francis Stuard.
Maſter Ferdinando Dudley, *Sonne and Heire to the Lord* Dudley.
Maſter John Cary, *Son and Heire to the Lord* Hunſdon.
Maſter Oliver Saint John, *Sonne and Heire to the Lord* Saint-John.
Maſter Gilbert Gerrard, *Sonne and Heire to the Lord* Gerrard.
Maſter Charles Stanhope, *Sonne and Heire to the Lord* Stanhope.
Maſter William Stuard.
Maſter Edward Bruſe, *Sonne and Heire to the Lord* Kinloſſe.
Maſter Robert Sidney, *ſecond Sonne to Vicount* Liſle.
Maſter William Touchet, *ſecond Sonne to the Lord* Audley.

Maſter

Master Peregrine Berty, *second Brother to the Lord* Willoughby.
Master Henry Rich, *third Sonne to the Lord* Rich.
Master Edward Sheffeild, *second Sonne to the Lord* Sheffeild.
Master William Cavendish, *Sonne and Heire to Sir* Charles Cavendish.

The Lords Commissioners for ordering the Ceremonies of the BATH, were,

The Earle of Worcester. *The Earle of* Suffolke.

TETHYS Festival: Or the QUEENES Wake. Celebrated at *Whitehall*, the fifth Day of *June*. 1610.

Devised by SAMUEL DANIEL, one of the Groomes of her Majesties most honourable privie CHAMBER.

LONDON: Printed for *John Budge*. 1610.

The PREFACE to the Reader.

FOR so much as Shewes and Spectacles of this Nature, are usually registred, among the memorable Acts of the Time, beeing Complements of State, both to shew Magnificence and to celebrate the Feasts to our greatest Respects: it is expected (according now of the Custome) that I, beeing imployed in the Busines, should publish a Discription and Forme of the late Mask, wherewithall it pleased the Queenes most excellent Majestie to solemnize the Creation of the high and mightie Prince Henry, *Prince of* Wales, *in regard to preserve the Memorie thereof, and to satisfie their Desires, who could have no other Notice, but by others Report of what was done. Which I doe not, out of a Desire, to be seene in Pamphlets, or of Forwardnes to shew my Invention therin: for I thank God, I labour not with that Disease of Ostentation, nor affect to be known to be the Man,* digito monstrari; hic est, *having my Name already wider in this Kind, then I desire, and more in the Winde then I would. Neither doe I seeke in the divulging hereof, to give it other Colours then those it wore, or to make an Apologie of what I have done: knowing, howsoever, it must passe the Way of Censure, whereunto I see all Publications (of what Nature soever) are liable. And my long Experience of the World, have taught me this, that never Remonstrances nor Apologies could ever get over the Streame of Opinion, to doe good on the other Side, where contrarie Affection, and Conceipt had to doe: but onely served to entertaine their owne Partialnesse, who were fore-perswaded, and so was a Labour in vaine. And it is oftentimes an Argument of Pusilanimitie, and may make* ut judicium nostrum, metus videatur, *and render a good Cause suspected by too much labouring to defend it, which might be the Reason that some of the late greatest Princes of Christendome would never have their Undertakings made*

good by ſuch Courſes, but with Silence indured (and in a moſt wittie Age) the greateſt Batterie of Paper that could poſſibly be made, and never once recharged the leaſt Ordinance of a Pen againſt it, counting it their Glorie to do whileſt other talked. And ſhall we who are the poore Inginers for Shadowes, and frame onely Images of no Reſult, thinke to oppreſſe the rough Cenſures of thoſe, who notwithſtanding all our Labour will like according to their Taſte, or ſeeke to avoïd them by flying to an Army of Authors as idle as our ſelves? Seeing there is nothing done or written, but incounters with Detraction and Oppoſition, which is an excellent Argument of all our Imbecillities and might allay our Preſumption, when we ſhall ſee our greateſt Knowledges not to be fixt, but rowle according to the uncertaine Motion of Opinion, and controwleable by any ſurly Shew of Reaſon, which we find is double edged and ſtrikes every Way alike. And therefore I do not ſee why any Man ſhould rate his owne at that Valew, and ſet ſo low Priſes upon other Mens Abilities. L'homme vaut l'homme, *a Man is worth a Man, and none hath gotten ſo high a Station of Underſtanding, but he ſhall find others that are built on an equall Floore with him, and have as far a Proſpect as he, which when al is done, is but in a Region ſubject to al Paſſions and Imperfections.*

And for theſe Figures of mine, if they come not drawn in all Proportions to the Life of Antiquity (from whoſe Tyrannie, I ſee no Reaſon why we may not emancipate our Inventions, and be as free as they, to uſe our owne Images) yet I know them ſuch as were proper to the Buſines, and diſcharged thoſe Parts for which they ſerved, with as good Correſpondencie, as our appointed Limitations would permit.

But in theſe Things wherein the onely Life conſiſts in Shew: the Arte and Invention of the Architect gives the greateſt Grace, and is of moſt Importance: ours, the leaſt Part and of leaſt Note in the Time of the Performance thereof, and therefore have I interſerted the Diſcription of the artificiall Part which only ſpeakes M. Inigo Jones.

TETHYS Feſtivall. Wherein TETHYS * Queene of the Ocean, and Wife of NEPTUNE, attended with thirteene Nymphs of ſeverall Rivers, is repreſented in this Manner.

FIRST the Queenes Majeſtie in the Figure of *Tethys*. The Ladies in the Shape of *Nimphes*, preſiding ſeverall Rivers, appropriate, either to their Dignitie, Signiories or Places of Birth.

Whereof the firſt was the Ladie Elizabeths *Grace repreſenting the Nymph of* Thames.

The Ladie Arbella *the Nymph of* Trent.

The Counteſſe of Arundell *the Nymph of* Arun. †

The Counteſſe of Darbie *the Nymph of* Darwent. ‡

The Counteſſe of Eſſex *the Nymph of* Lee. ‖

* Tethys Mater Nympharum & Fluviorum.

† Arun, *a River that runs by* Arundell *Caſtle.*

‡ Darwent, *a River that runs through* Darbie.

‖ Lee, *the River that bounds* Eſſex.

The

The Counteſſe of Dorcet *the Nymph of* Ayr.*
The Counteſſe of Mongommerie, *the Nymph of* Severn. †
The Vicounteſſe Haddington *the Nymph of* Rother. ‡
The Ladie Elizabeth Gray *the Nymph of* Medway. ‖

Theſe foure Rivers are in *Monmouthſhire.*

The Ladie Elizabeth Guilford, *the Nymph of* Duleſſe.
The Ladie Katherine Peeter, *the Nymph of* Olwy.
The Ladie Winter, *the Nymph of* Wy.
The Ladie Winſor, *the Nymph of* Uſke.

The Diſcription of the firſt Scene.

ON the Travers which ſerved as a Curtaine for the firſt Scene, was figured a darke Cloude, interſpers'd with certaine ſparkling Starres, which, at the ſound of a loud Muſick, being inſtantly drawne, the Scene was diſcovered with theſe Adornements: Firſt on eyther Side ſtood a great Statue of twelve Foot high, repreſenting *Neptune* and *Nereus*. *Neptune* holding a Trident, with an Anchor made to it, and this Mot. *His artibus:* that is, *Regendo, & retinendo*, alluding to this Verſe of *Virgill, Hæ tibi erunt artes, &c. Nereus* holding out a golden Fiſh in a Net, with this Word *Induſtria:* the Reaſon whereof is delivered after, in the Speech uttered by *Triton.* Theſe Sea-Gods ſtood on Pedeſtals, and were al of Gold. Behinde them were two Pillaſters, on which hung Compartments with other Deviſes: and theſe bore up a rich Freeze, wherein were Figures of tenne Foote long, of Flouds and Nymphes, with a Number of naked Children, dallying with a Draperie, which they ſeemed to holde up, that the Scene might be ſeene, and the Ends thereof fell downe in Foldes by the Pillaſters. In the midſt was a Compartment, with this Inſcription, *Tethyos Epinicia*, TETHYS Feaſts of Triumph. This was ſupported with two winged Boyes, and all the Worke was done with that Force and Boldneſſe on the Gold and Silver, as the Figures ſeemed round and not painted.

The Scene it ſelfe was a Port or Haven, with Bulworkes at the Entrance, and the Figure of a Caſtle commaunding a fortified Towne: within this Port were many Ships, ſmall and great, ſeeming to lie at Anchor, ſome neerer, and ſome further off, according to Perſpective: beyond all appeared the Horizon or Termination of the Sea, which ſeemed to moove with a gentle Gale, and many Sayles, lying ſome to come into the Port, and others paſſing out. From this Scene iſſued *Zephirus* with eight Naydes, Nymphs of Fountaines, and two Tritons ſent from *Tethys* to give Notice of her Intendement, which was the Ante-maſke or firſt Shew. The Duke of *Yorke* pre-

* Ayr, *a River that runs near* Skipton, *where this Lady was born.*
† Severne, *riſes in* Montgomeryſhire.
‡ Rother, *a River in* Suſſex.
‖ Medway, *a River in* Kent.

ſented

ſented * *Zephirus*, in a ſhort Robe of greene Satin imbrodered with golden Flowers with a round Wing made of Lawnes on Wyers, and hung down in Labels. Behind his Shoulders two Silver Wings. On his Head a Garland of Flowers conſiſting of all Colours; and on one Arme, which was out bare, he wore a Bracelet of Gold ſet with rich Stones. Eight little Ladies neere of his Stature repreſented the Naydes, and were attired in light Robes adorned with Flowers, their Haire hanging downe, and waving with Garlands of Water Ornaments on their Heads.

The Tritons wore Skin-Coates of watchet Taffata (lightned with Silver) to ſhew the Muſcles of their Bodies. From the Waſte almoſt to the Knee were Finnes of Silver in the Manner of Baſes, a Mantle of Sea-greene laced, and fringed with Golde, tyed with a Knot uppon one Shoulder, and falling down in Foldes behinde, was faſtened to the contrary Side: on their Heads Garlands of Sedge, with Trumpets of writhen Shels in their Hand: Buſkins of Sea-greene laid with Silver Lace. Theſe Perſons thus attired, entred with this Song of foure Parts, and a Muſicke of twelve Lutes.

YOuth of the Spring, milde Zephirus *blow faire,*
And breath the joyfull Ayre,
Which Tethys *wiſhes may attend this Day*
Who comes her ſelfe to pay
The Vowes her Heart preſents,
To theſe faire Complements.

Breathe out new Flowers, which yet were never knowne
Unto the Spring, nor blowne
Before this Time, to bewtifie the Earth,
And as this Day gives Birth
Unto new Types of State,
So let it Bliſſe create.

Beare Tethys *Meſſage to the Ocean King,*
Say how ſhe joyes to bring
Delight unto his Ilands and his Seas,
And tell Meliades,
The Off-ſpring of his Blood,
How ſhe applaudes his Good.

The Song ended, *Triton* in the Behalfe of *Zephirus* delivers *Tethys* Meſſage with her Preſents (which were a Trident to the King, and a rich Sword and Skarfe to the Prince of *Wales*) in theſe Wordes.

FROM that Intelligence which moves the Sphere
Of circling Waves (the mightie Tethys, *Queene*

* The Figure of *Zephirus* might aptly diſcharge this Repreſentation in reſpect that Meſſages are of Winde, & *verba dicuntur alata*, winged Wordes: beſides it is a Character of Youth, and of the Spring.

Of

Of Nymphes and Rivers, who will ſtraight appeare,
And in a humane Character be ſeene)
We have in Charge to ſay, that even as Seas
And Lands, are grac'd by Men of Worth and Might,
So they returne their Favours; and in theſe
Exalting of the good ſeeme to delight.
Which ſhe, in Glory, lately viſiting
The ſweete, and pleaſant Shores of Cambria, *found*
By an unuſuall, and moſt forward Spring
Of Comfort, wherewith all Things did abound,
For Joy of the Inveſtiture at Hand
Of their new Prince, whoſe Rates, with Acts renownd
Were here to be ſolemniz'd on this Strand:
And therefore ſtreight reſolves t'adorne the Day
With her al-gracing Preſence, and the Traine,
Of ſome choice Nymphs ſhe pleas'd to call away
From ſeverall Rivers which they entertaine.
And firſt the lovely Nymph of ſtately Thames,
(The darling of the Ocean) ſummond is:
Then thoſe of Trent *and* Aruns *gracefull Streames,*
Then Darwent *next with cleare-wav'd Worthineſſe.*
The beauteous Nymph of Chryſtall-ſtreaming Lee
Gives next Attendance: Then the Nymph of Ayr
With modeſt Motion makes her ſweete Repaire.
The Nymph of Severne *follows in Degree,*
With ample Streames of Grace: and next to her
The cheerefull Nymph of Rother *doth appeare*
With comely Medway, *th' Ornament of* Kent,
And then foure goodly Nymphes that beautifie
Cambers *faire Shores, and all that Continent*
The Graces of cleere Uſke, Olwy, Duleſſe, Wy.
All theſe within the goodly ſpacious Bay
Of manifold unbarboring Milford *meete,*
The happy Port of Union, which gave Way
To that great Hero HENRY, *and his Fleete,*
To make the bleſt Conjunction that begat
A greater, and more glorious far than that.
From hence ſhe ſends her deare lov'd Zephirus,
To breath out her Affection and her Zeale
To you great Monarch of Oceanus,
And to preſent this Trident as the Seale
And Enſigne of her Love and of your Right.
And therewithall ſhe wils him, greete the Lord
And Prince of the Iles (the Hope and the Delight,
Of all the Northerne Nations) with this Sword.

Which

Which she unto Astræa *sacred found,*
And not to be unsheath'd but on just Ground.
Herewith, sayes she, deliver him from mee
This Skarffe, the Zone of Love and Amitie,
T'ingird the same; wherein he may survay,
Infigur'd all the spacious Emperie
That he is borne unto another Day.
Which, tell him, will be World enough to yeeld
All Workes of Glory ever can be wrought.
Let him not passe the Circle of that Field,
But thinke Alcides *Pillars are the Knot*
For there will be within the large Extent
Of these my Waves, and watry Governement:
More Treasure and more certaine Riches got
Then all the Indies to Iberus *brought;*
For Nereus *will by Industry unfold*
A Chimicke Secret, and turne Fish to Gold,
This Charge she gave, and lookes with such Cheere
As did her Comfort and Delight bewray,
Like cleere Aurora *when she doth appeare*
In brightest Roabes to make a glorious Day.

The Speech ended, the Naydes daunce about *Zephirus*, and then withdraw them aside, when suddenly at the Sound of a loud and fuller Musique, *Tethys* with her Nymphes appeares, with another Scene, which I will likewise describe, in the Language of the Archetictor, who contrived it, and speakes in his owne Mestier to such as are Understanders and Lovers of that Design. First at the opening of the Heavens appeared 3 Circles of Lights and Glasses, one within another, and came downe in a straight Motion five Foote, and then began to moove circularly; which Lights and Motion so occupied the Eyes of the Spectators, that the Manner of altering the Scene was scarcely discerned: for in a Moment the whole Face of it was changed, the Port vanished, and *Tethys* with her Nymphes appeared in their severall Cavernes gloriously adorned. This Scene was comparted into 5 Neeces, whereof that in the middest had some slender Pillowes of whole round, and were made of moderne Architecture in Regard of Roome; these were of burnisht Gold, and bare up the Returnes of an Architrave, Freeze, and Cornish of the same Worke: on which, upon eyther Side was a Plinth directly over the Pillers, and on them were placed, for Finishings, two Dolphins of Silver, with their Tailes wreathed together, which supported ovall Vases of Gold.

Betweene the two Pillers on eyther Side were great Ornaments of Relievo, the Basement were two huge Whales of Silver. Above in an Action mounting, were two Sea-horses, and above them, on each Side of *Tethys* Seat was placed a great Trident. The Seate or Throne it selfe was raised sixe Steps, and all covered with such an artificiall Stuffe, as seemer richer by Candle, then any Cloth

Cloth of Gold, The Reſts for her Armes were two Cherubines of Gold: over her Head was a great Skallop of Silver, from which hung the Foldes of this rich Drapery.

Above the Skallop, and round about the Sides was a reſplendent Freeze of jewell Glaſſes or Lights, which ſhewed like Diamonds, Rubies, Saphires, Emralds, and ſuch like.

The Part which returned from the two Plinthes that bare up the Dolphines, was circular, and made a Hollowneſſe over *Tethys* Head, and on this Circle were 4 great Chartuſes of Gold, which bore up a round Bowle of Silver, in Manner of a Fountaine, with Maſk-Heads of Gold, out of which ran an artificiall Water. On the middeſt of this was a triangular Baſement formed of Scrowles and Leaves, and then a rich Vayle adorned with Flutings, and inchaſed Worke with a Freeze of Fiſhes, and a Battaile of Tritons, out of whoſe Mouthes, ſprang Water into the Bowle underneath. On the Top of this was a round Globe of Gold full of Holes, out of which iſſued Aboundance of Water, ſome falling into the Receipt below, ſome in to the Ovall Vaſe, borne up by the Dolphines, and indeed there was no Place in this great Aquatick Throne, that was not filled with the ſprinckling of theſe two naturall ſeeming Waters. The Neeces wherein the Ladies ſate, were foure, with Pillaſters of Gold, mingled with ruſtick Stones ſhewing like a Minerall to make it more Rocke, and Cavern-like, varying from that of *Tethys* Throne. Equall with the Heads of the Pillars was an Architrave of the ſame Work, above was a circular Frontiſpice, which roſe equall with the Bowle of the Fountaine fore-diſcribed. On the ruſtick Frontiſpice lay two great Figures in Rileve, which ſeemed to beare up a Garland of Sea-Weeds: to which from two antick Candleſtickes which ſtood over the Pillaſters were hanging Labells of Gold. And theſe were the Finiſhings of the Top of the two Neeces next to that of *Tethys*.

In the Space betweene the Frontiſpice and the Architrave ſtood a great Concave Shel, wherein was the Head of a Sea-God, and on either Side the Shell to fill up the Roome, two great Maſk-Heads in Perfile. The other two Neeces which were outermoſt, were likewiſe borne up with Pillaſters of Gold, and for Variation had ſquare Frontiſpices, and againſt the ſtreight Architrave of the other was an Arch. All theſe were mingled with Ruſtick, as before.

In the middle betweene the Frontiſpice and the Arch, was a Bowle or Fountaine made of foure great Skallops, borne up by a great Maſke Head which had likewiſe foure Aſpects, and lying upon this Arch (to fill up the Concaves) were two Figures turned halfe into Fiſhes, theſe with their Heads held up the Sides of this Bowle: above this were three great Cherubines Heads ſpouting Water into the Bowle. On the middeſt of the ſquare Frontiſpice ſtood a great Vaſe adorned.

The reſt of the Ornaments conſiſted of Maſke-Heads, ſpouting Water, Swannes, Feſtons of maritime Weedes, great Shels, and ſuch like; and all this whole Scene was filled with the Splendor of Gold and Silver; onely ſome beautifull Colours behinde to diſtinguiſh them, and to ſet off the reſt.

The whole Worke came into the Forme of a halfe round: there ſate three Ladies in each Neece, which made ſixe of a Side: the Queene in the middeſt, and the Lady *Elizabeth* at her Feete.

Now concerning their Habite: firſt their Head-tire was compoſed of Shels and Corrall, and from a great Muriake Shell in forme of the Creſt of an Helme, hung a thin waving Vaile. Their upper Garments had the Boddies of ſky-colored Taffataes for Lightnes, all embrodered with maritime Invention: then had they a kinde of halfe Skirts of Cloth of Silver imbrodered with Golde, all the ground Work cut out for Lightnes, which hung down ful, and cut in Points: underneath that, came Baſes (of the ſame as was their Bodies) beneath their Knee. The long Skirt was wrought with Lace, waved round about like a River, and on the Bankes Sedge and Sea-Weedes, all of Gold: Their Shoulders were all imbrodered with the Worke of the ſhort Skirt of Cloth of Silver, and had Cypreſſe ſpangled, ruffed out, and fell in a Ruffe above the Elbow. The under Sleeves were all imbrodered as the Bodies: their Shoes were of Satin, richly imbrodered, with the Worke of the ſhort Skirt.

In this Habite they diſcended out of their Cavernes one after another, and ſo marched up with winding Meanders like a River, till they came to the Tree of Victory, which was a Bay erected at the right Side of the State, upon a little Mount there raiſed, where they offer their ſeverall Flowers in golden Urnes which they bare in their Hands: while a ſoft Muſique of twelve Lutes and twelve Voyces, which entertained the Time, expreſt as a Chorus, their Action in this Manner.

WAS ever Houre brought more Delight
To mortall Sight,
Then this, wherein faire Tethys *daignes to ſhew*
Her, and her Nymphes arow
In Glory bright?
See how they bring their Flowers,
From out their watry Bowers,
To decke Apollos *Tree,*
The Tree of Victory.
About whoſe verdant Bowes,
They ſacrifice their Vowes,
And wiſh an everlaſting Spring
Of Glory, to the Oceans King.

This Songe and Ceremony ended they fall into their firſt Daunce, after which *Tethys* withdrawes and repoſes her upon the Mount, under the Tree of Victory, entertain'd with Muſicque and this Song.

IF Joy had other Figure
Then Soundes, and Wordes, and Motion,
To intimate the Meaſure,

And

And Height of our Devotion:
This Day it had beene ſhow'd
But what it can it doth performe,
Since Nature hath beſtow'd
No other Letter,
To expreſſe it better.
Then in this Forme;
Our Motions, Soundes, and Wordes,
Tun'd to Accordes,
Muſt ſhew the well-ſet Partes,
Of our Affections and our Harts.

After this *Tethys* riſes, and with her Nymphes performes her ſecond Daunce, and then repoſes her againe upon the Mount, entertain'd with another Songe.

ARE they Shadowes that we ſee?
And can Shadowes Pleaſure give?
Pleaſures only Shadowes bee
Caſt by Bodies we conceive,
And are made the Thinges we deeme,
In thoſe Figures which they ſeeme.
But theſe Pleaſures vaniſh faſt,
Which by Shadowes are expreſt
Pleaſures are not if they laſt,
In their paſſing, is their beſt.
Glory is moſt bright and gay
In a Flaſh, and ſo away.
Feed apace then greedy Eyes
On the Wonder you behold.
Take it ſodaine as it flies
Though you take it not to hold:
When your Eyes have done their Part,
Thought muſt length it in the Hart.

After this Songe *Tethys* againe ariſes, and with her Nymphes, taketh out the Lordes to daunce their Meaſures Corantos and Galliardes, which done they fall into their third and retyring Daunce, wherewith they returne againe into their ſeverall Cavernes, and ſodainely vaniſh. When to avoid the Confuſion which uſually attendeth the Deſolve of theſe Shewes; and when all was thought to be finiſht, followed another Entertainement, and was a third Shew no leſſe delightfull than the reſt, whoſe Introduction was thus.

Zephirus marching a certaine Space after *Tethys* and her Nymphes, attended with his Tritons, a ſodaine Flaſh of Lightning cauſes them to ſtay, and Triton delivereth this Speech.

BEhold, the Poſt of Heaven, bright Mercury
Is ſent to ſummon and recall againe,
Imperiall Tethys *with her Company,*
Unto her watry Manſion in the Maine:
And ſhift thoſe Formes, wherein her Power did daigne
T'inveſt her ſelfe and hers, and to reſtore
Them to themſelves whoſe beauteous Shapes they wore.

And then bowing himſelfe towardes the State, craveth their Stay, and prepareth them, to the Expectation of a Returne of the Queene and her Ladies in their Formes, in theſe Wordes.

AND now bright Starre the Guidon of this State,
And you great Peeres the Ornaments of Power
With all theſe glittering Troupes that have the Fate,
To be Spectators of this bleſſed Houre.
Be pleas'd to ſit awhile, and you ſhall ſee
A Transformation of farre more Delight
And apter drawne to Nature, then can be
Diſcrib'd in an imaginary Sight.

Triton having ended his Speech, *Mercury* moſt artificially, and in an exquiſite Poſture deſcends, and ſummons the Duke of *Yorke*, and ſix young Noble-men to attend him, and bring backe the Queene and her Ladies in their owne Forme, directing him to the Place where to find them; with this Speech.

FAire Branch of Power in whoſe ſweet Feature here
Milde Zephirus *a Figure did preſent*
Of Youth and of the Spring-time of the Yeare
I ſommon you, and ſix of high Deſcent
T'attend on you (as hopefull Worthyes borne
To ſhield the Honour and the cleare Renowne
Of Ladies) that you preſently returne
And bring backe thoſe, in whoſe faire Shapes were ſhowne
The late-ſeene Nymphes in Figures of their owne
Whom you ſhall finde hard by within a Grove
And Garden of the Spring addreſt to Jove.

Hereupon the Duke of *Yorke* with his Attendants departing to performe this Service, the lowde Muſicque ſoundes, and ſodainely appeares the Queenes Majeſty in a moſt pleaſant and artificiall Grove, which was the third Scene, and from thence they march up to the King, conducted by the Duke of *Yorke*, and the Noble-men, in a very ſtately Manner.

And in all theſe Shewes, this is to be noted, that there were none of inferiour Sort, mixed amongſt theſe great Perſonages of State and Honour (as uſually there have beene) but all was perform'd by themſelves with a due Reſer-

Reſervation of their Dignity. And for thoſe two which did perſonate the Tritons, they were Gentlemen knowne of good Worth and Reſpect. The introducing of Pages with Torches, might have added more Splendor, but yet they would have peſtred the Roome, which the Seaſon would not well permit.

And thus have I delivered the whole Forme of this Shew, and expoſe it to the Cenſure of thoſe who make it their beſt Show, to ſeeme to know: with this Poſtſcript.

Pretulerim ſcriptor delirus inerſque videri
Dum mea delectant mala me, vel denique fallant,
Quam ſapere & ringi.

S. D.

True Copies of the inſolent, cruell, barbarous, and blaſphemous Letter, lately written by the Great TURKE, for Denouncing of Warre againſt the King of POLAND. And of the Magnanimous, and moſt Chriſtian Anſwere made by the ſaid KING thereunto.

With a ſhort Preface, declaring the unjuſt Cauſe on which this *Turkiſh* Tyrant, and faithleſſe Enemy of Chriſtendome, now layeth hold to invade it.

Publiſhed in Print by Authoritie, the 11. of *June.* 1621.

The PREFACE.

ABOUT the Yeere, 1608. Jeremy, *Prince of* Moldavia *dying, left* 3. *Sonnes*, Conſtantine, Alexander, *and* Bougdan, *the eldeſt of which being but* 8 *Yeeres old, the Government, during his Minority, was by the deceaſed Father committed to his Uncle* Simeon, *who dying within three or four Yeeres after,* Conſtantine *the eldeſt Sonne, according to his Right, and ſupported by the Councell of his Mother, undertooke the Government. At which Time there lived at* Conſtantinople, *one* Tomſho *or* Stephen, *who falſly pretending to bee Sonne unto* Aron, *who had been Prince of* Moldavia *before* Jeremy, *had by Money and other ſiniſter Practices, framed to his Ends,* Mehemet Baſſha, *Lieutenant to the Grand* Viſier *(which is the higheſt Officer under the* Turk) *and by falſly ſuggeſting that* Conſtantine *refuſed to pay the yeerely Tribute of forty thouſand Chequines to the great* Turke, *obtained from him an Army of* 20000 *Men, under the Conduct of a* Turkiſh *Generall, to expell Prince* Conſtantine, *and eſtabliſh himſelfe in the Government. And notwithſtanding* Conſtantine

Conſtantine *endevored to give all due Satisfaction to this* Turkiſh *Generall, and made evident the Fraud and Falſhood of* Tomſho, *yet hee being alſo corrupted by* Tomſho's *Bribes and great Promiſes, would admit no Reaſon. Whereupon Prince* Conſtantine *making Head to defend himſelfe and Country, was in a Battaile overcome, taken Priſoner, and after, ſeeking to eſcape, drowned in the River* Nieſtre. Tomſho, *after this Victory, being thruſt into the Government, and indevoring to keepe by Tyranny, what he had gotten by Injuſtice and Uſurpation, the Nobility attempted by Armes to free themſelves and their Country from his unſpeakable Cruelties, but with Succeſſe unworthy their Vertue; for, by an Overthrow, both his Malice, and the Countries Miſery increaſed. In which Diſaſter, the greateſt Part of them fly into* Poland, *the Refuge of the unfortunate Princeſſe with her remaining Children, and the Tribunall from which their Country was in Juſtice to expect a Governour: the* Polonians *having by ancient Articles, and Capitulations betweene the* Turke *and them, to the End their Kingdome might not be prejudiced by that neighbour Province, which though Chriſtian, was yet tributary to the* Turk, *reſerved to themſelves the Right and Intereſt to name a* Vaivod, *or Prince over that Country. And to this Purpoſe the King of* Poland *ſent an Embaſſador to* Conſtantinople, *whom the Great* Turke, *contrary to the Law of Nations, Turkiſhly anſwered, by detaining him Priſoner, and ever ſince hath threatened that moſt Noble, and Chriſtian Kingdome, with utter Subverſion, having (as it is probably conceived) to that Ende drawne all his Forces out of* Aſia, *and made a greater Levy in* Europe, *then hath beene knowne in that Empire, conſiſting (by Report) of foure hundred thouſand Men; an Armie ſufficient to ſatisfie the moſt covetous, or religious Chriſtian Souldier with Riches, or Glory.*

The Great TURKES *Letter.*

Sultan Achmat

MOST puiſſant, and higheſt Emperour of the *Turkes*, King above all Kings that dwell upon the Earth, a King that dwelleth on the earthly Paradiſe, an anointed Prince, and Sonne of *Mahomet*, Prior of the earthly Paradiſe, and Keeper of the Grave of thy God, Lord of the Tree of Life, and of the River *Fliſky*, Conquerour of the *Macedonians*, the Seede of Great *Alexander*, Prince of the Kingdomes of *Tartary*, *Meſopotamia*, *Media*, and of the Martiall *Georgians*, *Anatolia*, *Bythinia*, *Aſia*, *Armenia*, *Servia*, *Thracia*, *Morea*, *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, and of all warlike *Hungary*, Soveraigne Lord and Commander of all *Greece*, *Perſia*, both the *Arabia's*, the moſt Noble Kingdome of *Ægypt*, *Tremiſen*, and *African* Empire, of *Trabezond*, and the moſt glorious *Conſtantinople*, Lord of all the White and Blacke Sea, and of the holy Cities *Mecha*, and *Medina*, ſhining with divine Glory, Commander of all Things that are to bee commanded, and the ſtrongeſt and mightieſt Champion of the wide World, a Warriour appointed by Heaven in the Edge of the Sword, a great Perſecuter of his Enemies, and of all their evill Vices, a moſt

a moſt perfect Jewell of the bleſſed Tree, the chiefeſt Keeper of the *Crucified God*, a Prince and Lord in whom the *Mahometans* truſt, and a great Perſecuter of all Chriſtians; To *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*, if thou doeſt deſire Our Welfare, and art Friend to us and Our Officer Lieutenant Generall of all our Forces which we will ſend, Our Greeting. But thou haſt long ſince broken Our Friendſhip, and yet art neither ready nor fit to wage Warre, or fight Battell againſt us. But thou haſt ſome ſecret Advice and Intelligence with other confederate petty Kings, and their Counſellors, to deliver thee out of Our Hands, and our Vicegerents Power, wherein thou haſt done unadviſedly, and indiſcreetly. If therfore thou thus perſevere to oppoſe thy ſelfe againſt us, then feare, for thy Death, and the Death of all thy People is determined. *Wee* tell thee, *Wee* will overcome thee, from the Riſing of the Sun, to the Going downe thereof, and *Wee* will ſhew Our Majeſty in our own Perſon and Sight, unto the uttermoſt Parts of the Earth; Our very Thoughts ſhall be a Terrour unto thee, ſhewing that *Wee* will performe all that which *Wee* have herein denounced. And *Wee* will make knowne unto thee the Powerfulneſſe of our Dominions. And thou, O King, which putteſt thy Truſt in ſtrong Forts and Caſtles, ſhalt have Experience of Our reſiſtleſſe Might. I will roote thee out altogether, and thou ſhalt behold this with thine owne Eyes. Wherefore expect now no more Friendſhip at my Hands; put not thy Hope in the Strength of thy Walles, with thy owne Forces and People. I will ruinate thee without any Reſiſtance, I will deſtroy thy *Cracovia*, in Signe of Triumph, I will leave there my bloudy Sword, that every one ſhall take Notice thereof, and my Beliefe ſhall bee ſpread throughout all thy Dominions, and I will utterly roote out the very Remembrance of thy *Crucified God*. Let thy God bee angry, I care not; He may then helpe thee. Thy anointed (the Prieſts) I will ſurely put to the Plague; Wolves and wilde Beaſts ſhall ſucke the Breſts of thy Women; thou ſhalt leave and forſake thy Religion which thou now haſt; that which remaineth of all Things, ſhall bee conſumed with Fire. Herewith reſt thou ſatisfied; I doe not tell thee now what I will doe, or meane to doe with thee; underſtand if thou wilt, or canſt.

Given at Our moſt High Port of *Conſtantinople* moſt ſtrongly guarded, *&c.*

The King of POLAND *his Anſwere.*

SIGISMUND the Third, by the Grace of GOD King of *Poland*, Great Duke of *Lithuania*, *Ruſſia*, *Pruſſia*, *Maſovia*, *Samogitia*, *Livonia*, &c. and Hereditarie King of the *Suecians*, *Gothes*, and *Vandales*, one of the moſt humble Servants of the True GOD, and of his Sonne JESUS CHRIST Crucified, to *Achmat* chiefe Prince of *Turkes*, and Infidels, Soules Health. *We* have received thy Letter, full fraught with Threats, and ſwolne with Impieties

Impieties againſt the Majeſtie of the moſt High GOD, whereunto *Wee* had not vouchſafed Anſwere, but that *Wee* were perſwaded, our Silence would have been a Meanes of cauſing thee to flatter thy ſelfe ſo much the more, elſe had *Wee* neglected thee like an Arch-enemy of GOD, as thou art. *Wee* have therefore thought fit in ſome ſort to regard the Salvation of thy Soule, giving thee to know, that thou art no other then a meere Man, in thy Perſon more weake then many of thy Followers; which ſhould cauſe thee to remember, that if it had not pleaſed GOD to ingrave in the Front of ſuch as rule, a kinde of awfull Majeſtie, whereby their Subjects are kept in Obedience; the good by Reward, the evil and perverſe by rigorous Lawes, and both the one and the other by Authoritie; it were impoſſible they ſhould continue eminent above others. Thou then, who in thy ſelfe art but as other Men, muſt know, that there is a Supreme Power of more Might then thine, which doth uphold thy Eſtate, cauſing thee to bee reſpected by thy Followers. This Power proceeds from GOD moſt Good, moſt Juſt, moſt Mighty, who preſerveth it ſo long as Princes humble themſelves before him; but if they ſuffer themſelves to bee tranſported with Preſumption and Pride, he eaſily abateth, and corrects their Fury. I will offer no other Example to thy Conſideration, then that of *Bajazet* the Firſt, one of thy Predeceſſors, who thinking to ſcale Heaven with his Armie (which in the Judgement of Man was unreſiſtable, but in GODS Sight moſt contemptible) lived to ſee himſelfe vanquiſhed, taken, and impriſoned, coopt up in an Iron Cage, (wherein hee was in Triumph drawne after the victorious Conquerour, ſerving him for no better then a Footſtoole) and having no other Food, then ſuch as was caſt him (like a Dogge) from his Table.

Thinke then with thy ſelfe, that hee that was ſo great, ſo puiſſant, and ſo terrible, may haply by right of Succeſſion have left unto thee (as beeing deſcended from him) the like, or worſe Fortune, if thou ſhalt dare to continue thy Blaſphemies againſt GOD, and his beloved Sonne JESUS CHRIST Crucified. Thou doeſt miſtake in thinking to lay an Aſperſion upon us, by reproaching unto us the Croſſe. For *Wee* account it Our chiefeſt Honour, and Glory; by Vertue whereof, as the Emperour *Conſtantine* quelled his Enemies, Wee hope, and aſſure our ſelves to bee defended againſt thy Fury. Thy proud, and thundering Words diſmay us not, Our Courage is more Maſculine and Generous, then ſo to be out-braved. For know, that wee regard not thy Threats, but with juſt Scorne tread upon thy Pride, and laugh at thy idle Terrours, and in ſtead of thanking thee for advertiſing us before thy Comming, Wee bid thee come when thou wilt, thou ſhalt be received contrary to thy Expectation. Wee have ſteepe Mountaines, and impregnable Rockes that ſhall barre thee from entering into our Lands. Thou ſhalt finde our Cities, and Caſtles well furniſhed with Munition, our Canons Mouthes breathing furious Fires, our Courages invincible, our Blades eager and ſharpe, our Bodies, as our Mindes, prepared to ſuſtaine the Violence of all Seaſons, our Hearts promiſing nothing but Victory. And to dazell thine Eyes, the glorious Standard of the bleſſed *Croſſe* ſhall goe before us; but above all, the

the *Crucified Son* of the moſt High GOD ſhall cauſe his Angels to conduct us, and give us the Victory; He it is ſhall bee our Leader, under whoſe Protection wee will not feare to brave thee at thy Gates. Thy miſcreant Troupes ſhall be troden under Foote, and their Bellies trampled on, and by a happy Victory (if thou chance to eſcape our conquering Arme) thou ſhalt finde thy ſelfe purſued unto the moſt ſecret Dens of thy abominable *Seralio*; thou ſhalt ſee thy *Moſques* laid levell with the Ground, thy *Muphty*, and other the execrable Prieſts of thy perfidious *Mahomet* made Gally-ſlaves; all thoſe traiterous Run-a-gates whom thou doeſt harbor, ſhalt thou ſee put to exquiſite Torments; of all which be moſt aſſured. And then ſhall bee ſet free all thoſe poore and miſerable Chriſtians, who now lie groning under the Burthen of thy tyrannous Yoake, whoſe wofull Cryes being mounted to Heaven, have juſtly excited the Vengeance of God upon thee, who hath permitted thee to riſe to this Height of Pride, that thy Ruine and Deſtruction may bee the more exemplar unto after-ages. To conclude, thou ſhalt ſee the Service of *God* re-eſtabliſhed in *Greece* and *Aſia*, which thou doeſt now unjuſtly uſurpe. But if it happen thee to end thy miſerable Life in Battell, (which we hope *God* will grant) be confident, that all the foreſaid Vengeance ſhall enſue upon thy Death; and whiles thy wretched Soule lies broiling in the quenchleſſe Flames of Hell, wee will lift up our cheerefull Voices, and, for the Victory obtained over thee and thine, ſing Praiſes unto our *God:* to whom be all Glory for ever.

Know then, O Infidell, that wee feare thee not at all, and if thou beeſt not wilfully bent to runne Headlong unto thy owne Deſtruction, be adviſed; content, and containe thy ſelfe within thoſe Bounds thou doeſt at this preſent uſurpe, and if thou haſt any Beliefe at al that thy thrice reverenced Prophet *Mahomet* could tell a Truth, or foretell future Events, then call to Minde, that of thoſe thouſand Yeeres which hee preſcribed for the continuing of thy Sect, there remaine not above ſixe or ſeven Yeeres. This then is the Time that the yet unſheathed Sword of the Chriſtians affords for thy Amendment, that thou mighteſt come to the Knowledge of the alone true GOD, to worſhip him in his Sonne JESUS CHRIST, whereunto we once more exhort thee, omitting all other Salutation, and Commendation.

Given at our Caſtle of *Poſnwich*, &c.

SIGISMUND.

A True Copy of the Latine Oration of the Excellent Lord GEORGE OSSOLINSKI, Count Palatine of *Tenizyn*, and *Sendomyria*, Chamberlain to the Kings Majeſtie of *Poland*, and *Suethland*, and Embaſſadour to the Kings moſt Excellent MAJESTY.

As it was pronounced to his MAJESTIE at *White-Hall* by the ſaid Embaſſadour, on *Sunday* the 11. of *March.* 1620.

With the Tranſlation of the ſame into *Engliſh.*

Commanded by his MAJESTIE to be publiſhed in Print.

Sereniſſime REX,

SAcra, Regia Poloniæ, & Sueciæ Majeſtas, Dominus meus clementiſſimus integram diuturnamq; valitudinem, fœliciſſimos votorum omnium eventus, florens ac tranquillum latiſſimarum ditionum Imperium, *M. V.* precatus, ſingularem fraterni animi, & rerum, *M. V.* ſtudioſiſſimi, propenſionem, maximà quà poteſt particularis ergà *M. V.* affectus teſtificatione declarat, ac his obſtringit literis. Quibus præviis, ut reliqua Legationis meæ expedienti mihi, *M. V.* benignas aures præbere dignetur, humilimè poſtulo.

TAndem erupit Ottomanorum jam diu celatum pectore virus, & depoſitâ ſimulatæ multis abhinc annis amicitiæ larvâ, publico Barbarorum furore, validiſſimum Chriſtiani orbis antemurale, petitur Polonia. Perſtrepit bellico apparatu. Oriens, onerantur claſſibus maria, jungitur Europæ Aſia, Africanarum. ſi quid eſt virium in noſtram armatur perniciem. In ſocietatem tanti bèlli veniunt hæreditarii nominis noſtri hoſtes, Scythæ; venit & uterque Dacus; Servii, Bulgari, Boſnenſes, Illyrii, Thraces, Epirotæ, quicquid ferarum uſquam eſt gentium, vi, præmiis, pollicitationibus, ſpe prædæ, cupiditate vindictæ cogitur, pellicitur, accenditur. Paratus nuper lamentabilis cruentæ tragœdiæ prologus; hauſit immitis primum cruorem Dacia, cùm perfidus hoſtis veterum ac recentium ſolenni jurejurando firmatorum immemor fœderum, innumeris copiis Regiæ Majeſtatis Domini mei clementiſſimi petens ditiones, appoſitam ſibi parvam quidèm, ſed bellicoſiſſimam noſtrorum manum cæcîdit, ingenti Chriſtianæ Reip. detrimento.

Crevêrunt etenim eâ victoriâ barbari ſpiritus, & tam fauſtis inſolentes primordiis univerſam ſpe concipiunt Europam, eô provecti vel arrogantiæ, vel amentiæ, ut nec aſſentiente quidem Deo, delere gentem noſtram ſe poſſe arbitrentur. Tanto non ſuarum duntaxat, ſed Chriſtianarum omnium provinciarum commota ſacra Regia Majeſtas Dominus meus clementiſſimus diſcrimine, eo fuit animo, ut & reliquos

reliquos Principes impendentis metus commune faceret, & inprimis ad M. V. *nullâ interpositâ morâ, referret.*

Sed ea est M. V. *singularis vigilantia, tantum communis Christianorum boni studium, ut & illos, ad quos ipsa potissimùm vel temporum, vel locorum ratione pertinent pericula, animadvertat. Antevertit* M. V. *& hunc Serenissimi Regis mei nuncium, idque ultrò præstitit quod postulandum erat, cùm eidem hosti se Regiæ M. Domini mei clementissimi amicum esse, nec ei ullo in discrimine deesse posse, nunciavit. Quâ in re agnoscit* R. M. *verè magnum, verè regium, verè Christianum* M. V. *animum; agnoscit fraternum ergà se affectum, quem gratissimi testificatione animi prosequitur, ac profitetur, nihil tam grave, nihil tam difficile, nihil tam periculosum fore, quod vicissim* M. V. *causâ aggredi recuset. Moveantur utinam tam præclaro* M. V. *exemplo reliqui Christianorum Principes, velintquè potiùs tam glorioſi laboris esse cooperatores, quàm segnes & otioſi spectatores alieni periculi, pessundaturi quandoquè popria, dum vicina negligunt. Id verò usu-venire nostro, si Diis placet, credant cautiores, exemplo, quos neglecta Græcia, deserta Pannonia, in has conjecit augustias. Et nos quidèm eam quam cœlum tulerit sortem feremus, renovatori Saguntinorum fidei, Tyriorum constantiæ, & si quid usquam fortiter actum, exempla; cæterùm vicini nostri provideant, qua ratione animos firmare possint, ad similes, vel (avertant omen superi) graviores casus tolerandos. Nequè putent tyrannum, cujus animum humiles Sarmatarum casæ ad tam detestandum impulêrunt perjurium, sanctiora habiturum vicinitatis jura quæ cum eis jecerit, quorum urbibus mercaturâ florentissimis, opibus præstantissimis, ædificiorum cultu splendissimis, jamdudum inhiat. Non detinebunt hæc, sed allicient, non extinguent, sed inflammabunt sacrilegam per nefas propagandi imperii sitim. Quis enim non videt hoc unum Tyrannum intendere, quod in majorum ejus multo tempore agitatum constet fuisse consilio, ut occupatâ patentissimâ in omnes Europæ partes regione, omnis grani feracissimâ, omnium ad classem instruendam, armandamquè necessariorum refertissima, innumeris suis copiis opima apperiat horrea, navium ingentem præparet copiam, quibus Balthicum occupet sinum, transiturus in Oceanum, ut sic binis classibus, velut alis, ab utroquè mari Europam premat, & opprimat; terrestres copias per apertissimos, quà Poloniam spectat, campos, in Germaniam effundat, quà cuntem non montium claustra retinere, non fluminum rapacitas poterit retardare? Volvebat hæc Solymannus animo, agitabant ejus posteri, nec ullâ aliâ ab eo consilio deterritos eos fuisse constat ratione, quàm quòd crederent universos conspiraturos Christianos, ad tuendum hoc Regnum, ex cujus salute totius Europæ pendeat integritas. Nec deerant illo ævo tam magnanimi Principes, qui maluissent opum, ac vitæ propriæ detrimentum facere, quàm vicini sibi populi salutem periclitantem deserere. Hæc nostrâ ætate, proh dolor! multi non intelligunt, negligunt nonnulli, & quod dolendum magis, accersunt ultrò ad communem omnium perniciem, perfidum nominis Christiani hostem, indigni Christiano nomine, Barbaris ipsis execrabiliores. Unum Te habent, Serenissime Rex, hæc nostra tempora, qui pro singulari tuâ prudentiâ animadvertisti, & judicâsti per latus Poloniæ universam peti Europam, ac ejus periculum ad omnes pertinere Christianos; solenne Ottomanorum esse bella ex bellis quærere, & regna regnis cumulare, qui non contenti Asiæ, Africæ, & majoris Europæ partis imperio, quicquid reliquum*

eſt prædæ deſtinant: nec ſibi per religionem licere aliter poſſe opinantur.

Videt hæc M. V. *ſingula, unde & hanc gloriam eſt conſecuta, ambigentibus cæteris Principibus quid ſentirent, ſolam* M. V. *quid Chriſtianæ Reip. expediret, maximè & vidiſſe, & eligiſſe, autoremquè reliquis extitiſſe, ut, dum licet, mutuis auxilliis, communibus ſubſidiis tantæ imaniſſimi hoſtis obviam eant libidini, cujus opes inteſtinis ipſorum diſſidiis eô crevêrunt potentiæ.*

Perge porrò, Invictiſſime Rex! & hanc dextram non armis magis quàm pietate notam, tuam fidem imploranti, porrige Poloniæ. Defenſor fidei es, commune Numen ne blaſphemetur, provide; imitêre majores tuos, quibus haud grave fuit è propriis Barbaros eruere latebris, & ultimæ Syriæ finibus Britannici nominis gloriam terminare. Abundè ampliſſimis Majeſtatis Veſtræ *ditionibus ſuppetunt, quæcunquè ad reprimendas potentiſſimi hoſtis vires requiruntur. Procerum copia, populi multitudo, omnis generis apparatus, vis immenſa; ne patiatur* Majeſtas Veſtra *peritiſſimos rei militaris Anglos, bellicoſiſſimos Scotos, Hybernos ferociſſimos, conjunctiſſimi* Majeſt. Veſtræ *Regis, & amiciſſimæ gentis, diſcrimina ſpectare otioſos, ac tàm latè ſerpens incendium in propriâ potiùs opperiri domo, quàm in vicinâ, dum licet, reſtinguere. In alieno diſcrimine propria curare pericula, nec præſentia duntaxat intueri, ſed futura proſpicere, erit celebratæ* Majeſtatis Veſtræ *prudentiæ, erit & magnanimitatis, quam uterquè admirabitur orbis, quam ſera prædicabit poſteritas, quam ſervata venerabitur Polonia. Sereniſſimus verò Rex meus utì nunc particularem* Majeſtatis Veſtræ *ergà ſe affectum, quâ poteſt maximâ animi gratitudine, complectitur, ità in poſterum eum ſe* Majeſt. Veſtræ *declarabit amicum, qui & ſecundus* Majeſtatis Veſtræ *rebus ex animo faveat, & adverſis, ſi quæ impendeant, non ſecùs quàm proprio commoveatur diſcrimine.*

Moſt Renowned KING,

THE ſacred, royall Majeſty of Poland, *and* Suethland, *my moſt gracious Lord and Maſter, wiſhing unto your Majeſty perfect, and long Health, moſt happy Succeſſe in all your Deſires, a flouriſhing, and peacefull Government over your moſt large Dominions, declareth, by the moſt ample Teſtification hee may of particular Affection to your Majeſtie, the ſingular Propenſion of a Minde, brotherly, and moſt ſtudiouſly addicted to your Majeſties Affaires, and obligeth himſelfe by theſe Letters. And this Preface paſt, I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, while I briefely declare the reſt of my Embaſſage, to vouchſafe me your benigne Attention.*

THE long concealed Poyſon in the Breſt of the *Ottomans*, hath now at length broke forth, and the Maſke of many Yeeres faigned Friendſhip laid aſide, *Poland*, the ſtrongeſt Bulwarke of the Chriſtian World, is aſſaulted with the univerſall Fury of the Barbarous. The Eaſt is filled with Noiſe of Preparation for Warre, the Seas are loaden with Navies, *Aſia* is joyn'd to *Europe*, and what Forces *Africa* affoords, are arm'd for our Deſtruction. Into the Society of ſo great a Warre there come the hereditary Enemies of our Name, the *Tartars*; there comes alſo both the *Dacians*; the *Servians*, *Bulgars*, *Boſnians*, *Illyrians*, *Thracians*, *Epirotes*, all

all wilde, and barbarous People whatſoever, by Force, Rewards, Promiſes, Hopes of Prey, Deſire of Revenge, are compel'd, allur'd, enraged. A lamentable Prologue to this bloudy Tragedy hath lately bin acted; cruell *Dacia* hath greedily drunke the firſt Bloud, where the perfidious Enemy mindleſſe of his paſt and preſent Leagues ſolemnely ſeal'd, and ſworne, invading with innumerable Troopes the Territories of the King, my moſt clement Maſter, flue, to the ſingular Loſſe of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, our ſmall, but moſt warlike Army oppoſed againſt him. For by that Victory the Courage of the barbarous, increaſed, and they growne inſolent with ſo happy Beginnings, have in Hope devoured all *Europe*, beeing ſo farre tranſported either with Arrogance, or Madneſſe, that even without * Gods Aſſent, they beleeve themſelves able to deſtroy our Nation, with ſo great a Danger not onely of his owne, but of all other Chriſtian Provinces, the ſacred Majeſtie of my moſt gracious Maſter being moved, hath determined with himſelfe to forewarne other Princes of the imminent Perill, but eſpecially, all Delay ſet apart, to referre it to your Majeſtie. But ſuch is the ſingular Vigilancy of your Majeſty, ſo great is the Study of the common Good of Chriſtians, that you doe advertiſe them, to whom the Dangers in Reſpect either of Time, or Place chiefely belong; and your Majeſtie preventeth even this Meſſage of my moſt renowned King, and of your own Accord You have offered what wee ſhould have ſought, when to this ſelfeſame Enemie, you declared your ſelfe Friend to the regall Majeſtie of my moſt gracious Maſter, and that you would not forſake him in any Danger. Wherein his regall Majeſtie acknowledgeth your truely great, truely royall, truely Chriſtian Minde; wherein hee acknowledgeth your Majeſties brotherly Affection, which with the Teſtification of a moſt thankefull Heart, hee embraces, and profeſſeth there is nothing ſo grievous, ſo difficult, ſo dangerous, which hee would not likewiſe for your Majeſties Cauſe undertake. I would to God other Chriſtian Princes might be moved by this moſt famous Example of your Majeſtie, and that they would rather be fellow Labourers in ſo glorious a Worke, then idle and ſlothfull Spectators of others Danger, ſince by neglecting their Neighbours, they cannot but at length ruine themſelves. Which how likely it is to come to paſſe, they may, if Heav'n bee pleas'd, beleeve, forewarned by the Example of our ſelves, whom neglected *Greece*, forſaken *Hungary* have caſt into theſe preſent Straights. And ſurely wee ſhall ſuffer whatſoever Heav'n impoſeth with Reſolution to renew the Examples of the *Saguntines* Faith, *Tyrians* Conſtancie, or of what Fortitude hath elſe beene found; but let our Neighbours forethinke how they ſhall prepare their Mindes to endure the like, or (which Heav'n forbid) greater Calamities. Neither let them once imagine the Tyrant, whoſe Minde the poore *Sarmatian* Cottages drew to ſo deteſtable Perjury, wil eſteeme more holy the Rights and Lawes of Neighbourhood

* When the chiefe *Muphty*, at the Inſtance of *Scanaber Baſſha*, Generall againſt the *Polonians*, appointed ſolemn Prayers in their *Moſchites* for the good Succeſſe of his Armie, the Great *Turke* he forbid them, ſaying, that without any Aide from God, they were ſure by their own Forces to deſtroy the *Polonians*.

which

which he ſhall make with them, after whoſe Cities moſt flouriſhing in Merchandiſe, moſt excelling in Riches, moſt beautifull in Buildings, hee hath long gaped. Theſe Things will not keepe backe, but draw him on, they will not quench, but inflame his ſacrilegious Thirſt of enlarging his Empire by all both inhumane, and irreligious Wickedneſſe. For who ſees not the Tyrant onely to intend that which is knowne to have beene long Time debated in the Counſell of his Predeceſſors, that by poſſeſſing a Country yeelding eaſieſt Acceſſe into all Parts of *Europe*, moſt fertile of all Kinde of Graine, moſt repleniſhed with all Neceſſaries to build, and arme a Navie, hee might open plentifull Granaries to his numberleſſe Armies, and prepare infinite Shipping, by which beeing Maſter of the *Balthike* Sound, hee might paſſe into the Ocean, and ſo with two Navies, as it were with two Wings, by both the Seas, preſſe, and oppreſſe *Europe*; that he might through moſt open Countries, and Plaines powre into *Germany*, by thoſe Quarters it bordereth with *Poland*, his Land Forces, where are no Cloſure of Mountaines to reſtraine, no Swiftneſſe of Rivers to fore-ſlowe his Journey? This, long ſince, *Solyman* and his Succeſſors caſt in their Minde, neither were they, as it is manifeſt, by any other Reaſon deterred from that Purpoſe, then for that they beleeved, all Chriſtians would conſpire to defend that Kingdome, on whoſe Safety the good Eſtate of all *Europe* depended. Neither did there want in that Age Princes ſo magnanimous, that they rather choſe to ſuffer Loſſe of Subſtance, yea of Life, then to forſake the endangered Safety of their neighbour Nation. But many in this our Age apprehend not, with Griefe I ſpeake it, theſe Things, ſome neglect them, and which is more to be lamented, induſtriouſly invite this faithleſſe Enemie of the Chriſtian Name, of which they are unworthy, and then the Barbarous themſelves more execrable, to the common Deſtruction of all. Theſe our Times, moſt Renowned King! finde onely you, who in your ſingular Wiſedome have conſidered, and underſtood that all *Europe* is ſtrooke at through the Sides of *Poland*, and that the Danger toucheth all Chriſtians; that to ſeeke Warres after Warres, and heape Kingdomes to Kingdomes, is cuſtomary with the *Turkes*, who, not ſatisfied with the Empire of *Aſia*, *Africa*, and greater Part of *Europe*, deſigne what e're remaines for Prey, and according to their Religion, imagine it is not lawfull for them to doe otherwiſe. All theſe Things your Majeſtie well ſees, and thereby hath attained the Glory, whiles other Princes ſtand doubtfull what to thinke, alone to have underſtood, and choſen what was behovefull for the Chriſtian Common-wealth, and to have beene Author to the reſt, of reſiſting, by mutuall Aides, and common Succours, the ſo great Rage of a moſt cruell Enemy, whoſe Fortunes have growne unto this Height of Power by their inteſtine Diſcords. Proceede then, O moſt invincible King! and reach out this your Hand, not more knowne by Armes then Piety, to afflicted *Poland* imploring your Helpe. You are Defender of the Faith; take then Care that our common Deity be not blaſphemed; imitate your Predeceſſors, who held it not burthenſome to rowze the Barbarous out of their owne Dens, and ſtretch unto the Bounds of fartheſt *Syria*, the Glory of the *Britiſh* Name. In your Majeſties moſt ample Territories all Things abound

which

which are requir'd to repreſſe the Force of the moſt potent Enemy; Store of Nobility, Multitude of People, Proviſions of all Kinde, immeaſurable Power. Let not your Majeſty ſuffer the *Engliſh* moſt experienced in military Affaires, the moſt warlike *Scotſh*, the fierce and moſt couragious *Iriſh* idly to behold the Dangers of a King moſt joyn'd in Friendſhip, and of a Nation moſt-affected to your Majeſty; and rather to expect in their own Roofes ſo large a ſpreading Flame, then, whiles they may, extinguiſh it in their Neighbours. To provide in others Danger for your owne, nor to caſt your Eye only on preſent, but alſo on future Things, belongs to your Majeſties celebrated Wiſedome, belongs to your Magnanimitie, which either World ſhall admire, which long Poſteritie ſhall report and praiſe, which preſerved *Poland* ſhall reverence. And my moſt renowned King, as for the preſent hee imbraceth with all poſſible Thankefulneſſe, the particular Affection of your Majeſtie towards him, ſo in all Time to come, he will declare himſelfe that Friend, which ſhall from his Soule both favour your Majeſties proſperous Succeſſes, and in adverſe, if any ſuch ſhould chance, be no leſſe mooved then with his proper Danger.

A Relation of the Departure of the moſt Illuſtrious Prince of *WALES*, from *Madrid* the Ninth of *September*, this preſent Yeare. 1623. *Stilo Novo.*

To Don ALONSO NELI DE REIBADENEYRA, *Lord of* Vega de Porras, *neere to* Valladolid.

THE Wonder of *Cordoua* (*Seneca*, *Romes* Maſter,) ſaid, that the firſt Point of Ingratitude, was to bee forgetfull of a Benefit. Thoſe which I receiv'd from *Don Franceſco de Reibadeneyra*, a Knight of the Order of *Santiago*, Father to your Worthines, I cannot in Gratitude paſſe over in Silence, for acknowledging whereof, I may well ſay (that the Sonne of Reaſon and Recognition roſe in me early) and moreover by an hereditary Bequeathment, Sonnes put their Fathers in Mind, what I ſtood endebted in to yours, whereof I now pay a part, laying at the Feete of your Cenſure, (for the Diſcharge of my Office, in Reſpect of your Wit, and more then humane Parts) this laſt Diſcourſe, of the Departure and Magnificences of the Prince, except the Shallowneſſe of my owne Braine abate ſome Graines of the due Eſtimate. Fare you well.

Andrez de Mendoza.

The Comming of the illuſtrious Prince of *Wales* into theſe Kingdomes, being the ſtrangeſt Occurrent that in a royall Perſon the World hath for many Ages ſeene, which daſht and obſcured all ancient Patternes and Examples, it aſtoniſhed whole Nations, and raiſed up aſſured Hopes of great Proſperities and

and Opinions, of his comming amongſt Men, being ſo diverſly conceived, beyond the Bounds of ordinary Diſcourſe, as in ſundry of my Relations hath beene reported, wherein are diſcovered and revealed many Points of Urbanity, Greatnes, and Gallantrie, I thought my ſelfe likewiſe obliged to write of his Departure, comprehending (as you ſhall ſee) ſo many Circumſtances of Pleaſure, and Contentment. For which, the ninth of *September* was conſtituted, and by the *Conde de Olivares*, as chiefe Maſter of the Horſe, Councellor of Eſtate, and the Kings neereſt Confident; Order was given, that hee ſhould bee accompanied by twelve Gentlemen Wayters, to ſerve and attend him, *Conde de Villa mor*, *de Meiorada*, *de Villa Franqueza*, and *Catillana*, *D. John de Sabe*, *Ara* the Gallant, *D. Diego de Zarate Landi*, *D. Joſeph de Samano*, *D. Antonio Zapata*, *D. Garcia de Caſtro*, *D. Juan de Cordoua*, *D. Aularo de Guzman*, *D. Pompeio de Farſis*, all Perſons of renowned and great Quality. They and their Servants, with all honourable Apparence, of Coaches, Horſe-litters, Jewels, Liveries, and Gallantry, manifeſting the Greatnes of their Perſons, by undertaking it with that Obſervance and Cheerefulnes, which uſually they ſhew, in any Thing commended to their Care.

The Carriages were committed to the Licentiate Don *Lewis de Paredes Alcayd* of the Pallace and Court, and his Care and Diligence herein was but requiſite, for ſo great Proviſions as belonged to the King and the *Infantes*, beſides thoſe of the Prince which hee had in Charge, and the preparing of the Wayes, and opening of Paſſages, to the Licentiated *Juan de Queniones*, Lieutenant to the Corrigidor of *Madrid*, who in this, as in all other Things, ſhewed his Affection and Deſire to ſerve the King; Then to provide victuall, to miniſter Juſtice to both Parts, and to governe a Company ſo neceſſary to be ruled and ordered, as ſuch a Number of Coachmen, Littermen, and Muleters, was referred to the Licentiate, *Don Diego Franco*, *de Garnica Alcayd*, which was not one of the leaſt Services that ever hee performed.

The Cardinall *Zapata*, the Marques *de Aytona*, and the *Conde de Gondomar*, Counſellors of Eſtate, were appointed to accompanie, and to aſſiſt, in whatſoever was neceſſarie to bee conſulted or treated of, in the Behalfe of the King; for as there is no Action of Princes, which is not ſubject to great Variety of Accident, and new Reaſons give Occaſion of preſent Debatements, Points of State muſt neceſſarily bee ſcand and diſcuſt; the *Conde de Monterrey*, Preſident of *Italy*, ſo rare and famous in Underſtanding, was commaunded to attend his Highnes, for the Contentment hee had given herein ſince his Comming, and the great Acceptance which the Prince made of his Service; and hee was commaunded to joyne with the Counſell of Eſtate, to treat of any Matter that ſhould come in Queſtion, and for Secretarie there was ordained *Don Andres de Prada*, and *Loſuda* Knight of the Order of Saint *John*, one that alſo deſerved higher Employments.

The Kings Houſe, furniſht with double Officers, from the higheſt to the leaſt, at the Diſpoſition of the *Conde de Baraias*, his Mayordome, or Steward.

The Privy Chamber and all belonging to it, was commended to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who attended in that Place, and moſt of the Gentlemen there attending

attending were of the *Engliſh* Nation, and the Offices being inferiour to ours, it was the leſſe Inconvenient, they ſhould come for the Time under forraine Obedience, then to oblige ſo great Nobilitie, to new Orders and Cuſtomes: the Servants and Pages of *Conde de Olivaries*, attended and ſerv'd the Duke, as they had done ſince the firſt Day of his Arrivall.

Thoſe of his Majeſties Chamber being all of the chiefe Nobility of Spain.

Horſes, and Mules of Carriage, with whatſoever to them belonged was referred to the Charge of *D. Franciſco Zapata*, one of the Kings Ryders, who was confident of his owne Experience: and amongſt ſo many and ſundry Perſons that went along in this Troop, there were *D. Jacynto Caſtelin*, and *Don Antonio de Farſis: D. Gieronimo de Tapia*, and *D. Manuel Gutienes* the Kings Pages, the Chiefe of the Order of *Calatrava*, the reſt were of the Order of St. *Jago*.

The Lieuetenant to the great Poſt-Maſter, *Sanctiago de Saldanna* and his Officers, and the *Spaniſh* and *Almaine* Guardes, were under *Baraias* Command, and whatſoever elſe belongs to ſo many Lords: all which ſtrove to the uttermoſt, in adorning their owne Perſons, and enriching their Servants Liveries.

His Majeſtie preſented to the Prince: And the Marques *Flores de Avila* his principall Rider, and a Gentleman of his Chamber, in his Name, deliver'd eighteene *Spaniſh* Genets, ſixe Barbaries, ſixe breeding Mares, and twenty Foles, all covered with Clothes of Crymſon Velvet, garniſht and garded with gold Lace, and Scutchions of his Armes, and one of them had a Saddle of fine Lambſkinnes, the other Furniture ſet and embroyder'd with moſt rich Pearle, beſeeming well both his Majeſtie, and his Highneſſe, and two Stallions, with their Mares, and a Piſtoll, Sword and Dagger, ſet with Diamonds of great Value and Eſtimation, fourſcore ſmall Shot, the like Number of Croſſ-bowes, with which the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* had ſerved, and a Sword, and Piſtoll, with which the Duke of *Oſſuna* once ſerved his Majeſtie: and an hundred ſelected Swords, amongſt all thoſe of the Court, and tne Prince gave the Marqueſſe of *Flores*, a rare Jewell of Diamonds.

To the Duke of *Buckingham* were given twelve *Spaniſh* Gennets, foure Moriſcos or Barbarie Horſe, foure Mares, and ten Foales covered with Mantles of crimſon Velvet, garniſht with Gold, and of Swords and Handpeeces, about fiftie: with a Girdle of Diamonds of the Value of thirty thouſand Crownes.

And to the Captaine of the Guard, Baron of *Kenſington*, two hundred Buttons of Diamonds, and foure Horſes, and with them certaine Slings. And to the Eſtimation of fifty 1000. Duckets in Jewels amongſt the *Engliſh* Gentrie: a Gift and Largeſſe correſpondent to ſo great a Monarch.

The Queene our Lady and Miſtres beſides Linnen, preſented to the Prince, fiftie Skins of Ambar unſhaven, and an hundred and fiftie Cabretanes, or of young Kids: their Sent and Perfume amounting to a great Sum of Crownes.

The *Conde d'Olivares* (beſides divers Pictures and other rich Utenſils of the Houſe) preſented his Highnes with three Chains of needle Worke, ſo rich as proper only for a Prince.

Don Layme Manuel de Cordeves Marqueſſe of *Belmonte*, gave him foure Barbary Horſes, and his Highnes commanded a very faire Chaine, to be given him that brought them.

His Majeſtie and his Highneſſe went twice, to take Leave of the Lady Infanta, and of other Royall Perſons, to the Monaſtery of the *Deſcalſas*; where they were entertained with Teares of Joy, and his Majeſtie commanded that the Marques of *Villena*, and the Prince of *Eſquilache*, ſhould enter, with other Lords, that had Siſters and Daughters there. And her Highnes gave unto the Prince, many Boxes of Sents, Flowers, and other Things of great Curioſity and Riches.

The Embaſſadors, Grandes, and Counſellors of Eſtate, went to take Leave of his Highnes; by whom they were honor'd, and he thanked them for the Care and Paines they tooke, in all the Meetings for his Diſpatches: and hee ſent to viſit all religious and grave Perſons, eccleſiaſticall and ſecular of the Aſſembly, to whom he gave the like Thankes: for as in Greatneſſe, ſo is he in no Manner of Urbanitie defective. On *Thurſday* at ſeven of the Clocke in the Morning, in the Preſence of the Counſell of Eſtate, betweene the Hands of the illuſtrious Patriarke of the *Indies*, his Highneſſe with the King of *Spaine*, performed ſome Ceremonies of the matrimoniall Capitulations, and thoſe of the Convention of the State.

The Day after, in the Evening, about five of the Clocke, his Majeſtie went for the Prince in publike, wearing a blacke Sute, and Jewels, for the Sorrow of the Princes Departure, and his Highneſſe ware no Jewels at all. The Concourſe of People was ſo great, that neither any Reſpect of his Majeſty, nor Feare of the Guards could keepe them back, ſo dearely *Spaine* loves her Kings. The Love of the Prince, is growne ſo naturall: and his Confidence, and Tractabilitie in Treaties, hath ſo augmented it; as alſo the *Spaniards* are ſo eaſily wonne with Affabilitie, an infallible Effect of their Demerit and Valour. And ſo likewiſe, as beeing Sonne to a moſt abſolute and underſtanding King, his Highneſſe knew how to imitate with ſuch admirable Sufficiency. The Queene and the Infanta, accompanied with all the Ladies of the Court, the Wives and Ladies of Embaſſadors, Ladies, and *Menima's*, which are certaine yong Nobilitie expected; who being entred, they went and received him without the *Tarrima*. And all turning towards her, Hee firſt tooke Leave of the Queene of *Spaine*, without an Interpreter in the *French* Tongue: and afterwards by Meanes of his Embaſſador Ordinarie, who interpreted for the *Infanta*, with whom hee continued about halfe an Houre. And all the *Engliſh* Lords and Knights kiſſed the Queenes, and the *Infanta's* Hands.

A Place of the Court ſo call'd.

Where being conducted and accompanied by the Lordes *Infantes*, to his Coach, and the Duke of *Infantado*, the *Conde de Olivares*, the Duke of *Buckingham*,

Buckingham, and the Earle of *Briſtoll*; the *Spaniards* on the Side of his Highneſſe, and the *Engliſh* on the Kings Side, they went to the *Deſcalſa's*, to take their laſt Leave of his Highnes, leaving behinde them this great and famous Place. They returned by Night. And afterwards his Highnes Gifts and Preſents were made knowne, ſuch as beſeemed a Prince, to Perſons who ſhall be made knowne; wherein he ſhewed the Greatneſſe of his Perſon, and the Deſire and Reſpect they bare to his Majeſty, and ought to ſhew and manifeſt.

A Monaſtery of bare-leg'd Friers.

To the King our Lord hee gave a Sword ſet with Diamonds, which in the leaſt Eſtimate muſt needs be held a great Gift: and his Majeſty gave him that delivered it, a Jewell correſpondent to the Majeſtie of a King.

To the Queene our Miſtreſſe, hee ſent a faire and relucent Diamond, which was eſteem'd to be of twenty Caracts Weight: And a Triangle, and two Eare Rings of Diamonds, as big as an indifferent Beane, great in Value, but greater in Art, and Workmanſhip: and the Queenes Majeſtie gave to the Keeper of the Wardrobe that brought them, three thouſand Crownes.

To the Lady *Infanta* a String of two hundred and fifty great peare-faſhioned Pearles, of rare Perfection, and of five Caracts: and one with a Diamond which cannot be valued: and two little Peare-pearles for the Eares, of ineſtimable Value: and other two Pearles for the ſame Parts, marvellous great.

To the two chiefe Ladies of the Chamber, the Ducheſſe of *Gandia*, and the Counteſſe of *Lemos*. To the chiefe *Mayor-domos* or Stewards: the Duke of *Infantado*, and the *Conde* of *Benavente*, Jewels of Diamonds. And the Duke gave five hundred Ducats to him that brought them: and to ſeventeene Ladies and *Minima's* ſeventeene Jewels, as eſtimable for Value, as for Art.

To the Lord *Infante Don Carlos* a poynted Diamond, in a Cup, ſet in a Ring, as a true Preſent from a Prince to his Highneſſe.

To the Lord Cardinall *Infante* a Pectorall of Topazes, Diamonds, and a pendent Pearle, which might ſupply the Abſence of the *Peregrina*.

To the *Conde de Olivares*, a great Diamond called a *Portugues*, and it was ſome time *Don Sebaſtians*, it is of eight Caracts, with a pendent Pearle of great Price. And the *Conde* gave to the Keeper of the Wardrobe, to Mr. *Endimion Porter*, and Mr. *Thomas Carey* of his Highneſſe Chamber, Jewels of good Value, and each of them ſixe excellent Swords, with all their Furniture.

Some rare Jewell ſo called.

To the Counteſſe of *Olivares*, a Croſſe of very great Diamonds in forme of a Columne. And to the Lady *Maria de Guzman* her Daughter, a Ring worth a great Summe of Crownes.

To the Admirall of *Caſtilla* a great Jewell, and his Excellency a thouſand Crownes to him that brought it, and to the Marqueſſe of *Carpio* the like.

To the Duke of *Hixar:* To the Marques of *Mondexar:* To the Kings Confeſſor, and to the Biſhop of *Segovia* foure Jewels of Diamonds worthy of ſuch Perſons, and him that gave them.

And to all the Gentlemen of the Chamber, rings with faire Diamonds, and to the Counſellors of Eſtate, Stones of double the Greatneſſe.

To fourteene of the Kings Pages, ſo many Chaines, and ſixe and fifty thouſand Ryals to the inferiour Officers that waited. To the Guard of Archers foure thouſand Crownes; and to every one was given a very good Ring. And alſo to *Don Melchior* of *Alcazar*, whoſe Obſervance and Attendance deſerv'd it.

To the *Conde de la Puebla del Maeſtre*, a Chaine of a thouſand, an hundred and ſeventeene Diamonds; and a Jewell with forty ſeven more, with his owne Picture.

The Duke of *Buckingham* gave to *Don Rodrigo de Aguiar*, and *Don Pedro Ares*, Servants to the *Conde de Olivares*, two Sutes of Apparell, and Croſſes of Diamonds double the Value. The like were given to *Don Juan de Santacruz*, and *Don Pedro de Vega:* And to thirteene Pages, thirteene Chaines of Gold: and to the inferiour Officers and Servants, a great Summe of Money: and to all that carried Horſes, or any other Thing into *England*, great Gifts of Money and Chaines, reſerving ſtill, the ſhewing them a further Favour there. The Prince did the like to the Gentlemen-waiters to the King. To *Marco Antonio Darroque*, and to *Don Juan de Fonſeca Rabelo*, Attendants about the Kings Perſon, to each of them a thouſand five hundred Crownes.

On *Saturday* by faire Day-light, they departed, the Prince, the King, and the Infantes, and in a Manner, all the Court, and every ones Family; to *San Lorenço*, or the *Eſcuriall*, whither they came that Day. And the Day following, there were ſhewed to his Highneſſe, accompanied with the royall Perſons, the *Pantheon*, Sepulchers, Veſtrie, Quire, Libraries, Cloiſters, and Gardens: who admired it, as it well deſerves: and to all thoſe Lords it ſeem'd not onely greater then the Fame that went of it, but then any Conceit or Imagination they could have therof: and in Reaſon, it was exalted with the Title of the eighth Wonder of the World, and the Epilogue and Concluſion of all the reſt.

A Place of Pleaſure in Spaine.

Monday following, being the eleventh, (while they that were to goe the Journey, came on to the reſt of the Company) was ſpent in ſeeing the *Freſneda* and the *Boſcages*, as alſo in hunting there.

Tueſday Morning was ſpent after the ſame Manner: And his Majeſtie determining with their Highneſſes, to accompany them to the Grove of *Balſayn:* when his Highnes requeſted him, having Reſpect to the Queenes being great with Child, that he would no longer continue his Abſence; his Majeſty reſiſted, but in the End was overcome by his Highneſſe: for his juſt Demand required no leſſe.

They departed from the *Eſcuriall*; and in a little Field not farre off the Place ordain'd for their taking of Leave; they alighted, and ſo ſitting down for the Space almoſt of halfe an Houre, converſed.

Afterwards they embraced, and the Queene, the Infanta, with the Brothers, *Don Carlos*, and *Infante Cardinall*, came to doe the like: Then all the *Engliſh* Lords and Gentlemen kiſſed the Kings Hand, and the *Spaniards* the Princes:

by

by both whom they were vouchſafed great Honours. And returning to embrace againe, with wonderfull Demonſtrations of Love, a Trophee was commanded to be erected, with an Inſcription of all that ſucceeded, in this Place where they took Leave.

The Prince departed to lye at *Guardarama* in his Coach, with the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Conde de Monterrey*, *Conde de Gondomar*, and his Fathers Embaſſador Leager: And the King and their Highneſſes went to *Madrid*. And this Night the Admiral of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, in his Majeſties Name, with a great Traine and Show of Followers, was ſent Poſt to viſit the Prince, and one of the *Engliſh* Lords was likewiſe ſent by his Highneſſe to the King of *Spaine*.

On *Wedneſday* hee went to dine at *Balſayn*, where hee tooke great Delight in the Houſe and Boſcages; as alſo in the rare and ſtrange Situation. And about foure of the Clocke in the Evening, he entred into *Segovia*, where all the Country came flocking in to ſee him. He admired the Building of the Church, and of the Palace, when, upon the opening the Coach, they gave him a Welcome with all their Artillerie, which was much and good. And lighting on Foote, hee viewed all the Houſe, extolling the Memory of prudent *Philip* the Second, the Re-edifier thereof, delighting to ſee his Armes quartered, with thoſe of theſe Kingdomes in the Scutcheons of the ſecond great Hall. The Worke of *Don Henriques* the Third, who married with a Neece of the Kings his Progenitors.

An Officer of great Place.

The *Conde de Chinchon Alcayd* of that Royall Houſe, and the Treaſurer of the Money Mint, was appointed to entertain him: Which hee performed with the Greatneſſe of his Quality, and ſingular Wit and Diſcretion: who attended him at the Gate, accompanied with his Lieutenant, the Guard, and the Captaine of the *Alcazar* or Palace, and withall their Servants ſet forth in all Braverie, and hee offered him the Chiefe and double Key; becauſe the principall Key of the *Fuerca* is onely preſented to the Kings Perſon; or elſe obtaining it by Plea of Homage.

Betweene Dinner and Supper a Collation of ſome Fruits and Junkets.

His Highneſſe was pleaſed to *merender*, or make his Collation, and the *Conde* ſerved him, with a Number of Delicates, and certaine Trouts of extraordinarie Greatneſſe. Alſo *Don Sancho Giron*, a Knight of the Order of *Alcantara*, *Corrigidor*, (the Glory of *Talavera*, his Countrie) was ready with a Preſent of Milke Confections, of that Citie, ſo celebrated, which he eſteemed, and for it ſent him great Thankes.

Afterwards the whole Citie in Ranke and Order, with Mace-bearers, came to kiſſe his Hand, whom he honor'd, diſcovering himſelfe to them, and not permitting the Ceremony of a Kiſſe, hee imbraceth them with Shew of great Joy and Contentment.

Then he went downe to ſee the Mint-Houſe: where alſo the Count himſelfe offered him the Keyes; and the *Alcazar*, or Palace, gave him a full Salve. All the Stamps were imployed, and wrought of all Sorts in his Preſence, and here, after he had admired the Form and Maner thereof, the

Conde

Conde de Chinchon ſerved him in Founts, with more then three thouſand Crownes, telling him, how it was the Fruit of thoſe Gardens, in Doubles, of an hundred, eight, foure, two, and plaine Plates, Ryals of fifty and of eight, and from them to halfe Ryals: He accepted of this Service; and among thoſe Knights and Gentlemen, that delighted in the Beauty of the Coyne, he imparted ſome; the reſt with much Contentment, hee diſperſt among the People, who beheld him, with many Acclamations and Benedictions.

Being returned to the Palace, when he had ſupt, the Place was girt round about with Lights and Fires: and the Palace with a Number of Torches, and ſome great Ones very artificiall, which yeelded much Light: an excellent Invention; and he preſented him with a gallant Maſk of thirty and two Knights, which might wel have appear'd in the Court, wherin there were Liveries of Cloth and Silkes, mounted on excellent Jennets. The Palace diſcharges all their Artillery, which was mingled with the ſound of Bels, Trumpets, and muſicall Inſtruments, which took up a great Part of the Night. They had provided Buls, and twelve Lanciers; but the Haſte of the Journey could not admit of this Service.

His Highneſſe gave to *Chinchon* a Jewell worth 3000. Crownes, and hee to him that brought it, a Chaine worth three hundred.

He commanded Money to be given among the Officers of the Houſe, and 200. Crownes to the Maſters of the Artillerie, and as many to *Don Juan de Torres*, a pregnant and witty Poet, who dedicated unto him certaine ingenious and elegant Verſes: and to *Andres de Mendoça*, Author of this Relation, who preſented him with a Congratulation of his happy Eſpouſals in the *Latine* Tongue, three thouſand Ryals, with many Honours and Manifeſtations of Contentment. And about five in the Morning, hee cheerefully departed from *Agaſaxo*, being received into that Citie: hee dined at *Santa Maria de Nieva*, and the Day following, at *Santiuſtie*, and lay at *Olmedo:* on *Saturday* he dined at *Valdeſtillas*, and by two came to *Valladolid*, where the whole Chancerie, Citie, and Univerſitie kiſſed his Hand, with a great Traine and Company, whom he honored with Signes of Joy and Gladneſſe: he was entertained by thoſe Lords with Bravery and Gallantrie, wherein they ſhewed Affection to ſerve their King, and by celebrating the Joy of the Prince his Comming, which his Majeſtie formerly manifeſted: Amongſt whom, the Marqueſſe *de los Velez*, and the *Conde de Alvade Aliſte*, exemplified themſelves, in the great Traine of Servants, the glorious Apparell of their owne Perſons, and in the Riches of their Liveries; all which he honoured as they deſerved, and as he well knowes how to performe it. His Highneſſe went to ſee the Kings Garden, hee was much delighted with the Pictures of *Raphael de Urbino*, and *Michael Angelo*, and with the Alabaſter Fountaine, which the illuſtrious great Duke of *Tuſcan* gave to my Lord Cardinall, the Duke of *Lerma:* he was ſerved with it: It is the Portrature of *Cain* and *Abel*. And his Highneſſe took great Contentment in the rich Shops of the Citie, which honoured him with Feſtivities of Fires, (for he would ſtay for no other Solemnities) and leaving among the Officers of the Palace and the Garden, Teſtimonies of his Magnificence, he departed to *Duennas*, where, by order, the Duke

Duke of *Cea*, Vice-Admiral of *Caſtilia*, entertained and feaſted him; and in *Palencia* he was received and feaſted by the Biſhop, to whom he gave a great Jewell, and to his beſt, and inferiour Servants, a Liberality of Mony: from whence he departed to *Carrion*. Hee viſited the Antiquities of the Citie, and ſo went to *Fromiſta*, and having Entertainement in the Marqueſſes Houſe, by his Order, he was ſerved with a great ſumptious Dinner: The like was ſhewed him in *Alguilar de Campo*, by the Marqueſſe thereof; and in *Herrera Rio de Piſuerga*. The Conſtable of *Caſtilia* and *Leon*, preſented him with the like, for his own Honour, and the Eminency of his Family, omitting nothing, wherin he may teſtifie it.

And thus the Author cuts off the Thread of his Narration, reſerving the reſt for ſome more elegant Pen, till his Comming to *London*.

With Licence from the Lord Gançalo Perez de Valençuela.

In *Madrid* by the Widdow of *Alonſo Martin* 1623.

Thus far runnes the printed Spaniſh *Relation: what enſued after, you ſhall now heare, from the Report of ſome of his Highneſſe Traine, that attended in the Voyage. And thus it beginnes.*

He arrived at Saint *Andera* on Saint *Mathews* Day: not farre off from this Port, the Prince dined (having not yet made his Entry into the Towne) whilſt he ſat at Dinner (circled about with all his noble Company) a double Newes ſaluted him at the Boord, and both of them good; the one was, that his Siſter (the Princeſſe Palatine) was ſafely brought to bed of a Sonne; the other was, that the whole Fleet (unſhaken by any dangerous Sea-bruizes) was arrived in the Haven of Saint *Andera*. In the Afternoone of the ſame Day that the Newes was brought, about foure of the Clocke, he was with all Honor received and welcomed into the Towne: Being entertained upon the Way, not only with Multitudes of People teſtifying much Affection in their Faces, and uttering no leſſe in their *Spaniſh* Tongues, that it came from their Hearts: but to render this Joy more ſubſtantiall, he was firſt all the Way he came along preſented with Vollies of Muſketeeres, and at the Towne with a ringing Peale of Ordnance. He was no ſooner in the Towne, but his Deſire was to take a View of his Fleet, being attended by many great Lords of *Spaine* who had come along to Saint *Andera* with him; the *Conde* of *Monterey* being a principall; with many *Engliſh* of good Quality.

How ſoone are Joyes turned into Sorrowes? Safetie into Dangers? a ſhining Forenoone into a gloomy Evening? His Highneſſe after all that feaſting and triumphing in Saint *Andera*, being deſirous to go aboord that goodly Ship (the Admirall of his Fleet) called the Prince, (a Title due to it for the Bravery and princely Building of it) ſpent ſo much Time, that the Evening drew on apace, and with the Evening a more threatning Enemy:

for

for not onely the Tyde reſiſted his Comming backe (his Highnes being then in his own Barge, and his owne Watermen rowing in it) but a Storme began to ariſe, and the Billows to ſwel high, before the Watermen had gotten halfe Way from the Ships to the Towne, the Diſtance between the Shore and the Ships being at leaſt a *Spaniſh* League. The Watermen were ſtrong, cunning, and couragious, but the furious Waves taught their Oares another Manner of Practiſe then ever they were put to upon the *Thames*. To the Town they could not poſſibly get, againſt a Wind and Tyde ſo raging, or if they had ventured, it had been dangerous, in Regard a huge Barke (to ſave her ſelfe) lay very neere the Mouth of the Harbour: to the Shore they were as fearefull to put, it being full of Rocks; to the Ships back againe to flie for Succour, Night (a darke Night) being ſpred over that Horizon, denied that Comfort, for if they ſhould miſſe the Ships, they were in Doubt to be carried into the Maine, the Channell where the Fleet anchored, running with an impetuous and irreſiſtable Torrent. In this full-Sea of Horrors, the Prince reſolved to turn back towards the Ships, and to fall in upon the firſt they could faſten, rather then truſt to the Mercy of the Rockes, upon every one of which ſat inevitable Deſtruction.

A hideous Night.

What could Hope truſt to here, where neither the Watermens Skill, nor Strength, could incourage them to bring Safety to their Maſter? The Clouds opened, and diſcharged their Artillery of Raine, Lightning, and Thunder: Elements of contrary Nature, warring one upon another, whilſt the Waters (which were called up, to decide the Controverſie) quarrelling with the Winds, made the Uproare more horrid and tempeſtuous.

And ſo much greater was the Danger, by how much the Night (by reaſon of the Storme) grew darker and darker: yet at laſt, that omnipotent Arme, which can teare up Rocks from their Center, and that Voyce which can call in the Winds, and ſtill them with the moving of his Finger, ſent a Dove with an Olive Branch in her Bill, as an Aſſurance of Comfort. For by caſting out a Rope from a Ship called the *Defiance*, (which with much Hazard of Life, one of the Princes Watermen catched hold of) by ſpying a Light in the ſame Ship, his Highneſſe and all in the Barge with him, (Praiſe be given to the Almighty Pilot, that ſtood at Helme) were with unſpeakable Joy received into that Shippe, and there tooke up his Lodging till the next Morning: nothing at all daunted at theſe Terrors, ſithence Dangers to noble Minds are but the Triumphs of their conſtant Sufferings.

The next Day (being *Saturday)* his Highneſſe was brought to Shore, and dined in a Houſe appointed for him and his Company; where after Dinner, he tooke Leave of the *Spaniſh* Commiſſioners, and others, who had waited on him thither; and a little before the Evening, went aboard his Ship, called the *Prince*, with a full Reſolution to make the Compaſſe of thoſe wooden Walles, the Prince of *Englands* Court, and in that Sea-Chamber of Preſence even to dwell, without any Remove, untill it ſhould pleaſe God to ſend a proſperous Winde, fit to carry him into *England*.

On

The Spaniſh Lords feaſted in the Princes Ship, for a laſt Farewell.

On *Sunday* (which was the 14. of *September*) his Highneſſe invited the *Spaniſh* Commiſſioners, and other Gentlemen to a Feaſt aboard, as a Farewell to them before they ſet forward to *Madrid*; and at their Returne from his Shippe, where they had ſuch Royall Entertainment, as the Time and Place could conveniently prepare, the whole Fleet in their Paſſage by every particular Ship, beſtowed upon them a Sea-ſalutation and Farewell, from the Mouthes of their Artillery, whoſe Ecchoes met them upon their very Landing on the Shore.

Leave we thoſe Lords of *Spaine*, fitting their Journey backe againe to *Madrid*, and let us returne to our Prince; whoſe Progreſſe (after the King of *Spaine* had taken Leave of him at *Campillo*) ending at S. *Andera* (or S. *Andrew*) the Time untill he ſet Sayle for *England*, was thus entertained.

On the 10. of *September*, his Highneſſe came to the Towne; on the 11. his whole Fleet, (being eight Ships of his Majeſties Navy Royall, and two Pinnaces) ſafely arrived in Sight of the Towne: the 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. and 17. went away (as before is related) in Entertainments on ſhore and aboard, in ſurveying, and making ready the Fleete; and laſt, in that laſt Farewell given to the *Spaniſh* Commiſſioners, which was on the 14. of *September*; after whoſe Departure, his Highneſſe continued aboard foure Dayes, before he weighed Anchor, which was with much Joy, Elevation of Voyces, Thundring of Drums and Trumpets, and that excellent muſicall Tumult of Mariners, nimbly running up and downe to ſet forward ſo royall a Buſineſſe.

Anchors now are weighed, all the Linnen Bravery of ſwelling Sailes, courting the Winds to ſpeed them in their Journey: *Spaniſh* People ſtand upon the Shore; our Prince and *Engliſh* Noble-men upon the Deckes, taking Leaves one of another in dumbe Shewes, with Lookes, Hands, and Hats; And now ſuppoſe that for nine Dayes and Nights together you behold his Highneſſe and his Noble Attendants, flying apace towards *England* with the Wings of proſperous Winds. But on the 29. Day of *September* (being *Michaelmas* Day) the Seas grew churliſh, the Windes angry, and to avoyd their Fury, the whole Fleet was forced to put into the Iland of *Silley*, from whence they came into Saint *Maries Sound*, and then on the Third of *October*, being accompanied onely with a Side-wind, they came merrily forward; and within two Dayes after, that is to ſay, on the Fifth of *October*, (being *Sunday*) at Nine of the Clocke in the Morning, his Highneſſe, (with unſpeakable Joy of all within Reach of ſuch happy Tidings) landed at *Portſmouth*.

Yet before he could meet this Happineſſe of Landing, a Misfortune had a Minde to croſſe him, but Heaven would not ſuffer it: for one of the Ships in the Fleet had like to over-ſet him, but the Malice of this Danger ended in his Preſervation.

Being thus then in Health and Safety ſet upon the Shore, let us with the ſame Speed follow him to *London*, which he himſelfe makes, to glad with his Preſence, the Eyes of his royall Father.

But the Joy (that he was come) being ſwifter then he could be himſelfe, put both the Countrey, (all the Way that he came) and the City, (when even after Midnight it was entred into) into ſuch in-utterable Expreſſions of affectionate Gladneſſe, ſuch unlimitable and violent Inundations of Joy, that the People (to remember the Comfort they received in their Prince) ſeemed to looſe their owne Being, and to forget that they were themſelves: Men, Women, and Children made but one Conſort, and the Muſicke of that Conſort, founded nothing but the Prince is come, our *Charles* is come. From the Noble-man to the Artificer, if Contention had aroſe, which of them was fulleſt of good Wiſhes, of glad Welcomes, of loud-reſounding Acclamations for his Comming, it had beene hard to decide the Difference.

So many Bels were heard ringing for a whole Day together, that a Stranger but newly entring the Citie, might have thought here had beene ſpoken no other Language, all Language elſe being drowned.

So infinite were the Bonefires, ſo coſtly, and ſo high flaming, that had they all beene ſeene burning in the Night-time, that Weeke might have boaſted, it had gotten one Day more than any other Weeke in the Yeere, ſo univerſall was the Light.

The Day was foule and rainy, but there were artificiall Sun-beames in every Streete to dry up the Showres.

What need I buſie my ſelfe againe to draw forth this *Engliſh* Maſterpeece of ours, when every Man carries the Picture of it in his Boſome! It will be a Legacie for yong Men when they grow old, to reade (by the Fire Side) the Chronicle of this Day to their Children.

Let us leape therefore from Land againe and behold at Sea one remarkable Accident, with which his Highneſſe happily encountred in his Paſſage homewards. And that was this.

About a Day before they put in at *Silley*, a great thundring of Ordnance beat round about the Aire, in ſo much that in a ſhort Time after, the Fire of the Peeces was a farre off eaſily diſcerned.

The Fleete approching neerer and neerer, certaine *Dunkerkers* and *Hollanders* were at it pell mell: Hereupon two Ships of his Highneſſe Fleet, called the *Seaven Starres* and the *Rainbow* (being the formoſt of the reſt) gave them a Shot and hail'd them; upon which firſt came up foure Shippes ſingled from the reſt, who being aſked what they were? They anſwer'd Men of Warre, and of *Dunkerks:* Our Men bid them go to the Lee-ward, and ſpeake to the Prince of *England*; they preſently did ſo, and went under our Princes Sterne.

Then came up 5 Ships more, they being likewiſe hailed, came; and being demanded what they were? They anſwered, *Holland* Men of Warre: Theſe alſo were bidden to go to the Lee-ward, and ſpeake to the Prince of *England.*

Theſe comming then under the Princes Sterne, as the other had done before; his Highneſſe commanded them to hoyſe out their Boates, and the Captaines of either Side to come aboard: they did ſo; and the Cauſe of their Fighting being examined by the Prince, it was found that the foure

Dunkerkers

The Ancient Patriarchs Peregrination: *or a* MAP *of the* first *Inhabited* Countries *that were in the* World. *containing a Discription of the passages & proceedings from the* Flood *to the* Family *of* JACOB. *Their several travels, living, and places of* Abode. *notified by pricked lines for the readers direction.*

Face p.243.

J. Mynde Sc.

Dunkerkers comming out for them, made after them, and chaſed them to fight. His Highneſſe underſtanding by their own Relations the Truth of their Quarrell, told them that ſince it was their Fortune to fall into his Company, hee would perſwade them to bee at Peace, and to give over the Chaſe, and to bid farewell one to another. The *Hollander* ſeemed unwilling to this, urging rather the contrary; but his Highneſſe (out of a noble Deſire to ſave the ſhedding of Bloud) uſed many gracious Mediations to draw them to Peace, and prevailed ſo much at that Time, as that they parted Friends and upon equall Termes: And for Prevention of returning to their Quarrell, his Highnes ſet them one from the other ſome good Diſtance off, and ſo let them goe.

The Ancient Patriarchs Peregrination; or a MAP of the firſt inhabited Countries that were in the World: Containing a Deſcription of the Paſſages and Proceedings from the FLOOD to the Family of JACOB. Their ſeveral Travels, Living, and Places of Abode, notified by pricked Lines for the Reader's Direction.

THIS ſmall Map, as little as it is, may (if it pleaſe you to peruſe it) at one View diſcover to you, what in many greater Charts you cannot find; nor is it ever a whit the leſſe uſefull, becauſe little, ſince each Sophiſter knowes that a Compend of Logicke containes as well all the Termes of that Art, as the *Stagirites* larger Volumes; and every one that ſees in a ſmall Table the Miniature of a Man, can equally diſcerne Perfection in it (if it be exactly drawne, and according to the Life) as if it were accompliſhed with a fuller Deſcription of all the Lineaments. The Face of a great Country, (or to ſay truly of divers Countries) is in this briefe Plat compriſed; which as it cannot but exceedingly ſatisfie many, concerning theſe Things; ſo (it may bee preſumed) will delight all that are deſirous of ſuch Antiquities.

It is not unknowne to any that is acquainted with the *Scriptures*, (for *they* ſhall be as neere as can be gathered, followed) that the firſt Plantation of Man upon the Earth, after *Adams* Expulſion from *Paradiſe*, was Eaſtward, as *Geneſis* 4. 16. and continued ſpreading up and downe thoſe Regions in long liv'd Multitudes till (for the Wickedneſſe then over growing the inhabited Lands) the *Flood* came, over-ſpreading all the Face of the Earth.

Theſe Waters abated, the *Arke* was found reſting upon the high Mountaines of *Ararat* (interpreted by moſt *Armenia*) from whence *Noah* and *his Sonnes* with their Wives (*all Mankind at that Time*,) deſcending tended South-Eaſtward, to ſeeke among the lower Countries ſome more convenient Place

for Habitation; and so planted themselves in that Part, situated betweene those two great and pleasant Rivers, *Euphrates* Westward and *Tygris* Eastward, both supposed to have passed through the *Garden* of *Eden*; the first going under the Name of *Perath*, the other of *Hiddekel*. A Country surpassing all in the World for Beauty, Fruitfulnesse, Commodiousnesse, and Amænitie.

These Places are here principally in the uppermost Division of this Map contained, as also a small Touch of the *Land* of *Canaan*, but for as much as *Canaan* with *Ægypt* is there inserted, it serves onely to shew at one Glance, how *that* beares from those other Countries, and they from it; but the Use appertaines most to the Easterne Lands betweene the two Rivers; the originall Country of *Abraham* the Patriarch; of whom and his Posterity, their native Country, living, and Journeyes, this Description and Plat are compiled. Thus therefore. After that at the Building of *Babel* in the Land of *Shinar*, afterward *Chaldea*, (the Languages being then confounded) the People were dispersed; *Abrahams* Ancestours taking their Way thence, planted themselves upon a sweet River in a most wholsome, delightfull, rich, and fertile Soyle, and erected there a famous Citie called *Ur* of the *Chaldees*.

Here continued *Terah*; with *Abraham*, *Nahor*, and *Haran*, *Terahs* 3 Sons, untill it pleased *God* to reveale himselfe to *Abraham* in his divine Oracles; commanding him to depart the Land of his Nativity, teaching him the true Worship of the true God, that before was trained up in Idolatry, both he and al his Fathers House, *Gen.* 11. 31, 32.

So *Terah* with *Abraham* and *Nahor* (for *Haran Terahs* other Sonne dyed before his Father in the Place where he was borne) they and theirs leaving *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, and the Territories of *Babylon*, journeyed West and Northward till they came unto *Haran* (called by *Stephen*, *Charran*, *Act.* 7. 2.) in *Mesopotamia*, where a long Time they lived; where *Terah* dyed, and where *Nahor* and his Posterity made their Mansion, and setled their Abode. But *Abraham* the Called of the Lord, as before he had (upon God's Appointment) forsaken his naturall Birth-place and familiar Acquaintance; so now by another Motion of Gods Spirit directing him thereto, hee takes Leave of his deerest and neerest kindred, goes out of *Haran* on the other Side of *Euphrates*, and *Mesopotamia*, toward the Land of *Canaan* South, onely accompanied of *Lot* his Kinsman; a Place altogether unknowne, and (well may bee imagined) uncouth to him, to enter in there, with all his Possessions of Goods, Servants and Cattle, among a Multitude of Strangers; many of them almost barbarous, most of them cruell and covetous; but the Faith he had on God his exceeding great Reward, as it did and does make him famous in all Ages, and in all Lands, so it made him confident to goe to, and constant to passe through that Land, treading under all Obstacles and Impediments whatsoever, especially seeing the gracious Lord that made him his happy Servant, gave him by Promise to possesse in Hope that rich Country.

Now

Now that this worthy Patriarch is come to *Canaan*, paſſing by the Way of *Damaſcus* and ſo onward, you ſhall underſtand, that he firſt pitched his Tent about *Sechem*, where hee built an Altar to the Worſhip of God, from thence hee removed to a Mountaine, between *Bethel* and *Haai*, erecting there an Altar likewiſe. From this Place a Famine was Cauſe of his Journey Southward into *Ægypt*, whence after a hard Welcome there, hee repaired to the former Stage by *Bethel*, and from thence to the faire Plaine of *Mambre*, bordering upon the great City *Hebron*, whence after he had ſeen the Deſtruction of *Sodom*, and thoſe other, he came to *Gerar* in the *Philiſtims* Countrey, and ſo paſſed over to *Berſheba*. Then was he commanded to go to the Land of *Moriah* (his tenth Removall) and offer in Sacrifice his Sonne *Iſaak*, from whence comming the ſame Way, he returned to his Tent at *Berſheba*; and his laſt Paſſage was from *Berſheba* again to the Plaine of *Mambre* by *Hebron*, where firſt *Sarah*, and after, himſelfe deceaſed, and were interred: as evidently appeares; each ſeverall Journey; noted by Prickes and Figures, and their Place of Sepulture notified in particular. And for theſe Things here ſpecified you muſt have Recourſe to the nethermoſt Plat, which is onely of the Land of *Canaan*, where you may ſee all this perfectly deſcribed; which in the uppermoſt could not be ſet.

The other Sons of *Abraham*, as *Iſmael*, and thoſe that *Keturah* bare him, tooke their Way Eaſtward and South, into *Arabia* and the adjacent Parts, betweene the *Red Sea* and the *Perſian* Gulfe, all which Places are in theſe Maps orderly ſeated: but *Iſaack*, for the moſt Part, abode in the Land of *Canaan*; and after him *Jacob*, when he returned with his Family and Poſſeſſions from his Uncle *Laban* from *Haran* or *Padan Aram*; till his going into *Egypt*. Both *Abraham*, *Iſaack*, and *Jacob*, the great Patriarchs, all of them Wanderers, Travellers, and Pilgrims, by theſe their Pilgrimages manifeſtly ſhowing that they had here no abiding City, but ſought one to come, by Faith; carrying themſelves as Strangers and Sojourners upon the Earth, journeying from one Place to another; dwelling in Huts and Tents, having no certaine Place of Inheritance here, but, ſeeking one immortall and undefiled, even in the Heavens.

Such was the Condition of their Life: and although it bee not now with us (the moſt at leaſt) ſo to change Place, yet it behoves every one of us to conſider of what Country he belongs to, and what his Heritage is to be; which is not to ſettle our Affections upon earthly Things, that are at beſt but tranſitory; but to fixe our Eies on the right Object, and aime at the right Marke, the heavenly Kingdome, that high Inheritance provided and prepared for us by our bleſſed Saviour. That as thoſe holy Patriarchs in the former, ſo we in the latter Times of the World, may all of us together ſhew the ſame Faith in the ſame God, and the ſame Hope of that ſame true unfading Heritage, reſerved for us in the Heavens.

For all ſuch as deſire to know the Situation of theſe Countries here included, by Longitude and Latitude; The Latitude is from 30 Degrees, to 43 of North Latitude, and the Longitude beginning at 74 or thereabouts upon

upon *Egypt*, continues running along unto 100 Degrees of Longitude; *Perſia* being the South, and Part of the *Caſpian* Sea the North Bound thereof.

Theſe Lands (all but *Egypt*) are comprehended under that Part of the World called *Aſia*, and that very Part of *Aſia*, which hath beene by many accounted the Middle of the World, and being firſt inhabited, diſperſed into all other Parts of the World, the People which have ever ſince covered the Face of the Earth. Herein alſo is a Touch given of the Garden of *Eden*, and the Rivers iſſuing thereout; but it is beſt not to bee too curious about ſuch Things that are altogether concealed from our Knowledge, and that purpoſely by the Scripture.

But it is certaine that as this was the Mother of all other Places, ſo was it alſo the Miſtreſſe of all knowne Places; as well appeares by the proto-Cities *Ninive*, and the reſt; and the two firſt univerſall Monarchies of the World therein erected; the one of the *Aſſyrians* and *Chaldeans*, the other of the *Medes* and *Perſians*.

Many other Things might be added of the Country it ſelfe; as alſo of the changing of ſome Names, and ſuch like; which I rather referre to the ingenious Peruſers Judgment to conſider of by himſelfe.

The Praiſe of KING *RICHARD* the Third.

By Sir WILLIAM CORNWALLIS. 1617.

THAT Princes are naturally ambitious, and that Ambition makes them to effect their Deſires, rather than to affect the Equitie of their Deſignes, may more truly then ſafely be avowed. For all of them, I thinke, were the Record of their Actions indifferent, might be taxed of this Vice. But this Excuſe cleares not the Accuſed; yet it teſtifies, that Princes erre againſt Nature, if they aſpire not. Wee hold (not without Reaſon) that if the Bill of the Plaintiffe be ſtuffed with frivolous Aſſertions, that the Complaint ſavoureth more of Malice then of Wrong. Why ſhould not the ſame Axiome be a Motive to cleare this wronged Prince, whoſe Accuſers lay to his Charge the Anguiſh his Mother felt, when he came into the World? Then which Accuſation what can be more frivolous; it being a Puniſhment hereditary to all Women, from the firſt? His being toothed as ſoone as borne, ſeemes to me rather a Bleſſing, then any Imputation, as being a Preſage of his future Worthineſſe, and as all Nurſes will confeſſe, an Eaſe of much Paine and Danger. But he was crook-backt, lame, il-ſhapen, il-favoured. I might impute that Fault to Nature, but that I rather think it her Bounty: for ſhe being wholly intentive to his Minde, neglected his Forme, ſo that ſhe infuſed a ſtraight Mind in a crooked Body, wherein ſhee ſhewed her carefull Providence. For oftentimes, the Care to keepe thoſe Parts well formed, with-drawes Mens Mindes from better Actions, and drownes

drownes them in effeminate Curiositie. His Lameneſſe turned to his Glory; for with thoſe imperfect Limbes he performed Actions moſt perfectly valiant.

How rightly his Father *(a)* claimed, his Brother *(b)* obtained the Scepter, is ſufficiently knowne, and therefore ſuperfluous and impertinent: and alſo how his Brother duſked his Right (if Right) by abrogating the Oath, which hee ſware at *Yorke*, that his Comming in Armes was onely for that Dukedome. *(c)* But to dilate how variable and inconſtant the People of thoſe Times were, ſhall be more neceſſary and effectuall, that knowing their Inconſtancy, their Traditions (like themſelves) may the leſſe be beleeved: ſo light-headed, ſo fooliſh, ſo irreligious, as their Opinion (for what elſe are the Thoughts of Ignorance but Opinion?) made them breake their Oath to their Prince, *(d)* and to ſuch a Prince as they did not ſhame to diſlike, onely becauſe hee was too good. Him they abandoned, depoſed, after reſtored; not as deſiring, (being guilty of their owne Fault) but onely that it ſtood with the Liking of *(e) Warwicke* the Childe of their Love. If then they were ſuch, as (indeede they were) and that thoſe Relations wee have, muſt come from that People, it were better (I thinke) to bury their Traditions, then refute their Objections, were not our Age, apt to erre, infected with this Folly.

For his Brother K. *Edward: (f)* though his Vices ſeem not to adde Vertues to this condemned Prince, yet queſtionleſſe they do; making all his ill-eſtimated Actions of another Nature. He obtained the Crowne, but rather fortunately, then wiſely, were not all Wiſedom thought Folly, to which *Fortune* lends not Succeſſe. For I thinke, Luſt, or if you will terme it Love, could not more have prevailed with the moſt licencious Creature, then at once to breake the Bonds of Amity, Diſcretion, and Policy; and all to enjoy a Woman, in Reſpect of his Height, baſe: a Widow *(g)* and of his Enemy, without bringing him either Alliance, or Riches; Props moſt pertinent to his new erected Buildings. Wherein, beſides his Breach of regall Diſcretion, with his chiefeſt Friend the Earle of *Warwick*, whom he had ſent into *France*, to treat of Marriage betweene him and the Lady *Bona*, *(h)* (wherein being deluded, he became his mortalleſt Enemie) his Abuſe to God was more abominable; being before betrothed (as his owne Mother conſtantly affirmed) to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy:* in Teſtimonie wherof he had laid ſuch Earneſt, *(i)* as ſhould have bound

(a) Richard Duke of *Yorke*, Father of *Edward* the Fourth, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and *Richard* the Third.

(b) Edward Earle of *March*, eldeſt Sonne of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, after King by the Name of *Edward* the Fourth.

(c) For the Dukedome of *Yorke*, as his Right, from his Father Duke of *Yorke*.

(d) King *Henry* the Sixt.

(e) Richard Nevile, *Earle of* Warwick, ſirnamed the King-maker.

(f) King *Edward* the Fourth.

(g) Lady *Eliz. Gray*, Widdow of Sir *John Gray*, Knight, afterward married to King *Edward* the Fourth.

(h) Lady *Bona*, Neece to the *French* King *Lewes* the Eleventh, and Daughter to *Lewes* Duke of *Savoy*.

(i) For he had got her with Childe.

any

any common Man, much more a King, to Performance. How ſoone the Wrath of God followed this his irreligious Inconſtancie, his being driven from the *Seate-Royall* into Exile: the Birth of his Sonne in a Sanctuary; (having no Place elſe of Freedome in his Fathers Kingdome) the Miſerie of all his Partakers ſufficiently teſtifie. In which generall Miſerie, who did more truly follow him? Who more faithfully ayded him, then his now diſgraced Brother? Whereas his other Brother *(k) Clarence* not only left him, but joyned in Marriage *(l)* with the Daughter of his principall Enemie, and holpe to expulſe him: with what Love, what Conſtancie, his Indeavours, his adventuring his Life to reſtore him, doth witneſſe.

Never was he noted all the Life of K. *Edward*, to thirſt after the Kingdome; never denied he any Commandement of his Prince, but performed all his Imployments diſcreetly, valiantly, ſucceſſefully. The Suſpition of helping his Brother *Clarence* to *(m)* his End, was but a Suſpition, ſince the Kings old Diſpleaſure awaked by a new Propheſie, was undoubtedly the Cauſe; if otherwiſe (when he after repented him) hee would have miſliked of *Glouceſter*, it being naturall to ſinne; but unnaturall, to eaſe others of their Crimes. For the killing of the Heire of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* at *Tewkſburie*, *(n)* (if ſo) ſeemes to me, rather the Effect of Love to his Brother, then Cruelty to the Prince: for he was an Enemie, yea, the chiefe and principall Enemie of the contrary Faction. Yet it cannot be proved the Action of *Richard*, but that it was an Act wiſhed by the King to be done, and executed in both their Preſences, by the Duke of *Clarence*, the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, the Lord *Haſtings* and others.

The Death of *Henry (o)* the Sixt in the Tower, can no Way belong to him, ſince the ſame Reaſon that cleareth his Brother, fitteth him; he being able, if deſiring his Death, to have effected it by a more unworthie Hand. And indeed this Accuſation hath no other Proofe, then a malicious Affirmation. For many (more truly) did ſuppoſe that he died of meere Melancholy and Griefe, when hee had heard of the Overthrow of his Friends, and Slaughter of his Sonne. But if it were true, though it ſpots him with Bloud, yet it confirmes his Love to his Prince; which Love was ſo coldly requited, as might have moved a true Lover of Rewards more then of Vertue, to have altered his Endeavours; whether it were a Jealouſie of the Nobilitie of his Blood, or of the Height of his Spirit, whether the Abundance of Affection to be led by a Woman, or that hee was defective in all brotherly Affection, certaine it is, he rather imployed him, then rewarded his Imployments. Contrary, the Queenes Kindred, dayly to riſe, meerely without Deſert, but that they were of her Kindred; and their Baſeneſſe being thus ſodainly exalted, not only to plucke from him Pro-

(k) George Duke of *Clarence*, ſecond Brother of King *Edward* the Fourth.

(l) He marryed *Iſabell*, Daughter of *Richard Nevill*, Earle of *Warwicke*.

(m) Hee was drowned in a Malmſey Butt in the *Tower*.

(n) Edward *Prince of* Wales, Son of King *Henry* the Sixt, ſlaine after the Battaile of *Tewkſbury*.

(o) The Death of *Henry* the Sixt in the *Tower*.

motions,

motions, due to his Deserts, but to envie the Duke, and contend with him; how insupportable it must be to so magnanimous a Spirit, whose Memory beare Witnesse of their Unworthinesse, his owne Worth, any like Spirit may imagine.

Thus continued this unequall Contention, untill the King, sent for before the great (*p*) King of Kings, to make an Account of his Greatnesse, left his Body to testifie the Worlds Folly in contending for Worlds, when one little Part of the Earth must containe them. (*q*) His Successour at that Time very young, was wholy possessed by the Mothers Bloud, whom the now (*r*) Protector had great Reason to feare, being ever his mortall Enemie, and now most strong, by being most neerely allied to this Prince: Therefore jealous of his owne Preservation, of the Safetie of the Common-weale, and of the ancient Nobilitie, with great Reason and Justice he executed them, whom, if he had suffered to live, were likely enough to have beene the Destruction of him, it, and them. But the Deed accomplished, stirred up no little Feare in the Queene-Mother, and her Faction: For the Queenes taking Sanctuary with her younger Sonne (*s*) *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, without any Cause that he knew, drave *Glouceſter* to suppose that they doubted of their Right, and put him in Possibility of obtaining his owne: wherein by ambitious (*t*) *Buckingham* hee was assisted, who then related to him afresh the unlawfull Marriage of his Brother, that being unlawfull, consequently his Children were Bastards, and so undoubtedly the Crown was lawfully his; to which Discourse he annexed Protestations of Furtherance, though (perhaps) an earthly Spirit would not have been moved with these Motives, but rather have desired Safety, then Soveraigntie: yet in a true heroicke Spirit, whose Affect is aspiring, they could not but be imbraced, using the Wings of *Time*, to bring him to that Height. Be not obstinate (*Mortalitie*) against this climing Axiome, for hourely you commit worser Errors, more grovelling, more base. Were it not common in every Dayes Issue, it were admirable to note the Impudencie of Man, who at this Instant condemnes Actions, which himselfe would instantly accomplish, were hee permitted by Occasion. The Queene-Mothers Feare, his own Right, *Buckinghams* Ayde, and his owne Jealousie to erect a Prince, too young to governe himselfe, much lesse others, but was likely to be governed by his Mother, and her Kindred, the Protectors mortallest Enemies, Men of meane Birth, not inured to Government, such as were like to destroy the ancient *Peeres*, to fortifie their new Nobility, could not but draw a true discerning Spirit, to favour himselfe, to protect the ancient Nobility, to defend the People from being wasted, and oppressed by the Ambition and Tyrannie of new unexperienced Statists, and to respect his owne Preservation, rather then others. For well he saw hee could not live, unlesse he were a King: that there was no Safety, but in Soveraignty.

(*p*) The Death of K. *Edward* the Fourth.

(*q*) King *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, Son to King *Edward* the Fourth.

(*r*) *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter* made Protector.

(*s*) *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, younger Son of *Edward* the Fourth.

(*t*) *Henry Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*.

Should I put thee in Choyſe (condemning Reader) whether thou wouldeſt not be, rather then be a King, thou wouldeſt perhaps anſwere no: but that Anſwere ſhould proceede, rather from the Knowledge of thy Want of Power to royallize thee, then through the Abundance of thy Modeſtie. No, no, it is a Deſire befitting the moſt worthie Deſirer; and were all Mens Affections ſo high, their Actions would not prove ſo unworthy.

The *State* being thus in Labour with Innovation, the *Peeres* in Counſaile about their Infant Kings Coronation, all buſie, yet diſſenting in their Buſineſſe; in a Councell holden at the Tower, *Haſtings* Lord (*u*) Chamberlaine was apprehended, and no ſooner apprehended, but executed. The not leiſurely proceeding by Forme of Law, may ſeeme to plead *Haſtings* Innocencie, the Protectors Cruelty. But they that conſider the Nature of the People of that Time, apt to Sedition, greedy of Innovation, and likely to be glad of ſo pittifull a Colour (for *Haſtings* was a Man growne very popular) will hold the Protector in that Action very judiciall, and, if guilty of any Thing, of Diſcretion, and Policie: But could *Haſtings* be innocent, whom (*w*) *Commines* reporteth to be a Penſioner of the *French* King, *Lewis* the Eleventh, the only ſubtill Prince of that Time? Hee, of all others, that moſt affected Tyrannie, and was naturally the mortall Enemie of this Kingdome? Or was he fit to be a Stateſ-man or Counſailor, who being corrupted by the Bribes of an Enemie, had diſſwaded his Maſter, the late King *Edward* the Fourth, from aſſiſting the oppreſſed Lady (*x*) the Heire of *Burgundie*, againſt *Lewis* the *French* King, whereby that Lady was driven to ſeeke Ayde elſe-where, who, otherwiſe, was likely to have married with the Duke of *Clarence*, or ſome other *Engliſh* Prince, and ſo to have united that Dukedome to this Crowne, to the eternall Benefit and Security of both Countries; who gloried in his private Revenges, who not only enticed his Maſter, but accompanied him in all Senſuality: who in the deflowring of Mens Wives, (*y*) and ſuch other his unprincelike Actions, was his perpetuall Attendant, and ſometimes (as it is thought) would begin to him? (*z*) Doctor *Shaws* Sermons not a little illuſtrates the Malice of his Accuſers: For I thinke, no Man that is diſcreet, will imagine this Prince ſo indiſcreet, as to have Witneſſe that he commanded that Sermon, and gave Inſtructions what ſhould be ſaid: Then how do our Chronicles report it for Truth, were not their Malice greater then either their Truth, or their Judgement? But they are *Hiſtorians*, and muſt be beleeved.

Alas, poore Men, how would they be beleeved, whoſe greateſt Authorities (as a learned and honorable (*a*) Knight writeth) are built upon the notable Foundation of heare-ſay? Men that have much Ayd to accord differing Writers, and to picke Truth out of Partiality. But it is not mentioned, that *Shaw* ever executed this Action, with alleaging him to be the Cauſe. It is likely

(*u*) *William* Lord *Haſtings*, Chamberlaine to *Edward* the Fourth.

(*w*) *Philip de Commines*, Lord of *Argenton*, in his Hiſtory.

(*x*) *Mary* ſole Daughter and Heire of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, after married to *Maximilian* the Emperour.

(*y*) *Shores* Wife.

(*z*) D. *Shaws* Sermon at *Pauls* Croſſe.

(*a*) Sir *Philip Sidney* in his Defence of Poetry.

indeed,

indeed, that *Shaw* being ambitious, gaping after Preferment, ſuppoſing ſome ſuch Intent in the Protector (as he had a reaching Head) was bold to ſet his *Retorick* to Sale, to publiſh his Fancies: but ſeeing his Hopes vaniſh into Smoke, and his Expectation deluded, ſeeing the Protector neither rewarded, nor regarded his *Rethorick*, he ſoone after languiſhed and died: a juſt Example to teach *Theologians* ſo boldly to intermeddle with Princes Affaires, before they bee commanded: for (doubtleſſe) had the Protector ſet him a Worke, he would have payed him his Hire. But if it were ſo, that he commanded the Sermon (as that is yet unproved) was that an Offence to make the People ſo publikely Partakers of his Right; yea, to proſtitute his Cauſe to their Judgements? for charging his Mother with Adulterie, was a Matter of no ſuch great Moment, ſince it is no Wonder in that Sexe: And ſurely hee had more Reaſon to adventure her Fame, then his Kingdome, becauſe of two Evils it is Wiſedome to chuſe the leaſt. If it were true, it was no Injuſtice to publiſh it; what could be expected from him, but true Juſtice, who was ſo impartiall, that he would not ſpare his owne Mother? if untrue, good Faith, he was therein too blame, and her Innocencie the more meritorious; but certaine it is, the People approved his Right: for he was crowned *(b)* with ſuch Conſent, and ſo great Applauſe both of *Peeres* and People, that if wee will judge by the outward Behaviour (the onely Marke our Judgements may or can levell at) we muſt determine them ſo contented, as no Actions which might teſtifie the Satisfaction of their Mindes, were omitted: ſurely, if ever the unjudiciall Multitude did any Thing judicially, it was in receiving this Prince, whom his chiefe Diſgracers cannot but acknowledge for valiant; then who was more meet to reſtraine Domeſticke, to ſubdue forraine Seditions? For theſe civill Diſſenſions had almoſt waſted and made deſolate this populous Nation: diſcreet he was and temperate, (two ſo rare and excellent Qualities, as he that truly poſſeſſeth them, meriteth the Poſſeſſion of a Diademe:) for in theſe Vertues, joyned with that *Cardinall* Vertue *Fortitude*, (whereof alſo he had a very large Portion) conſiſteth the Soule of *Soveraigntie*, which whoſoever wanteth (be hee a while never ſo powerfull) his owne Greatneſſe ſo cruſheth him, that hee forfeiteth all in a Moment: Moſt liberall he was, deſiring rather to want, then to ſuffer Worth unrewarded: and this *Liberalitie* is the onely true Nurſe, and Foſterer of Vertue: Vertue unrewarded being unſenſible, our Fleſh being governed, adviſed, yea maſtered by our Senſes: this Worthie, this princely Ornament ſome Calumniators have ſought in him to deface, alleadging; that his Liberality to ſome, proceeded from his Extortion from others: but even thoſe cannot denie him to have beene Politicke and Wiſe; then is it likely that a Prince of his Wiſedome and Policie, could not diſcerne betweene the worthy and unworthy? And to take from Undeſervers, to beſtow upon Deſervers, muſt be acknowledged a Vertue.

He was neither Luxurious, nor an *Epicure*, not given to any Ryot, nor to Exceſſe, neither in Apparell, nor Play: for had he been touched with any

(b) The Coronation of King *Richard* the Third.

of theſe Vices, doubtleſſe they which object leſſer Crimes, would not have omitted theſe: then (without Queſtion) he was largely intereſſed in Vertues, (their Contraries) but thoſe (through Malice) are either not regiſtred, or (if regiſtred) ſo infamed, as if all his Vertues had a vicious Intent: yet to acknowledge the Vertues of the Vicious, is ſuch a Right, that what *Hiſtorian* willingly omitteth them, therein becommeth vicious himſelfe. But in all that I have hitherto among the Vulgar obſerved:

Culpatur factum, non ob aliud, quam exitum:

They approve, or diſprove all Things by the Event; which though ſomtimes it proveth like the Cauſe, yet it is more often governed by the Will of the divine Providence. And ſurely, but that the gracious Goodneſſe of God to manifeſt the Weaknes of humane Policie, overthrew his Deſignes, tooke from him his Kingdome; and contrary eyther to Mans Hope, or our Merit, united by a bleſſed and happy Conjunction *(c)* the two diſſenting Factions, to the true eſtabliſhing of ſweet Peace and Proſperitie of this deſolate Kingdome: for, otherwiſe, had he lived to have left Iſſue to have ſucceeded him, ſuch might have beene his and their Merits, that *Fame* would have beene no more injurious to him then to his Predeceſſors the fourth *Henry* and *Edward*, whoſe Raignes were polluted with much more Royall Blood: for he omitted nothing, that in Wiſedome or true Policie, might ſecure himſelfe, or eſtabliſh Peace or good Lawes in this Kingdome.

His Statutes are extant; what can be found in them not becomming a King? what, not befitting the Service of God? the Worſhip of Religion? the Good of his Country? Yea, I have heard of ſome, accounted both good Lawyers and good Statiſts ſay, that in thoſe three Years of his Government, there were more good Statutes for the Weale-publike enacted, then in 30 Years before. He was no Taxer of the People, no Oppreſſor of the Commons, though he came to manage an Eſtate whoſe Treaſure was exceedingly exhauſted; no Suppreſſor of his Subjects, to ſatisfie either licentious Humours, or to inrich light-headed Flatterers. But (alas) who robs Vertue, but Ingratitude, Detraction and Malice? What a Curſe is it to *Mortalitie*, that no Faſhion of Life, no Merits, no Regards, can free Princes from Diſcontentments in their Life, and Infamy after Death? Who is it that heares of any one ſo endued, ſo loden with Vertues, that judgeth him not happy? Yet he is defamed; and by whom? even by thoſe for whom he cared, laboured, and omitted nothing that might profit, committed nothing that might prejudice them.

This, the Charge and Commandement that he gave preſently after his Coronation, to the Lords and Gentlemen (whom hee ſent home into their Countries) that they ſhould in their Countries ſee Juſtice duely adminiſtred and impartially, (that no Wrong, nor Extortion ſhould be done to his Subjects) doth teſtifie; this, his Lawes, and all his Actions approve: yet neyther the

(c) The two diſſenting Factions of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter* united by the Marriage of *Henry* the Seventh to *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter to *Edward* the Fourth.

Care

Care of his Countrey, his Lawes, nor Actions are thought to be ſufficient to plead his Equitie and Innocencie: for malicious Credulitie rather embraceth the partiall Writings of indiſcreet Chroniclers, and witty Play-makers, then his Lawes and Actions, the moſt innocent, and impartiall Witneſſes.

It is laid to his Charge (as a maine Objection) that he was ambitious, let us examine the Truth of this Accuſation. Was he ambitious, who was onely content with the Limits of his owne Country? Who ſought to be rather famous for inſtituting good Lawes, then for atchieving great Conqueſts? No, no, he wanted nothing to make him an accompliſhed Prince, but that hee was not ambitious enough: for had hee imitated that worthy King *Henry* the Fifth, who in a like unſetled Eſtate, led out the Nobilitie and People to make Wars upon forraine Enemies, to make Conqueſt of *France*, and to embrue their warlike Swords (lately bloudied againſt one another) in the Bloud and Bowels of Strangers, he might (perhaps) have had a fortunate Succeſſe: for he wanted not the like Title, he was no leſſe valiant, no leſſe politicke. So might he have re-conquered that Kingdome, and thoſe Territories, which by the Puſillanimity of ſome of his Predeceſſors were given away and loſt; and (peradventure) ſo buſied the ſtirring Heads of the Nobilitie and People, that they ſhould have had no Leaſure to thinke upon any Innovation or Part-taking at home: ſo might he happily have ſecured himſelfe, and inlarged the Bounds of his Conqueſts beyond any of his Anceſtors. What Lets or Obſtacles could hinder him from thoſe glorious Enterpriſes? His Subjects were warlike, trained up in Armes; ſomewhat too much exerciſed in Bloud, becauſe it was in their owne. His Neighbors, the *French*, were governed by *(d)* a King, who had ſome Policie, but ſo little Valour, that he would rather yeeld to any Capitulation, then heare the Sound of an Adverſaries Drumme. So that his People being unuſed to Wars, were eaſily to be conquered by that Nation which had ſo often beaten them in the Height of their Daring.

The *Scots*, their Colleagues, hee had already beene victorious over: his Name among them was growne terrible. For in the Time of his Brother hee wan from them many Caſtles and Holds: but principall hee conquered *(e) Barwick*, the chiefe and principall Towne upon their Frontiers, a piece of ſpeciall Importance, either to make eaſie our Entrance into that Kingdom, or to keepe them from invading ours: ſo that I cannot juſtly accuſe him of any Crime ſo much, as that his Ambition ſtretched not farre enough. To juſtifie his Adverſaries Accuſation, in this Time chanced the Death of his two young *(f)* Nephewes in the Tower, whoſe Deaths promiſing Quiet to him, and wholly impoſed upon him, how truely I have Reaſon to doubt; becauſe his Accuſers are ſo violent, and impudent, that thoſe Vertues (which in other Men are imbraced, for which they are eſteemed as Gods) they impute to him rather to be Enamellers of Vices, then really Vertues: his Humilitie

(d) Lewes the Eleventh.
(e) Barwicke won from the *Scots* by *Richard* the Third.
(f) The Death of Prince *Edward* and *Richard* Duke of *Yorke* in the *Tower*.

they

they terme ſecret Pride: his Liberalitie Prodigalitie: his Valour, Crueltie and Blood-thirſtineſſe: yet in theſe Dayes their partiall Opinions are thought to be of Validity ſufficient, to make Proofe of any Imputation: But if it were ſo, that their Deaths were by him contrived, and commanded, the Offence was to God, not to the People: for the depriving them of their Lives freed the People from Diſſenſion. And how could he demonſtrate his Love more amply, then to adventure his Soule for their Quiet? But who knoweth, whether it were not Gods ſecret Judgement, to puniſh the Fathers Tranſgreſſion in the Children? and if it be ſo, complaine of their Fate, not *Richards* Crueltie: (for in theſe fatall Things it fals out, that the High-working Powers make ſecond Cauſes unwittingly acceſſarie to their Determinations) yet, in Policie, Princes never account Competitors (how young ſoever) innocent, ſince the leaſt Colour of Right provokes innovating Humours to ſtirre up Sedition, which (once kindled) threatens the Subverſion both of Princes and Subjects.

And if ſome wiſe and politike Princes have impriſoned, and put to Death, ſuch as have beene reputed their Heires and Succeſſors, becauſe ſome factious Heads (weary of good Government, and hoping for Authoritie by Alteration) have ſought to eſtabliſh them before their Times; (as commonly giddy-brained People doe more reverence the Suns Riſing then his Fall) had not King *Richard* great Reaſon to deprive them of their Lives, who were not to ſucceed him, but (in many Mens Judgments) had moſt Right to be inveſted before him with the Diadem? And (indeed) the removing ſuch Occaſions of civill Wars in a well-ruled Common-wealth, is moſt profitable, moſt commendable; being no Crueltie, but Pitty, a Jealouſie of their Subjects, and a zealous Regard of their own Safeties. And (indeed) if we duly conſider how much the Duty we owe to a Country exceeds all other Duties, ſince in it ſelfe it containes them all, that for the Reſpect thereof, not onely all tender Reſpects of Kindred, or whatſoever other Reſpects of Friendſhip, are to be laid aſide; but that even long-held Opinions (rather grounded upon a Secret of Government, then any Ground of Truth) are to be forſaken: ſince the End whereto any Thing is directed, is ever to be of more noble Reckoning, then the Thing thereto directed, that therefore the Weale-publike is more to be regarded, then any Perſon or Magiſtrate that thereunto is ordained: The feeling Conſideration hereof moved K. *Richard* to ſet prinpally before his Eyes the good Eſtate of ſo many Thouſands, over whom he had raigned, rather then ſo to hood-winke himſelfe with Affection, as to ſuffer his Realme to runne to manifeſt Ruine.

If any Man ſhall object that his Courſe was ſtrange and unlawfull; let him know that new Neceſſities require new Remedies, and for him there was no Remedie but this one. Then if for this Action hee ought to be condemned, it is for Indiſcretion in the managing; for as ſafely might he have had the Realmes generall Conſent, in diſpoſing of their Lives as of their Kingdome. Had he held a ſecret Execution beſt, hee might have effected it more ſecretly: but he rather choſe a middle Way, content to let the People know it, holding their Knowledge equall with their Conſents: And it ſhould ſeeme, the

the People (though they were at that Time very factious) yet approved thereof: for wee find not that in any Action, either inward or outward, they ſhewed any Diſlike. And (truely) ſuch is the Difference betweene the Thoughts and Actions, the Diſpoſitions of Princes and Subjects, that I hold no Subject ſufficiently judiciall to cenſure them: their Courſes ſo unlike, that what is meet, expedient in a Prince, in a lower Fortune is utterly unmeete, unexpedient. Therefore let no ſervile Condition adventure to condemne them, ſince all ſuch Eyes loſe their Faculty, if they but gaze againſt the Sunne of Majeſtie. It is ſufficient for us to know how to obey; this Nature commandeth and exacteth of us: but to ſearch into the Actions of our Commanders, dilates more Curioſitie then Honeſty: Nay, though wee would, we cannot: for our Knowledge extends to Things equall, or inferiour; thoſe above us, in Divinitie, are comprehended onely by Faith; in terrene Matters (if ſuperating our Eſtates) they are only ſnatched at by Suppoſition. And this our Lawes approve, which appoint every Man to be tryed by his Peeres: ſhall then the Head, the Director of civill Policie, the annoynted Majeſtie of a King, be barred from the Right allowed to Subjects? No (ſurely) it is prepoſterous, moſt unlawfull to condemne a King if not found faulty by a (*g*) Jury of Kings. Were Man in his Innocencie, this Advice were not loſt: but being nouſled in miſuſing of his malicious Tongue, ever to condemne others, never to amend themſelves, it is (as they will be for their Abuſe) perpetually loſt; No more then for them.

Let us yet further cleare this wronged Prince: It is conſtantly affirmed (ſay our Chroniclers) that hee firſt noyſed, after contrived the Death of his Wife: (*h*) and that it was bruited before it was effected, thereby with her Sorrowes to confirme the Report. This Evidence they adjudge pregnant and effectuall enough to condemne him: Did Fame never lye? What are more generally received for Untruths, then flying Reports, ſeeing no Creature ſenſible will give Credit to Fame, or take her Word without a Surety, whom they may aſſuredly know to be credible? But conſtantly (ſay our Chroniclers.) Could their Words be ſo conſtant, whoſe Actions were the very Stage of Inconſtancie, who oppoſed, depoſed Kings at their Pleaſure, and (to make ſure to be no worſe then they were) ſwore Alleageance to two (*i*) Princes at once, and with both broke their Oaths? But I will ſpend no more Time in proving the Vanitie of theſe Chroniclers, ſince their owne Penne contradicts it ſelfe; firſt, ſhewing the Affections of this People to be mutinous, and after approving them: for certaine it is, (but uncertaine that the King cauſed it) that ſuch a Rumour there was, and that it made a great Impreſſion in the Queene, deeming (as Women are ever fearefull) this propheticall Relation to be the Forerunner of her End: which bewayling to her Huſband, hee ſought with all Kindneſſe to remove that melancholy

(*g*) A King not to be condemned but by a Jury of Kings.

(*h*) *Anne* Wife of King *Richard* the Third, Daughter of *Richard Nevill* Earle of *Warwicke*, and Widdow of Prince *Edward*, Son to *Henry* the Sixt.

(*i*) To *Henry* the Sixt, and *Edward* the Fourth.

Fantaſie.

Fantaſie. What more could hee doe to teſtifie his Love, to cure her Paſſions? But how abſurd is it to thinke or imagine, that the King contrived her Death? where if hee had pleaſed to marry elſe-where (for that is made the Cauſe) hee might and would have uſed a more ſafe Meanes by a Divorce. Did not the *French* King *Lewes* the Twelfth, becauſe *(k)* his Wife was barren, and crooked backt) ſue a Divorce, and obtained it from Pope *Alexander* the Sixt, and afterward by his Diſpenſation married with *Anne* Dutcheſſe of *Britaine*, the Widdow of his Predeceſſor *Charles* the Eighth? Might not King *Richard* have done the like: for he had the like Cauſe (his Wife being barren) whereof he had often complained to *Rotheram* then Archbiſhop of *Yorke?* And the Popes of thoſe Times were not ſo nice conſcioned to deny Princes ſuch Requeſts, but were eaſily wonne thereunto either by Favor or Rewards: therefore that he contrived her Death, was a ſlanderous, falſe, and abſurd Accuſation; but her *(l)* Time was come, which *Mortalitie* might ſorrow, but Sorrow might not prevent, Death being deafe to all humane Lamentations.

After her Death, being deſirous to reconcile himſelfe to all ſuch as held themſelves offended (as at his Coronation hee had done with one *Fogg* a meane Atturny, who had highly offended him) hee laboured to winne the one Sort with Benefits and Rewards, and freely pardoned the others Miſbehaviours and Offences: He had no Cauſe ro feare *Fogg*, therefore Feare was not the Cauſe: No, it was a worthy, a kingly Humilitie, that would rather abate of his Greatneſſe, then to have it ſtayned with the Blood of ſo meane a Vaſſaile, for a Crime committed againſt himſelfe; yet was hee guiltie of counterfaiting his Royall Hand and Signet, and of a moſt untrue and infamous Libell. Therefore how falſely doe our Chroniclers ſeeke to cleare *Collingborne*, who was (as may appeare by his Inditement) *(m)* executed for Treaſon againſt the State, not for that ryming, fooliſh, ridiculous Libell? For neyther they, nor any other can ever prove, that ever he revenged any Injurie whatſoever, committed particularly againſt himſelfe. For the Good and Safety of his Kingdome and People, hee was zealous, he was fervent: for, only for their Peace, for their Quiet, hee was content to ſuffer his neereſt Kinſman, his deareſt Friends to be executed, ſo now with the Mother-Queene he laboured Reconciliation, he often ſolicited it, at the laſt hee effected it: this rare, this excellent Worke of *Chriſtianity*, this true Cognizance of a *Religious Queene*, our *Chroniclers* defame, and impute it to her as an horrible Crime: Such is the obſtinate Errour of Mankinde, that, when Hatred is by God abſolutely prohibited, they dare ſay and maintaine the contrary: but (were not they thus corrupt, partiall, governed wholly by Affection, not Truth,) their Hiſtories would be the wiſeſt Guides, making Men that are young in Yeeres, olde in Judgement, making Experience

(k) The Wife from whom he was divorced, was *Joane*, Daughter of *Lewes* the Twelfth, Siſter of *Charles* the Eighth. *Gui Lib.* 4.

(l) The Death of *Anne* Wife of *Richard* the Third, and ſecond Daughter of *Richard Nevill* Earle of *Warwicke*.

(m) Collingborne executed for Treaſon, not Libelling.

moſt

moſt precious, moſt cheape; for Knowledge, Judgement, and Experience are dearely purchaſed, when wee muſt wander into infinite Errours, ere we can be perfect in our Way; nay, they were moſt deare, were they had with no other Expence, but growing old before we enjoy them, waxing rotten, ere they grow ripe. The End and Scope of this Reconciliation was, to unite himſelfe in Marriage with his *(n)* Niece: a Contract (no doubt) inconvenient, and prohibited the *Vulgar*; but amongſt *States men* it is like to produce infinite Good, both to Prince and People. It is an Inconvenience, moſt convenient, nothing ſtrange, becauſe uſuall, and accuſtomed amongſt Princes: tolerated, yea allowed by their received Oracle of Divinity, the *Pope*, who conſidering the Cauſe, ordinarily diſpenſeth with the *Conſanguinity*. It is granted that this Deſire of Marriage was mentioned by this King, in Reſpect of the publike Peace; to make Satisfaction to the Mother, in exalting the Daughter, for the dejecting of the Sonnes, and to avoide the Effuſion of much of the Peoples Bloud, which was likely to be ſpilt, if his Niece ſhould marry elſe-where: as if (ſay our Chroniclers) the firſt could not be eſtabliſhed, the latter avoided without this *Platforme* of *Policie*; No, had not Gods ſecret Working beene beyond Mans wiſeſt Apprehenſion, it could not: for well he knew the head-ſtrong Obſtinacie of this People could hardly be kept in Awe by a Man, therefore impoſſible to be reſtrained by Children: this made him diſpoſſeſſe them of their Kingdome, and (peradventure) of their Lives; for had they beene ſuffered to live, they would ever have bin the Fire-brands of new Seditions; and therefore he thought it more convenient, they ſhould be quenched with their own Blouds, than with the Blouds of infinite Numbers of the People; yet to make Satisfaction for this Wrong, (if it were a Wrong to deprive the Diſturbers of the common Good) he was contented and much laboured to marry their Siſter, his Niece: but hee is therefore adjudged ill: why? Becauſe his Accuſers would be reputed good, though (without Doubt) hee was a good Prince, and they all, or the moſt Part of all, evill, fantaſticke, and ſeditious People. And even at this Day, though the fortunate and ſucceſſefull Government of our later Princes, hath ſomewhat altered their Natures, and bettered their Conditions, yet it were a leſſe difficult Queſt to find one good Man, then many. But it pleaſed not the divine *Ordainer of Marriage* to permit that Conjunction, but rather to ſet a *Period* at once to his Kingdome and Life.

About the Time of the plotting of this Marriage, the judiciall *Buckingham*, (not thinking himſelfe ſufficiently regarded) grew diſcontent, and got the Princes Favour to retire himſelf into the Country; where (no Doubt) his fantaſtick Melancholly would ſoone have vaniſhed (being a Man more happy in the Inheritance of his Father, then in the Legacie of Nature, Diſcretion, or Judgment) had not the Priſoner corrupted the Jaylour, namely *(o)* *Moreton*, *Biſhop of Ely* (committed by King *Richard* to his Cuſtodie) who finding

(n) The Lady *Elizabeth* eldeſt Daughter to *Edward* the Fourth, after Wife to *Henry* the Seventh.

(o) This *Moreton* was after, in the Raign of *Henry* the Seventh, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Cardinall and Lord Chancellor of *England*.

this Duke diſcontented, more deſirous to inflame his Griefes, than to redreſſe them, with his fiery Wit ſo wrought upon the Dukes combuſtible Matter, that ſodainly he brought him to kindle a Fire of Rebellion, and to take up Armes againſt his Soveraigne: This K. *Richard* ſoone hearing, he proſecuted him as an Enemy, and ſo laboured (what by his owne Wiſdome, what by his Eſpecials) that within a while he tooke his Head from his (*p*) Body, for being no better able to adviſe him in his Proceedings. Was it a Fault to puniſh Perjury in him, who had ſworne true Allegeance? then the executing of Law is a Sin; if ſo, let Tranſgreſſors be accounted innocent, and Magiſtrates and Judges guilty of Trangreſſion. And had this been the Action of ſome other Prince, it had beene good, juſt, neceſſary: but being his, it is cenſured as the contrary, ſo that Sin is not Sin, nor Vertue accounted Vertue, by their owne Natures or Effects, but are made Vertues or Vices, by the Love or Hate that is borne to the Committer: ſuch is our humane Underſtanding, as they rather confound all Things, than by diſtinguiſhing them to make Choiſe of the Worthieſt; for let a Noble-man be popular, if he have an ill Face, it is termed Warlike; his Drunkenneſſe is termed Good-fellowſhip; his Slovenlineſſe, Humility; his Prodigality, Liberality; Thus is Vertue ſuppreſſed, and forced with her own Titles to adorne her mortalleſt Adverſaries. But, to returne to our defamed King, had not his Mercy exceeded his Cruelty, his Safety had been better ſecured, and his Name not ſo much ſubject to Obloquy: for though he cut off the Head of a mighty Conſpirator, yet hee ſuffered the Conſpiracie to take ſo deepe Root, that (in the End) the Branches thereof overtopped his Glory, and overſhadowed his Greatneſſe. For (*q*) the Counteſſe of *Richmond* labouring in her Sonnes Right, daily enticed and inveigled many to be of her Faction: to ſtrengthen which the more, it was plotted betweene the two Mothers, to joyne (*r*) the two diſſenting Houſes in Unitie, by (*s*) a Marriage. This Practiſe the King wel knew; yet Mercy, Love, Lenity ſo prevailed with him, that hee onely ſought to prevent that Conjunction, by uniting his Brothers Daughter with himſelfe, and inflicted no other Puniſhment on the Counteſſe, but onely the committing of her to the Cuſtody of her (*t*) Huſband. Would a cruell bloud-thirſty Prince have done ſo? Could any Thing have beene performed with more Mildneſſe and Lenity? Could he doe leſſe than let her underſtand, that hee knew her ſecreteſt Practiſes? Surely if hee were an Uſurper (as that he could not be now, ſtanding after the Death of his Nephewes in the ſame Ranke that *Edward* the Fourth his Brother did) yet his Equity in Juſtice, his Mercy in pardoning Offenders, his Care of Religion, his Providence for the Safety of the People, ſhould and ought to have tempered the Bitterneſſe of his moſt malicious Enemies: With no leſſe mer-

(*p*) The Death of *Henry Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, beheaded at *Shrewſbury*.

(*q*) *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Richmond*, Wife of *Thomas* Lord *Stanley*, Mother of King *Henry* the Seventh.

(*r*) Q. *Elizabeth*, Mother to *Elizaleth* eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* the Fourth, and *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Richmond*, Mother to *Henry* the Seventh, after King.

(*s*) *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*.

(*t*) *Thomas* Lord *Stanley*, after by *Henry* the Seventh created Earle of *Darby*.

cifull Gentleneſſe he uſed her Huſband, (and that) at ſuch a Time as her Sonne was already landed, and made Claime to the Kingdome; for he onely tooke his Sonne *(u)* the Lord *Strange* as an Hoſtage, and then ſuffered him to go into the Country to levie his Forces: ſo farre was he from Bloud and Cruelty, as, though he knew his Alliance to the contrarie Faction, a Motive, ſufficient to make him (as indeed he did) incline to their Ayde, though he might juſtly ſuſpect him, and could not have wanted Colour to have beheaded him (as being Father-in-law to his Competitor) yet he onely detained his Sonne in his Campe; and when he had aſſured Notice of his Fathers diſloyall Revolt, yet hee ſuffered the Hoſtage of his Loyalty to live: an Evidence effectuall enough to teſtifie, that he deſired rather to ſettle, than to overthrow the Quiet of this Land; that he laboured to winne the Hearts of his Subjects, rather with Meekeneſſe than Cruelty: What Prince could have done leſſe? Nay, what King would not have done more? Since both the Effect, and the preſent Feare, are both ſuch inward Tormentors, that it is hard to determine which is moſt grievous: ſo oppoſite, ſo contrary to the Nature of a Prince borne, (not to feare, but to be feared) that it is moſt juſt, moſt naturall, to remove ſuch a Terror. But now *(w)* the *Heire of Lancaſter* being come to challenge the Crowne, what did the King? Did his Spirits faile him? Was his magnanimous Courage daunted? No, he then gathered new Spirit, hee new-ſteeled his Courage, hee withſtood him with the Height of Fortitude; proteſting rather to die valiantly, than to live leſſe than a King. With what a *Roman-like* Spirit did he reſiſt Fortune? Being overthrowne, how Heroically did he encounter with Death? This our detracting Chroniclers cannot but acknowledge; for ſo high, ſo powerfull was his Magnanimity, that (in ſpight of Malice) it prevaileth, and (like the Sunne) breaketh thorow the miſty Clouds of his Adverſaries Slanders: Was it a Fault to withſtand the *Lancaſtrian* Heires Claime? Then thoſe are faulty, who being in Poſſeſſion of Lands, to prove good their Title, proſecute Suits, and are overthrowne by the Law; for the Sentence of Judgement makes them to perceive that to be an Errour, which before they imagined none. Beſides, he knew well, that his Kingdome and Life had both one Period, to which Life he was perſwaded his Competitor had no Right, and therefore he would never be guilty of ſuch a Sin (as wilfully to betray it) till he who lent it him required Payment.

Had his Life, his Actions beene moſt abominable; yet (like a Slave) to have yeelded his Throat to the Execution, would have beene an Imputation beyond all other Imputations: but could hee as openly have manifeſted his other Vertues, as he did his Valour and Policie, the Worlds Opinion had beene otherwiſe, and I neither had taken ſuch Paines to defend his Innocencie, nor in ſome weake Judgements to endanger mine own. But ſurely he did couragiouſly and valiantly withſtand his Enemies, with great Expedition

(u) *George* Lord *Strange*, Sonne and Heire to *Thomas* Lord *Stanley*.

(w) *Henry* the Seventh.

rallying his Forces, and performing all Things with wonderfull Celerity, he went to encounter the Disturbers of his Quiet.

It is reported, that, the Night before the Day of Battell, he dreamed a most (x) dreadfull and horrible Dreame, which by our Chroniclers is interpreted to be a Testimonie of his wicked and tyrannous Life. Did not *Cæsar*, (y) before hee attained the Empire, dreame that hee knew his owne Mother carnally? Had not both *Dion* and *Brutus* the Figures of terrible Spirits represented unto them, the Night before their End? and yet these were reputed good Men, and Lovers and Protectors of their Country; and because King *Richard* dreamed with some Terrour, must his Life of Necessity be evill? O vaine! O frivolous Objection! But they hold this Dreame to be a Compunction of his Conscience: Happy Prince to have so indiscreete Slandererers; for how could they more truly witnesse his Integrity, since only they who reverence and feare God, are indued with that inquiring Conscience, which censureth their Actions? For they who are given over to a reprobate Sence, are insensible of that good Angell, which seeketh by telling us of our Faults, to make us repent our Sins past, and to be wary, lest we commit any more.

Surely, I thinke, his Conscience (like a Glasse) presented before him the Figures of all his Actions; which he faithfully examining, humbly craved Pardon for his Misdeeds: and so having made Attonement with God, like a devout Penitentiary setled his Minde, hee went with Alacrity to the bloudy Court, where the Cause of his Life was to be tried, where his Sword being his Advocate, pleaded most valiantly. In all which Tumult, he failed neither in Discretion, nor in Execution, but boldly encouraged his Souldiers, both by Word and Example.

There is extant in our Chronicles, an (z) Oration, which at that Time he made to his Souldiers, wherein he confesseth his Errours, and desireth Pardon of all the World, as he hoped his repentant Teares had obtained Mercy of God.

What a Saint-like Thing was this, for a King, to crave Forgivenes of Subjects? For a General, to humble himselfe to his Souldiers? What could it be but the Effect of a more divine, than terrene Understanding? If (like the common Fashion of Men) he would have put his Affiance in humane Assistance, and neglected his God, he might (in common Reason) have promised himselfe the Victory, being double in Forces, and nothing inferiour, either in Valour or Policy; but he acknowledged and confessed the Power of the most powerfull; he knew that it was not the Multitude of Men, but God, that giveth the Victory, and therefore having first made Peace with his owne Soule, he humbled himselfe, and asked Pardon of those, over whom he had Government: knowing no Government to be so perfect, wherein some good Men are not offended.

(x) King *Richards* Dreame the Night before the Battel of *Bosworth*.

(y) *Plutarch* in the Life of *Cæsar*, *Dion*, and *Brutus*.

(z) The Oration of King *Richard*. *Hollinshed's* Chronicle in the End of his Reigne.

This

This was the Effect of his Compunction; to put him in Remembrance, that Princes are mortal, and that his being a King, bound him to a more ſtrict Reckoning, than one that enjoyeth a leſſer Fame. Now whether this mercifull Remembrance of God diſgraceth him, judge ye that have Grace. But now (both Battels being joyned) what did this valiant King? Did hee onely ſtand to give Directions to others? No, he did rigorous Execution with his Sword upon his Enemies.

Did he, when hee perceived ſome of his Subjects diſloyally to revolt, and that his Forces were put to the worſt, think upon Yeelding or Flight? Though by ſome of his faithfulleſt Servants he was counſailed to flie, and for that Purpoſe preſented with a Horſe of wonderfull Speed, yet he would not; for having been inured to Conqueſt, he ſcorned to yeeld: having been a King, he would not die a Vaſſall; and therefore, becauſe the Garland was a Crowne, the Prize a Kingdome; Victory, Majeſtie, and perpetuall Renowne the Reward, this Lyon-hearted-King couragiouſly charging his Speare, ran into the Battalion of his Adverſaries, where, with his owne Hands hee ſlew the ſtout *(a)* Sir *William Brandon*, Standard-bearer of his Enemie: he overthrew the ſtrong and valiant S. *John Cheyney*, and ſingled out his Competitor: who being the moſt heroick and valiant Prince of thoſe Times, yet had doubtleſſe been ſlaine, had not he beene reſcued by S. *William Stanley*, who came happily with three thouſand Men to his Reſcue, who on all Sides emcompaſſing K. *Richard*, ſo aſſailed him, that though he did more than a Man, though his Sword acted Wonders, yet being oppreſſed by ſo great a Multitude, hee was there manfully ſlaine, not overcome, for he conquered the Betrayers of Men, in Danger, Paſſion and Feare.

Thus loſt he both Kingdome and Life, but nothing diminiſhed his interiour Vertues: When the adjudged Puniſhment is performed, our Lawes doe account the Offender as clear of the Crime, as if he never had committed it. Why ſhould this common Benefit be denied a King, ſince if guilty, his Blood made Reſtitution, and being dead his royal Body was deſpoiled of all kingly Ornaments, left naked, and not onely unroyally, but inhumanely and reprochfully dragged? Yet neither can his Blood redeem him from injurious Tongues, nor the Reproch offered his Body be thought cruell enough, but that we muſt ſtill make him more cruelly infamous in Pamphlets and Playes. Compare him now (judicious Reader) impartially with other Princes; judge truly of all their Actions, their Forme of Government, and their Statutes and Ordinances, the Upholders, the Strength, the Sinewes of Government; and thou ſhalt find him as innocent of Cruelty, Extortion and Tyranny as the moſt; as wiſe, politike and valiant as any: if ſo, cenſure him, his Actions, his Ordinances, according to their Deſerts, and this Treatiſe of mine as a charitable well-wiſhing to a ſcandalized and defamed King.

Yet for all this know, I hold this but a Paradox.

(a) Sir *William Brandon*, Standard-Bearer to *Henry* the Seventh ſlaine. He was Father to *Charles Brandon*, after created Duke of *Suffolke*, by *Henry* the Eighth.

The

The Elements of Architecture: Collected by HENRY WOTTON, Knight, from the beſt Authors and Examples. 1624.

The PREFACE.

I Shall not neede (like the moſt Part of Writers) to celebrate the Subject *which I deliver. In that Point I am at Eaſe; for* Architecture *can want no Commendation, where there are* Noble Men, *or* Noble Mindes; *I will therefore ſpend this* Preface, *rather about* thoſe, *from whom I have gathered my Knowledge; for I am but a Gatherer and Diſpoſer of other Mens Stuffe, at my beſt Value.*

Our principall Maſter *is* Vitruvius *and ſo I ſhall often call him; who had this* Felicitie, *that he wrote when the* Roman Empire *was neere the Pitch;* Tacit. lib. 1. Annal. *or, at leaſt, when* Auguſtus *(who favoured his Endeavours) had ſome Meaning (if he were not miſtaken) to bound the* Monarchie: *This I ſay was his good Happe; For in growing and enlarging Times,* Artes *are commonly drowned in* Action: *But on the other Side, it was in Truth an* Unhappineſſe, *to expreſſe himſelfe ſo ill, eſpecially writing (as he did) in a Seaſon of the ableſt* Pennes: *And* his Obſcuritie *had this ſtrange Fortune; That though he were beſt practiſed, and beſt followed by his owne* Countrymen; *yet after the reviving and repoliſhing of good* Literature, *(which the Combuſtions and Tumults of the* middle Age *had* uncivillized) *he was beſt, or at leaſt, firſt underſtood by* Strangers; *for of the* Italians *that tooke him in hand, thoſe that were* Gramarians *ſeeme to have wanted* Mathematicall *Knowledge; and the* Mathematicians *perhaps wanted* Gramer: *till both were ſufficiently conjoyned, in* Leon-Baptiſta Alberti *the* Florentine, *whom I repute the firſt learned* Architect *beyond the* Alpes: *But hee ſtudied more indeede to make himſelfe an* Author, *than to illuſtrate his* Maſter. *Therefore among his* Commenters, *I muſt (for my private Conceite) yield the chiefe Praiſe unto the* French, *in* Philander; *and to the high* Germans, *in* Gualterus Rivius: *who, beſides his Notes, hath likewiſe publiſhed the moſt elaborate* Tranſlation, *that I thinke is extant in any* vulgar *Speech of the World: though not without bewayling, now and then, ſome Defect of* Artificiall *Tearmes in his* owne; *as I muſt likewiſe; For if the* Saxon, *(our Mother Tongue) did complaine; as juſtly (I doubt) in this Point may the* Daughter: Languages, *for the moſt Part in Tearmes of* Art *and* Erudition, *retayning their originall Povertie, and rather growing rich and abundant, in complementall Phraſes and ſuch Froth. Touching divers* moderne *Men that have written out of meere Practiſe, I ſhall give them their Due, upon Occaſion.*

And now, after this ſhort Cenſure *of others, I would faine ſatisfie an* Objection *or two, which ſeeme to lie ſomewhat heavily upon my ſelfe; It will be ſaid that I handle an* Art, *no Way ſuteable either to my* Employments, *or*

to

to my Fortune. *And ſo I ſhall ſtand charged, both with* Intruſion, *and with* Impertinency.

To the Firſt *I anſwere, that though by the ever acknowledged Goodneſſe of my moſt* deare *and* gracious SOVERAIGNE, *and by his long indulgent Toleration of my Defects, I have borne Abroad ſome Part of his* civill *Service, yet when I came Home, and was againe reſolved into mine owne Simplicitie, I found it fitter for my* Pen, *(at leaſt in this firſt publique Adventure) to deale with theſe plaine* Compilements, *and tractable* Materials; *than with the* Laberynthes *and* Myſteries *of* Courts *and* States; *and leſſe Preſumption for mee, who have long contemplated a famous* Republique, *to write now of* Architecture; *than it was anciently for* * Hippodamus *the* Mileſian, *to write of* Republiques, *who was himſelfe but an* Architect.

To the Second, *I muſt ſhrinke up my Shoulders, as I have learn'd abroad, and confeſſe indeed, that my Fortune is very unable to* exemplifie, *and* actuate *my* Speculations *in this* Art, *which yet in Trueth, made mee the rather even from my very Diſabilitie, take Encouragement to hope, that my preſent* Labour *would find the more Favour with others, ſince it was undertaken for no Mans* Sake, *leſſe than mine* owne. *And with that Confidence, I fell into theſe Thoughts; Of which, there were two Ways to be delivered: The one* Hiſtorical, *by Deſcription of the principall* Workes, *performed already in good Part, by* Giorgio Vaſſari *in the Lives of* Architects: *The other* Logicall, *by caſting the* Rules *and Cautions of this Art, into ſome comportable* Methode, *whereof I have made Choice, not onely as the ſhorteſt and moſt* Elementall, *but indeed as the* ſoundeſt; *For though in practicall* Knowledges, *every complete* Exam-ample, *may beare the Credite of a* Rule; *yet peradventure* Rules *ſhould precead, that we may by them be made fit to judge of* Examples: *Therefore to the* Purpoſe; *for I will preface no longer.*

Of the Elements *of* ARCHITECTURE. *The 1ſt Part.*

IN *Architecture*, as in all other *Operative* Arts, the *End* muſt direct the *Operation.*

The *End* is to build well.

Well Building hath three Conditions: *Commoditie*, *Firmneſs*, and *Delight.* A common Diviſion among the Deliverers of this *Art*, though I know not how, ſomewhat miſplaced by *Vitruvius* himſelfe, *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. whom I ſhall be willinger to follow, as a Maſter of *Proportion*, than of *Methode.*

Now, for the attayning of theſe *Intentions*, wee may conſider the whole *Subject*, under two generall Heads.

The *Seate*, and the *Worke.*

Therefore firſt touching *Scituation*,

* Ariſtot. 2. lib. Politi. cap. 6.

The

The *Precepts* thereunto belonging, doe either concerne the *Totall Posture*, (as I may tearm it) or the *placing* of the *Parts:* whereof the first Sort, howsoever usually set downe by *Architects* as a piece of their *Profession:* yet are in Truth borrowed, from other *Learnings*; there being betweene *Arts* and *Sciences*, as well as betweene *Men*, a Kinde of good Fellowship, and Communication of their *Principles*.

For you shall finde some of them, to be meerely *Physicall*, touching the Quality and Temper of the *Aire:* which being a perpetuall Ambient, and Ingredient, and the Defects thereof, incorrigible in single *Habitations* (which I most intend) doth in those Respects, require the most exquisite Caution; that it be not too *grosse*, nor too *penetrative*; not subject to any foggy Noysomnesse, from *Fenns* or *Marshes* neere adjoyning; nor too *Mineral* Exhalations, from the Soile it selfe. Not undigested, for Want of *Sunne*, not unexercised, for Want of *Winde:* which were to live (as it were) in a *Lake*, or standing *Poole* of *Aire*, as *Alberti* the *Florentin Architect*, doth ingeniously compare it.

Some doe rather seeme a little *Astrological*, as when they warne us from Places of malign *Influence:* where *Earthquakes*, *Contagions*, *prodigious Births*, or the like, are frequent without any evident Cause: whereof the Consideration is peradventure not altogether vaine: Some are plainely *Œconomicall*; as that the *Seate* be well watered, and well fewelled, that it bee not of too steepie and incommodious *Accesse* to the Trouble both of Friends and *Familie*. That it lie not too farre, from some navigable *River* or *Arme* of the *Sea*, for more Ease of Provision and such other *domestique* Notes.

Some againe may bee said to bee *Opticall?* Such I meane as concerne the *Properties* of a well chosen *Prospect:* which I will call the *Royaltie* of *Sight*. For as there is a *Lordship* (as it were) of the *Feete*, wherein the Master doth much Joy when he walketh about the *Line* of his owne *Possessions*; so there is a *Lordship* likewise of the *Eye*, which being a raunging, and imperious, and (I might say) an *usurping Sence*, can indure no narrow *Circumscription*, but must be fedde, both with Extent and Varietie; yet on the other Side, I finde vaste and indefinite Viewes which drowne all Apprehension of the uttermost *Objects*, condemned, by good Authors, as if thereby some Part of the Pleasure (whereof we speake) did perish. Lastly, I remember a private *Caution*, which I know not well how to sort, unlesse I should call it *Political*. By no Meanes, to build too neere a great *Neighbour*; which were in Truth to bee as unfortunately seated on the Earth, as *Mercurie* is in the Heavens, for the most Part, ever in *Combustion*, or *Obscuritie*, under brighter Beames then his owne.

From these severall *Knowledges* as I have said, and perhaps from some other doe *Architects* † derive their Doctrine about Election of *Seats*, wherin I have not beene so severe, as a great Scholer of our Time, who precisely restrayneth a perfect *Scituation*, at least for the maine Point of Health, *ad locum contra quem Sol radios suos fundit, cum sub Ariete oritur*, that is, in a

† *Joannes Heurnius Instit. Medicin. Lib. 7. cap. 2.*

Word

Word hee would have the firſt *Salutation* of the *Spring*; but ſuch *Notes* as theſe, wherefoever we finde them in grave or ſlight Authors, are to my Conceite rather *Wiſhes* then *Precepts*; and in that Qualitie, I will paſſe them over. Yet I muſt withall ſay that in the *ſeating* of our ſelves (which is a kinde of *Marriage* to a *Place*) *Builders* ſhould bee as circumſpect as *Wooers*; leſt when all is done that *Doome* befall us, which our Maſter doth lay upon *Mitylene*, *A Towne* in Truth (ſaith hee) * *finely built, but fooliſhly planted.* And ſo much touching that, which I termed the *Totall Poſture.*

The next in Order is the placing of the *Parts*; about which (to leave as little as I may in my preſent Labour, unto *Fancie*, which is wilde and irregular) I will propound a Rule of mine owne Collection, upon which I fell in this Maner. I had noted, that all *Arte* was then in trueſt Perfection, when it might bee reduced to ſome naturall *Principle*; for what are the moſt judicious *Artiſans* but the *Mimiques* of *Nature?* This led me to contemplate the Fabrique of our owne Bodies, wherein the *high Architect* of the World, had diſplaied ſuch Skill, as did ſtupifie, all humane Reaſon. There I found the *Heart* as the Fountaine of Life placed about the Middle, for the more equall Communication of the vitall Spirits. The *Eyes* ſeated aloft, that they might deſcribe the greater Circle within their View. The *Armes* projected on each Side, for Eaſe of reaching. Briefly (not to looſe our ſelves in this ſweet Speculation) it plainely appeareth, as a Maxime drawne from the divine Light; that the *Place* of every Part, is to be determined by the *Uſe.*

So then, from naturall *Structure*, to proceed to artificiall; and in the rudeſt Things, to preſerve ſome Image of the excellenteſt. Let all the principall Chambers of *Delight*, all *Studies* and *Libraries*, be towards the *Eaſt:* For the Morning is a Friend to the Muſes. All Offices that require Heat, as *Kitchins*, *Stillatories*, *Stoves*, Roomes for *Baking*, *Brewing*, *Waſhing*, or the like, would be *Meridionall.* All that need a cool and freſh Temper, as *Cellers*, *Pantries*, *Butteries*, *Granaries*, to the *North.* To the ſame Side likewiſe, all that are appointed for gentle Motion, as *Galleries*, eſpecially in warme Climes, or that otherwiſe require a ſteadie and unvariable Light, as *Pinacothecia* (ſaith *Vitruvius*) by which he intendeth, (if I may gueſſe at his *Greeke*, as wee muſt doe often even at his *Latine*) certaine *Repoſitories* for Workes of Rarity in Picture or other Arts, by the *Italians* called *Studioli*, which at any other Quarter, where the Courſe of the *Sunne* doth diverſifie the *Shadowes*, would looſe much of their Grace. And by this Rule having alwayes Regarde to the *Uſe*, any other Part may bee fitly accommodated.

I muſt here not omit to note that the antient *Grecians*, and the *Romanes*, by their Example in their Buildings abroad, where the *Seat* was free, did almoſt religiouſly ſcituate the *Front* of their Houſes, towards the South; perhaps that the Maſters *Eye*, when hee came home, might not be dazeled, or that being illuſtrated, by the *Sunne*, it might yeeld the more gracefull *Aſpect*; or ſome ſuch Reaſon; but from this, the moderne *Italians* do varie; wherof I ſhall ſpeake more in another Place. Let thus much ſuffice at the preſent

* *Opidum quidem ædificatum eleganter, ſed imprudenter poſitum.*

for the *Position* of the ſeverall *Members*, wherein muſt bee had as our Author doth often inſinuate, and eſpecially *Lib.* 6. *cap.* 10. a ſingular Regard to the Nature of the *Region:* Every Nation being tyed above all Rules whatſoever, to a Diſcretion, of providing againſt their owne *Inconveniences*; and therefore a good *Parler* in *Ægypt* would perchance make a good *Celler* in *England.*

There now followeth the ſecond Branch of the generall *Section* touching the *Worke.*

In the *Worke*, I will firſt conſider the principall Parts, and afterwards the Acceſſorie, or *Ornaments*; And in the principall, firſt the Preparation of the *Materials*, and then the Diſpoſition, which is the *Forme.*

Now, concerning the *Materiall* Part; Although, ſurely, it cannot diſgrace an *Architect*, which doth ſo well become a Philoſopher, to looke into the Properties of *Stone* and *Wood*; as that Firre Trees, Cypreſſes, Cedars, and ſuch other *Aereall* aſpiring *Plants*, being by a Kinde of naturall Rigor (which in a Man I would call Pride) inflexible downewards are thereby fitteſt for *Poſts* or *Pillars*, or ſuch upright Uſe; that on the other ſide, Oake, and the like true hartie Timber being ſtrong in all Poſitions, may bee better truſted in croſſe and traverſe Worke, for *Summers*, or guirding and binding *Beames*, as they tearme them. And ſo likewiſe to obſerve of *Stone*, that ſome are better within, and other to beare *Weather:* Nay, to deſcend lower even to examine *Sand* and *Lyme*, and *Clay* (of all which Things *Vitruvius* hath diſcourſed, without any Daintines, and the moſt of new Writers) I ſay though the *Speculative* Part of ſuch Knowledge be *liberall*; yet to redeeme this Profeſſion, and my preſent Paynes, from Indignitie; I muſt heere remember that to chooſe and ſort the *Materials*, for every Part of the *Fabrique*, is a Dutie more proper to a ſecond *Superintendent*, over all the under Artiſans called (as I take it) by our Author, *Officinator*, *Lib.* 6. *cap.* 11. and in that Place expreſſely diſtinguiſhed, from the *Architect*, whoſe Glory doth more conſiſt, in the Deſignement and *Idea* of the whole *Worke*, and his trueſt Ambition ſhould be to make the *Forme*, which is the nobler Part (as it were) triumph over the *Matter*; whereof I cannot but mention by the Way, a forreigne Paterne, namely the Church of *Santa Giuſtina* in *Padoua:* In Truth a ſound Piece of good Art, where the *Materials* being but ordinarie Stone, without any Garniſhment of Sculpture, doe yet raviſh the Beholder, (and hee knowes not how) by a ſecret *Harmony* in the *Proportions.* And this indeede is that End, at which in ſome Degree, we ſhould ayme even in the privateſt Workes: whereunto though I make Haſte, yet let me firſt collect a few of the leaſt triviall Cautions, belonging to the *Materiall Proviſion.*

Leon Batiſta Alberti, is ſo curious, as to wiſh all the *Timber* cut out of the ſame *Forreſt*, and all the *Stone* out of the ſame *Quarrie.*

Philibert de l'Orme the *French* Architect goes yet ſomewhat further, and would have the *Lyme* made of the very ſame *Stone*, which wee intend to imploy in the *Worke*; as belike imagining that they will ſympathize and joyne the better, by a Kinde of *Originall* Kindred; but ſuch Conceits as theſe ſeeme ſomewhat too fine among this *Rubbage*, though I doe not produce them in Sport.

Sport. For ſurely the like Agreements of Nature, may have oftentimes a diſcreet Application to Art. Alwayes it muſt be confeſſed, that to make *Lyme* without any great Choyce of refuſe Stuffe, as we commonly do, is an *Engliſh* Error, of no ſmall Moment in our Buildings. Whereas the *Italians* at this Day, and much more the *Ancients* did burne their firmeſt *Stone*, and even Fragments of *Marble* where it was copious, which in Time became almoſt *Marble* againe, or at leaſt of indiſſoluble Duritie, as appeareth in the ſtanding *Theaters*. I muſt not here omit, while I am ſpeaking of this Part, a certain Forme of *Bricke* deſcribed by *Daniele Barbaro* Patriarch of *Aquileia*, in the largeſt Edition of his Commentary upon *Vitruvius*. The Figure triangular, every ſide a Foot long, and ſome Inch and a halfe thicke, which he doth commend unto us for many good Conditions; as that they are more commodious in the Management, of leſſe Expence, of fayrer Show, adding much Beautie and Strength to the *Murall Angles*, where they fall gracefully into an indented *Worke:* ſo as I ſhould wonder that wee have not taken them into Uſe, being propounded by a Man of good Authoritie in this Knowledge; but that all Nations doe ſtart at *Novelties*, and are indeede married to their owne *Moulds*. Into this Place might aptly fall a Doubt, which ſome have well moved; whether the ancient *Italians* did burne their *Bricke* or no; which a Paſſage or two in *Vitruvius* hath left ambiguous. Surely where the *Naturall* Heat is ſtrong enough, to ſupply the *Artificiall*, it were but a curious Folly to multiply both *Labour* and *Expence*; and it is beſides very probable, that thoſe *Materials* with a kindely and temperate Heate would prove fairer, ſmoother, and leſſe diſtorted, than with a violent; onely, they ſuffer two Exceptions. Firſt, that they are likely by ſuch a gentle Drying to be the more *ponderous:* An important Circumſtance to the maine of the *Worke* in the Compilement. The next is of no leſſe Moment; that they will want a certaine ſucking and ſoaking *Thirſtineſſe*, or a fiery Appetite to drinke in the *Lime*, which muſt knit the *Fabrique*; but this Queſtion may be confined to the *South*, where there is more Sunne and Patience. I will therefore not hinder my Courſe, with this incident Scruple, but cloſe that Part which I have now in Hand, about the *Materialls*, with this principall Caution; That ſufficient *Stuffe* and *Money* bee readie before wee beginne; For when wee build now a Piece, and then another by *Fits*, the *Worke* dries and ſinkes unequally, whereby the *Walles* growe full of *Chinques*, and *Crevices*; wherefore ſuch a pawſing Humour is well reprooved by *Palladio*, *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. and by all other. And ſo having gleaned theſe few Remembrances, touching the Preparation of the *Matter*, I may now proceede to the *Diſpoſition* thereof, which muſt forme the *Worke*. In the *Forme*, as I did in the *Seate*, I will firſt conſider the generall *Figuration*, and then the ſeverall *Members*.

Figures are either *Simple* or *Mixed*. The Simple be either *Circular* or *Angular*. And of Circular, either *Compleate*, or *Deficient*, as *Ovals*, with which Kindes I will bee contented, though the Diſtribution might bee more curious.

Now the exact *Circle* is in Truth a Figure, which for our Purpose hath many fit and eminent Properties; as Fitnesse, for Commodity and Receit, being the most capable; Fitnesse for Strength and Duration, being the most united in his Parts; Fitnesse for Beautie and Delight, as imitating the celestiall *Orbes*, and the universall *Forme*. And it seemes, besides, to have the Approbation of *Nature*, when shee worketh by *Instinct*, which is her secret Schoole; for Birds doe build their Nests *Spherically:* But notwithstanding these Attributes, it is in Truth a very unprofitable Figure in private *Fabriques*, as being of all other the most chargeable, and much Roome lost in the bending of the *Walles*, when it comes to bee divided: besides an ill Distribution of Light, except from the *Center* of the *Roofe*. So as anciently it was not usual, save in their *Temples* and *Amphi-Theaters*, which needed no Compartitions. The *Ovals* and other imperfect circular Formes, have the same Exceptions, and lesse Benefite of Capacity: So as there remaynes to bee considered in this generall Survey of *Figures*, the *Angular*, and the *Mixed* of both. Touching the *Angular*, it may perchance sound somewhat strangely, but it is a true Observation, that this *Art* doth neither love many *Angles* nor few; for first, the *Triangle* which hath the fewest Sides and Corners, is of all other the most condemned, as being indeed both incapable and infirme (wherof the Reason shall be afterwards rendred) and likewise unresolvable into any other regular *Forme* than it selfe, in the inward *Partitions*.

As for Figures of five, six, seven, or more *Angles:* they are surely fitter for *Military Architecture*, where the Bulworks may be layed out at the *Corners*, and the Sides serve for *Curtaines*, than for civill Use; though I am not ignorant of that famous Piece at *Caprarola*, belonging to the House of *Farnese*, cast by *Baroccio* into the Forme of a *Pentagone*, with a *Circle* inscribed, where the *Architect* did ingeniously wrestle with divers Inconveniences in disposing of the *Lights*, and in saving the Vacuities; but as Designes of such Nature doe more ayme at Rarity, than Commoditie: so for my Part I had rather admire them, then commend them.

These Things considered, we are both by the Precepts and by the Practise of the best Builders, to resolve upon *Rectangular Squares*, as a Meane betweene too few, and too many Angles; and through the equall Inclination of the Sides (which make the right Angle) stronger than the *Rhombe*, or *Lozenge*, or any other irregular *Square*. But whether the exact *Quadrat*, or the long *Square* be the better, I finde not well determined, though in mine owne Conceit I must preferre the latter; provided that the *Length* doe not exceede the *Latitude* above one third Part, which would diminish the Beauty of the *Aspect*, as shall appeare when I come to speake of *Symmetry* and *Proportion*.

Of mixed Figures, partly *Circular*, and partly *Angular*, I shall neede to say nothing; becausse having handled the Simple already, the Mixed according to their Composition, doe participate of the same Respects. Onely against these, there is a proper *Objection*, that they offend *Uniformity*: Whereof I am therefore opportunely induced to say somewhat, as farre as shal concerne the outward *Aspect*, which is now in Discourse.

In

In *Architecture*, there may ſeem to be two oppoſite Affectations, *Uniformitie* and *Varietie*, which yet will very well ſuffer a good Reconcilement, as we may ſee in the great Paterne of *Nature*, to which I muſt often reſort: For ſurely there can be no *Structure*, more uniforme, then our *Bodies* in the whole *Figuration*; each Side, agreeing with the other, both in the Number, in the Qualitie, and in the Meaſure of the Parts: And yet ſome are round, as the *Armes*, ſome flat, as the *Hands*, ſome prominent, and ſome more retired: So as upon the Mater, wee ſee that *Diverſitie* doth not deſtroy *Uniformitie*, and that the Limmes of a noble *Fabrique*, may bee correſpondent enough, though they be various; Provided alwayes, that we doe not runne into certaine extravagant Inventions, whereof I ſhall ſpeake more largely, when I come to the parting and caſting of the whole *Worke*. We ought likewiſe to avoyde enormous Heights of ſixe or ſeven *Stories*, as well as irregular *Formes*; and the contrary Fault of low-diſtended *Fronts*, is as unſeemely: Or againe, when the *Face* of the *Building* is narrow, and the *Flanke* deepe: To all which Extreames, ſome particular Nations, or Townes, are ſubject, whoſe Names may be civilly ſpared: And ſo much for the generall *Figuration*, or *Aſpect* of the *Worke*.

Now concerning the Parts in Severaltie. All the Parts of every *Fabrique* may be compriſed under five Heads; which Diviſion I received from *Baptiſta Alberti*, to doe him right. And they be theſe,

The *Foundation*.	The *Compartition*.
The *Walles*.	And
The *Appertitions*, or *Overtures*.	The *Cover*.

About all which I purpoſe to gather the principall Cautions; and as I paſſe along, I will touch alſo the naturall Reaſons of *Art*, that my Diſcourſe may be the leſſe *Mechanicall*.

Firſt then, concerning the *Foundation*, which requireth the exacteſt Care; for if that happen to dance, it will marre all the Mirth in the Houſe: Therefore, that wee may found our Habitation firmely, we muſt firſt examine the *Bed* of *Earth* (as I may tearme it) upon which we will build; and then the Underfillings, or *Subſtruction*, as the Auncients did call it: For the former, we have a generall Precept in *Vitruvius* twice preciſely repeated by him, as a Point indeed of mayne Conſequence, firſt *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 5. And againe more fitly *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. in theſe Words as *Philander* doth well correct the vulgar Copies.

Subſtructionis Fundationes fodiantur (ſaith he) *ſi queant inveniri ad ſolidum, & in ſolido.* By which Words I conceive him to commend unto us, not onely a diligent, but even a jealous Examination what the *Soile* will beare: adviſing us, not to reſt upon any appearing *Soliditie*, unleſſe the whole *Mould* through which wee cut, has likewiſe beene *ſolid*; but how deepe wee ſhould goe in this Search, hee hath no where to my Remembrance determined, as perhaps depending more upon *Diſcretion*, then *Regularitie*, according to the Weight of the *Worke*; yet *Andrea Palladio* hath fairely adventured to reduce

it

Under digging, or hollowing of the Earth.

it into Rule: Allowing for that *Cavazione* (as he calleth it) a ſixt Part of the *Height* of the whole *Fabrique*, unles the Cellers be under Ground, in which Caſe hee would have us, (as it ſhould ſeeme) to ſound ſomewhat lower.

Some *Italians* doe preſcribe, that when they have choſen the *Floore*, or Plot, and laid out the Limits of the *Worke*, wee ſhould firſt of all digge *Wels* and *Ceſternes*, and other Under-conducts and Conveiances, for the *Suillage* of the Houſe, whence may ariſe a double Benefit, for both the Nature of the *Mould* or *Soile*, would thereby be ſafely ſearched, and moreover thoſe open Vents, will ſerve to diſcharge ſuch *Vapours*, as having otherwiſe no Iſſue, might peradventure ſhake the Building. This is enough for the naturall *Grounding*, which though it bee not a Part of the ſolid *Fabrique*, yet here was the fitteſt Place to handle it.

There followeth the *Subſtruction*, or Ground-worke of the whole *Edifice*, which muſt ſuſtaine the *Walles*; and this is a Kinde of *Artificiall* Foundation, as the other was *Natural*. About which theſe are the chiefe Remembrances. Firſt, that the Bottome be preciſely Levell, where the *Italians* therefore commonly lay a Platforme of good Bord; then that the loweſt *Ledge* or *Row* be meerely of *Stone*, and the broader the better, cloſely layd without *Morter*, which is a generall Caution for all Parts in Building, that are contiguous to *Bord* or *Timber*, becauſe *Lime* and *Wood* are inſociable, and if any where unfit Confiners, then moſt eſpecially in the *Foundation*. Thirdly, that the Bredth of the *Subſtruction* bee at leaſt double to the *inſiſtent Wall*, and more or leſſe, as the Weight of the *Fabrique* ſhall require; for as I muſt againe repeate, *Diſcretion* may be freer then *Art*. Laſtly, I finde in ſome a curious Precept, that the *Materials* below, be layd as they grew in the *Quarrie*, ſuppoſing them belike to have moſt Strength in their *Naturall* and *Habituall* Poſture; for as *Philippe de l'Orme* obſerveth, the breaking or yeelding of a Stone in this Part, but the Bredth of the Backe of a Knife, will make a *Cleft* of more then halfe a Foot in the *Fabrique* aloft, ſo important are *Fundamentall Errors*. Among which Notes I have ſayd nothing of *Pallification*, or *Pyling* of the *Ground-Plot*, commanded by *Vitruvius*, when we build upon a moiſt or marſhy Soile, becauſe that were an Error in the firſt Choyce; and therefore all *Seats* that muſt uſe ſuch Proviſion below (as *Venice* for an eminent Example) would perhaps upon good Enquiry, be found to have beene at firſt choſen by the Counſell of *Neceſſity*.

Now the *Foundation* being ſearched, and the *Subſtruction* layd, wee muſt next ſpeake of the *Wals*.

Wals are either entire and continuall, or intermitted; and the *Intermiſſions* be either *Pillars* or *Pylaſters*; for here I had rather handle them, then as ſome others doe, among *Ornaments*.

The entire *Muring* is by Writers diverſly diſtinguiſhed; by ſome, according to the Quality of the *Materials*, as either Stone or Brick, &c. where, by the Way, let me note, that to build *Wals* and greater Workes of *Flint*, whereof wee want not Example in our *Iland*, and particularly in the *Province*

of

of *Kent*, was (as I conceive) meerly unknown to the *Ancients*, who obſerving in that *Materiall*, a Kinde of *Metalicall* Nature, or at leaſt a *Fuſibility*, ſeeme to have reſolved it into nobler Uſe; an Art now utterly loſt, or perchance kept up by a few *Chymicks*. Some againe doe not ſo much conſider the Quality, as the *Poſition* of the ſayd *Materials*: As when Bricke or ſquared Stones are laid in their Lengths with Sides and Heads together, or their Points conjoyned like a *Networke* (for ſo *Vitruvius* doth call it *reticulatum opus*) of familiar Uſe (as it ſhould ſeeme) in his Age, though afterwards growne out of Requeſt, even perhaps for that ſubtill Speculation which hee himſelfe toucheth; becauſe ſo layd, they are more apt in ſwagging down, to pierce with their Points, then in the jacent Poſture, and ſo to crevice the *Wall*; But to leave ſuch Cares to the meaner Artificers, the more eſſentiall are theſe.

That the *Walles* bee moſt exactly perpendicular to the *Ground-worke*; for the right *Angle* (thereon depending) is the true Cauſe of all *Stability*; both in Artificiall and Naturall Poſitions; A Man likewiſe ſtanding firmeſt, when he ſtands uprighteſt. That the maſſieſt and heavieſt *Materials* bee the loweſt, as fitter to beare, then to be borne. That the *Worke* as it riſeth, diminiſh in *Thickneſſe* proportionally, for Eaſe both of Weight, and of Expence. That certaine Courſes or *Ledges* of more Strength than the reſt, be interlayed like *Bones*, to ſuſtaine the *Fabrique* from totall Ruine, if the under Parts ſhould decay. Laſtly, that the *Angles* bee firmely bound, which are the *Nerves* of the whole *Edifice*, and therefore are commonly fortified by the *Italians*, even in their Bricke Buildings, on each Side of the Corners, with well ſquared Stone, yeelding both Strength and Grace; and ſo much touching the entire or ſolid *Wall*.

The Intermiſſions (as hath beene ſayd) are either by *Pillars*, or *Pylaſters*.

Pillars, which we may likewiſe call *Columnes*, (for the Word among Artificers is almoſt naturallized) I could diſtinguiſh into *Simple* and *Compounded*. But (to tread the beaten and plaineſt Way) there are five *Orders* of Pillars, according to their Dignity and Perfection, thus marſhalled:

The *Tuſcan*.	The *Corinthian*.
The *Dorique*.	And
The *Ionique*.	The *Compound Order*.

Or as ſome call it the *Roman*, others more generally the *Italian*.

In which five *Orders* I will firſt conſider their *Communities*, and then their *Proprieties*.

Their *Communities* (as farre as I obſerve) are principally three. Firſt, they are all *Round*; for though ſome conceive *Columna Atticurges* mentioned by *Vitruvius*, *Lib. 3. cap. 3.* to have beene a ſquared Pillar, yet wee muſt paſſe it over as irregular, never received among theſe *Orders*, no more then certaine other licentious Inventions, of *Wreathed*, and *Vined*, and *Figured Columnes*, which our Author himſelfe condemneth, being in his whole Booke a profeſſed Enemy to *Fancies*.

Secondly,

Secondly, They are all *Diminiſhed*, or *Contracted* inſenſibly, more or leſſe, according to the Proportion of their Heights, from one third Part of the whole *Shaft* upwards, which *Philander* doth preſcribe by his owne preciſe Meaſuring of the ancient Remainders, as the moſt gracefull *Diminution*; And here I muſt take Leave to blame a Practice growne (I know not how) in certaine Places too familiar, of making *Pillars* ſwell in the middle, as if they were ſicke of ſome *Tympany*, or *Dropſie*, without any authentique Paterne or Rule, to my Knowledge, and unſeemely to the very Judgement of Sight. True it is that in *Vitruvius*, *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 2. wee finde theſe Words, *De adjectione, quæ adjicitur in mediis Columnis, quæ apud Grecos* Ενταϛις *appellatur, in extremo libro erit formatio ejus*; which Paſſage, ſeemeth to have given ſome Countenance to this Error; but of the Promiſe there made, as of diverſe other elſewhere, our Maſter hath fayled us, either by ſlip of Memory, or injury of Time, and ſo we are left in the Darke. Alwayes ſure I am, that beſides the Authority of Example which it wanteth, it is likewiſe contrary to the originall and naturall *Type*, in *Trees*, which at firſt was imitated in *Pillars*, as *Vitruvius* himſelfe obſerveth, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 1. For who ever ſaw any *Cypreſſe*, or *Pine*, (which are there alledged) ſmall below and above, and tumerous in the Middle, unleſſe it were ſome diſeaſed Plant, as Nature (though otherwiſe the comlieſt *Miſtreſſe*) hath now and then her Deformities and *Irregularities*.

Thirdly, they have all their *Underſettings*, or *Pediſtals*, in Height a third Part of the whole *Columne*, comprehending the *Baſe* and *Capitall*; and their upper Adjuncts, as *Architrave*, *Frize*, and *Cornice*, a fourth Part of the ſayd Pillar; which Rule of ſingular Uſe and Facility I find ſetled by *Jacobo Baroccio*, and hold him a more credible Author, as a Man that moſt intended this Piece, than any that vary from him in thoſe *Dimentions*.

Theſe are their moſt conſiderable *Communities* and Agreements.

Their *Proprieties* or *Diſtinctions* will beſt appeare by ſome reaſonable Deſcription of them all, together with their *Architraves*, *Frizes*, and *Cornices*, as they are uſually handled.

Firſt therefore the *Tuſcan* is a plain, maſſie, rurall Pillar, reſembling ſome ſturdy well-limmed Labourer, homely clad, in which Kinde of Compariſons *Vitruvius* himſelfe ſeemeth to take Pleaſure, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 1. The Length thereof ſhall be ſix *Diameters*, of the groſſeſt of the Pillar below. Of all Proportions, in Truth, the moſt naturall; for our Author tells us, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 1. that the Foote of a Man is the ſixt Part of his Bodie in ordinary Meaſure, and *Man* himſelfe, according to the Saying of *Protagoras* (which *Ariſtotle* doth ſomewhere vouchſafe to celebrate) is τὸ τῶν ἁπαίτων χρημάτων μέτρον: as it were the *Prototype* of all exact *Symmetrie*, which we have had other Occaſion to touch before: This *Columne* I have by good Warrant called *Rurall*, *Vitruv. cap.* 2. *lib.* 3. And therefore we need not conſider his Rank among the reſt. The Diſtance or *Intercolumniation* (which Word Artificers doe uſually borrow) may bee neere foure of his owne *Diameters*, becauſe the *Materials* commonly layd over this Pillar, were rather of Wood then Stone; through the Lightneſſe whereof the *Architrave* could not ſuffer, though thinnely ſupported, nor the *Columne* it ſelfe being ſo ſubſtantiall. The *Contraction* aloft ſhall be (according

(according to the moſt received Practice) one fourth Part of his Thickneſſe below. To conclude, (for I intend only as much as ſhall ſerve for a due Diſtinguiſhment, and not to delineate every petty Member) the *Tuſcan* is of all the rudeſt Pillar, and his principall Character *Simplicity*.

The *Dorique Order* is the graveſt that hath beene received into civill Uſe, preſerving, in Compariſon of thoſe that follow, a more *Maſculine Aſpect*, and litle trimmer than the *Tuſcan* that went before, ſave a ſober Garniſhment now and then of *Lions Heads* in the *Cornice*, and of *Triglyphs* and *Metopes* alwayes in the *Frize*. Sometimes likewiſe, but rarely, chaneled, and a little ſlight Sculpture about the *Hypotrachelion*, or *Necke* under the *Capitall*. The Length, ſeven *Diameters*. His Ranke or Degree, is the loweſt by all *Congruity*, as being more maſſie than the other three, and conſequently abler to ſupport. The *Intercolumniation*, thrice as much as his Thickneſſe below. The *Contraction* aloft, one fift of the ſame Meaſure. To diſcerne him, will bee a Peece rather of good *Heraldry*, than of *Architecture:* For he is beſt knowne by his Place, when he is in Company, and by the peculiar Ornament of his *Frize* (before mentioned) when he is alone.

The *Ionique Order* doth repreſent a Kinde of Feminine Slenderneſſe, yet ſaith *Vitruvius*, not like a light Houſe-wife, but in a decent Dreſſing, hath much of the *Matrone*. The Length eight *Diameters*. In Degree as in Subſtantialneſſe, next above the *Dorique*, ſuſtayning the third, and adorning the ſecond Story. The *Intercolumniation* two of his owne *Diameters*. The *Contraction* one ſixt Part. Beſt knowne by his Trimmings, for the Bodie of this *Columne* is perpetually chaneled, like a thicke plighted Gowne. The *Capitall* dreſſed on each Side, not much unlike Womens Wires, in a ſpirall Wreathing, which they call the *Ionian Voluta*. The *Cornice* indented. The *Frize* ſwelling like a Pillow; and therefore by *Vitruvius*, not unelegantly tearmed *Pulvinata*. Theſe are his beſt *Characters*.

The *Corinthian*, is a *Columne*, laciviouſly decked like a Curtezane, and therein much participating (as all Inventions doe) of the Place where they were firſt borne: *Corinthe* having been without Controverſie one of the wantoneſt Townes in the World. This *Order* is of nine *Diameters*. His Degree, one Stage above the *Ionique*, and alwaies the higheſt of the ſimple *Orders*. The *Intercolumniation* two of his *Diameters*, and a fourth Part more, which is of all other the comelieſt Diſtance. The *Contraction* one ſeventh Part. In the *Cornice* both *Dentelli* and *Modiglioni*. The *Frize*, adorned with all Kinds of *Figures* and various Compartments at Pleaſure. The *Capitall*, cut into the beautifulleſt Leafe, that Nature doth yeeld, which ſurely next the *Aconitum Pardalianches* (rejected perchance as an ominous *Plant)* is the *Acanthus* or *Brancus Urſina*, though *Vitruvius* doe impute the Choice thereof unto Chance, and wee muſt be contented to beleeve him: In ſhort, as *Plainneſſe* did characterize the *Tuſcan*, ſo muſt *Delicacie* and *Varietie* the *Corinthian* Pillar, beſides the Height of his Ranke.

Our Artizans call them Teeth and Cartouzes.

The laſt is the *Compounded Order:* His *Name* being a Briefe of his *Nature*. For this Pillar is nothing in Effect, but a *Medlie*, or an *Amaſſe* of all the pre-

cedent *Ornaments*, making a new Kinde, by Stealth, and though the moſt richly tricked, yet the pooreſt in this, that he is a Borrower of all his Beautie. His Length, (that he may have ſomewhat of his owne) ſhalbe of ten *Diameters*. His Degree ſhould, no doubt, bee the higheſt, by Reaſons before yeelded. But few *Palaces*, auncient or moderne, exceede the third of the Civill *Orders*. The *Intercolumniation*, but a *Diameter* and an halfe, or alwayes ſomewhat leſſe then two. The *Contraction* of this Pillar muſt be one eight Part leſſe above than belowe. To know him will be eaſie by the verie Mixture of his *Ornaments*, and *Cloathing*.

And ſo much touching the five *Orders* of *Columnes*, which I will conclude with two or three, not impertinent *Cautions:*

Firſt, that where more of theſe *Orders* than one, ſhalbe ſet in ſeverall *Stories* or *Contignations*, there muſt bee an exquiſite Care, to place the *Columnes* preciſely, one over another, that ſo, the *ſolid* may anſwere to the *ſolid*, and the *Vacuities* to the *Vacuities*, as well for *Beautie*, as Strength of the *Fabrique:* And by this Caution the Conſequence is plaine, that when wee ſpeake of *Intercolumniation* or *Diſtance*, which is due to each *Order*, we meane in a *Dorique*, *Ionicall*, *Corinthian Porch*, or *Cloiſter*, or the like of one *Contignation*, and not in ſtoried Buildings.

Secondly, let the *Columnes* above be a fourth Part leſſe than thoſe below, ſaith *Vitruvius*, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 1. A ſtrange Precept, in my Opinion, and ſo ſtrange, that peradventure it were more ſutable, even to his owne Principles, to make them rather a fourth Part greater, for *lib.* 3. *cap.* 2. where our Maſter handleth the *Contractions* of Pillars, wee have an *Optique* Rule, that the higher they are, the leſſe ſhould be alwayes their Dimunition aloft, becauſe the *Eye* it ſelfe, doth naturally contract all *Objects* more or leſſe, according to the *Diſtance*; which Conſideration, may, at firſt Sight, ſeeme to have beene forgotten in the Caution wee have now given; but *Vitruvius* (the beſt Interpreter of himſelfe) hath in the ſame Place of his fift Booke, well acquitted his Memorie by theſe Words: *Columnæ ſuperiores quarta parte minores, quàm inferiores, ſunt conſtituendæ; propterea quòd, operi ferendo quæ ſunt inferiora, firmiora eſſe debent*; preferring like a wiſe Mechanick, the *naturall* Reaſon, before the *Mathematicall*, and ſenſible Conceits before abſtracted. And yet *lib.* 4. *cap.* 4. he ſeemeth againe, to affect *Subtiltie*, allowing Pillars the more they are chaneled, to bee the more ſlender; becauſe while our *Eye* (ſaith hee) doth as it were diſtinctly meaſure the eminent and the hollowed Parts, the totall Object appeareth the bigger, and ſo as much as thoſe Excavations, doe ſubtract, is ſupplied by a *Fallacie* of the *Sight:* But here mee thinks, our Maſter ſhould likewiſe have rather conſidered, the naturall Inconvenience; for though Pillars by chaneling, bee ſeemingly ingroſſed to our Sight, yet they are truely weakened in themſelves; and therefore ought perchance in ſound Reaſon not to bee the more ſlender, but the more corpulent, unleſſe Apparances preponder Truths, but *Contra Magiſtrum, non eſt diſputandum.*

A third Caution ſhalbe that all the *projected* or *jutting* Parts (as they are tearmed) be very moderate, eſpecially, the *Cornices* of the lower *Orders*, for whileſt

whileſt ſome thinke to give them a beautifull and royall Aſpect, by their Largeneſſe, they ſometimes hinder both the Light within, (whereof I ſhall ſpeake more in due Place) and likewiſe detract much from the Viewe of the *Front* without, as well appeareth in one of the principall Fabriques at *Venice*, namely the Palace, of the Duke *Grimani* on the *Canal Grande*, which by this magnificent Errour, is ſomewhat diſgraced: I neede now ſay no more concerning *Columnes* and their *Adjuncts*, about which Architects make ſuch a Noyſe in their Bookes, as if the very Tearmes of *Architraves*, and *Frizes*, and *Cornices*, and the like, were enough to graduate a Maſter of this *Art*; yet let me before I paſſe to other Matter, prevent a familiar Objection; it will perchance bee ſaid, that all this Doctrine touching the five *Orders*, were fitter for the *Quarries* of *Aſia* which yeelded 127 *Columnes* of 60 *Foote* high, to the *Epheſian Temple*, or for *Numidia* where *Marbles* abound; then for the *Spirits* of *England*, who muſt be contented with more ignoble *Materials:* To which I anſwere, that this neede not diſcourage us: For I have often at *Venice* viewed with much Pleaſure, an *Atrium Græcum* (we may tranſlate it an *Anti porch*, after the *Greeke* Manner) raiſed by *Andrea Palladio*, upon eight *Columnes* of the *Compounded Order*; the *Baſes* of Stone, without *Pediſtals*, the *Shafts* or Bodies, of meere Brick; three Foote and an halfe thicke in the *Diameter* below, and conſequently thirty five Foote high, as himſelfe hath deſcribed them in his ſecond Booke; than which, mine Eye, hath never yet beheld any *Columnes*, more ſtately of Stone or Marble; for the Bricks, having firſt beene formed in a *Circular Mould*, and then cut before their burning into foure Quarters or more, the Sides afterwards joyne ſo cloſely, and the Points concenter ſo exactly, that the *Pillars* appeare one *entire Peece*; which ſhort Deſcription, I could not omit, that thereby may appeare, how in Truth wee want rather *Art* than Stuffe, to ſatisfie our greateſt *Fancies*.

After *Pillars*, the next in my Diſtribution are *Pylaſters*, mentioned by *Vitruvius*, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 1. and ſcant any where elſe under the Name of *Paraſtates*, as *Philander* conceiveth, which *Grammaticall* Point (though perchance not very cleere) I am contented to examine no farther. Alwayes, what we meane by the Thing it ſelfe, is plaine enough in our owne Vulgar; touching which, I will briefly collect the moſt conſiderable Notes.

Pylaſters muſt not bee too tall and ſlender, leaſt they reſemble *Pillars*, nor too *dwarfiſh* and groſſe, leaſt they imitate the *Piles* or *Peeres* of Bridges: Smoothneſſe doth not ſo naturally become them, as a ruſticke *Superficies*, for they ayme more at *State* and *Strength*, than *Elegancie*. In private Buildings they ought not to be narrower than one third, nor broader than two Parts of the whole Vacuity, betweene *Pylaſter* and *Pylaſter*; but to thoſe that ſtand at the *Corners*, may be allowed a little more Latitude by Diſcretion, for Strength of the *Angles:* In *Theaters* and *Amphi-theaters*, and ſuch weighty Workes, *Palladio* obſerveth them, to have beene as broad as the halfe, and now and then as the whole *Vacuitie:* Hee noteth likewiſe (and others conſent with him) that their true *Proportion* ſhould bee an *exact Square*; but for leſſening of Expence, and inlarging of Roome, they are commonly narrower in *Flanke*, than in *Front:* Their principall *Grace* doth

consist in halfe or whole *Pillars*, applied unto them; in which Case it is well noted by Authors, that the *Columnes* may bee allowed somewhat above their ordinary Length, because they leane unto so good *Supporters*. And thus much shall suffice touching *Pilasters*, which is a cheape, and a strong, and a noble Kinde of *Structure*.

Now because they are oftner, both for Beauty and Majesty, found *Arched*, than otherwise; I am heere orderly led to speake of *Arches*, and under the same Head of *Vaults*: for an *Arch* is nothing indeed but a contracted *Vault*, and a *Vault* is but a dilated *Arch*: Therefore to handle this Piece both compendiously, and fundamentally, I will resolve the whole Businesse into a few *Theoremes*.

Theoreme 1.

All solid *Materials* free from Impediment, doe descend *perpendicularly* downewards, because *Ponderosity* is a naturall Inclination to the Center of the World, and *Nature* performeth her Motions by the shortest Lines.

Theoreme 2.

Brickes moulded in their ordinary *Rectangular* Forme, if they shall be layd one by another in a levell Row, betweene any Supporters sustayning the two Ends, then all the Pieces between will necessarily sinke, even by their owne naturall *Gravity*, and much more if they suffer any Depression by other Waight above them, because their Sides being *parallel*, they have Roome to descend *perpendicularly*, without Impeachment, according to the former *Theoreme*: Therefore to make them stand, wee must either change their *Posture*, or their *Figure*, or both.

Theoreme 3.

If Brickes moulded, or Stones squared *Cuneatim* (that is *Wedge-wise*, broader above than below) shall be laid in a *Row levell*, with their Ends supported, as in the precedent *Theoreme*, pointing all to one *Center*; then none of the Pieces betweene can sinke till the *Supporters* give Way, because they want Roome in that *Figuration* to descend *perpendicularly*. But this is yet a weake Piece of *Structure*, because the *Supporters* are subject to much Impulsion, especially if the Line be long; for which Reason this *Forme* is seldom used, but over *Windowes*, or narrowe *Doores*. Therfore to fortifie the *Work* as in this third *Theoreme* wee have supposed the *Figure* of all the *Materials* different from those in the second: So likewise wee must now change the *Posture*, as will appeare in the *Theoreme* following.

Theoreme 4.

If the *Materials* figured as before *Wedge-wise*, shall not be disposed levelly, but in Forme of some *Arch*, or Portion of a *Circle*, pointing all to the same *Center*: In this Case, neither the Pieces of the sayd *Arch* can sinke downwards, through want of Roome to descend † perpendicularly: Nor the

† By the first Theoreme.

Supporters

Supporters or *Butments* (as they are tearmed) of the ſayd *Arch* can ſuffer ſo much Violence, as in the precedent flat Poſture, for the Roundneſſe will alwayes make the incumbent Waight, rather to reſt upon the *Supporters*, than to ſhove them; whence may be drawn an evident *Corolary*; that the ſafeſt of all *Arches* is the *Semicircular*, and of all *Vaults* the *Hemiſphere*, though not abſolutely exempted from ſome naturall Weakneſſe, * as *Barnardino Baldi Abbot* of *Guaſtalla*, in his Commentary upon *Ariſtotles Mechaniques*, doth very well proove; where let me note by the Way, that when any Thing is *Mathematically* demonſtrated weake, it is much more *Mechanically* weake: Errors ever occurring more eaſily in the Management of *Groſſe Materials*, than *Lineall Deſignes*.

Theoreme 5.

As Semicircular *Arches*, or Hemiſphericall *Vaults*, being raiſed upon the totall *Diameter*, bee of all other the roundeſt, and conſequently the ſecureſt, by the precedent *Theoreme:* So thoſe are the gracefulleſt, which keeping preciſely the ſame Height, ſhall yet bee diſtended, one fourteenth Part longer than the ſayd entire *Diameter*; which Addition of diſtent will conferre much to their *Beauty*, and detract but little from their *Strength*.

This Obſervation I finde in *Leon-Batiſta Alberti*; but the Practice how to preſerve the ſame Height, and yet diſtend the Armes or Ends of the *Arch*, is in *Albert Durers Geometry*, who taught the *Italians* many an excellent *Line*, of great Uſe in this *Art*.

Upon theſe five *Theoremes*, all the Skill of *Arching* and *Vaulting* is grounded: As for thoſe *Arches*, which our Artizans call of the third and fourth Point; and the *Tuſcan* Writers *di terzo*, and *di quarto acuto*; becauſe they alwayes concurre in an acute *Angle*, and doe ſpring from Diviſion of the *Diameter*, into three, foure, or more Parts at Pleaſure; I ſay, ſuch as theſe, both for the naturall Imbecility of the ſharpe *Angle* it ſelfe, and likewiſe for their very *Uncomelineſſe*, ought to bee exiled from judicious Eyes, and left to their firſt Inventors, the *Gothes* or *Lumbards*, amongſt other *Reliques* of that barbarous *Age*.

Thus of my firſt *Partition* of the Parts of every *Fabrique*, into five Heads, having gone through the two former, and been incidently carried into this laſt Doctrine touching *Arches* and *Vaults*. The next now in Order are the *Apertions*; under which tearme I doe comprehend *Doores*, *Windowes*, *Staire-caſes*, *Chimnies*, or other *Conducts*: In ſhort, all *Inlets* or *Outlets*; to which belong two generall *Cautions*.

Firſt, That they bee as few in Number, and as moderate in Dimenſion, as may poſſibly conſiſt with other due Reſpects: for in a Word, all *Openings* are *Weaknings*.

Secondly, That they doe not approach too neere the *Angles* of the Wals; for it were indeed a moſt eſſentiall *Soleciſme* to weaken that Part, which muſt ſtrengthen all the reſt: A Precept well recorded, but ill practiſed by the *Italians* themſelves, perticularly at *Venice*, where I have obſerved diverſe

* Which is the ſole Prerogative of perpendicular Lines and right Angles.

Pergoli,

Pergoli, or *Meniana* (as *Vitruvius* seemeth to call them, which are certaine balliſed out-ſtandings to ſatisfie Curioſity of Sight) very dangerouſly ſet forth, upon the very Point it ſelfe, of the *Murall Angle*.

Now, albeit I make Haſte to the caſting and comparting of the whole *Worke*, (being indeede the very Definitive Summe of this *Art*, to diſtribute uſefully and gracefully a well choſen *Plot*) yet I will firſt under their ſeverall Heads, collect briefly ſome of the choiſeſt Notes, belonging to theſe particular *Overtures*.

Of DOORES *and* WINDOWES.

THESE *Inlets* of *Men* and of *Light*, I couple together, becauſe I find their due Dimenſions brought under one Rule, by *Leon Alberti* (a learned Searcher) who from the Schoole of *Pythagoras* (where it was a fundamental *Maxime*, that the *Images* of all Things are latent in *Numbers*) doth determine the comelieſt Proportion, betweene Breadths and Heights; reducing *Symmetrie* to *Symphonie*, and the *Harmonie* of *Sounde*, to a Kinde of *Harmonie* in *Sight*, after this Manner: The two principall *Conſonances*, that moſt raviſh the Eare, are by Conſent of all Nature the *fift* and the *octave*; whereof the firſt riſeth radically, from the Proportion, betweene *two* and *three*. The other from the double *Intervalle*, betweene *one* and *two*, or betweene *two* and *foure*, &c. Now if we ſhall tranſport theſe Proportions, from audible to viſible *Objects*, and apply them as they ſhall fall fitteſt, (the Nature of the Place conſidered) namely, in ſome *Windowes* and *Doores*, the *Symmetrie* of *two* to *three*, in their Breadth and Length; in others the double, as aforeſaid; there will indubitably reſult from either, a gracefull and *harmonious* Contentment to the Eye: Which Speculation, though it may appeare unto vulgar *Artizans*, perhaps too ſubtile and too ſublime, yet wee muſt remember, that *Vitruvius* himſelfe doth determine many Things in his Profeſſion, by *Muſicall* Grounds, and much commendeth in an *Architect*, a *Philoſophical* Spirit; that is, he would have him (as I conceave it) to be no ſuperficiall and floating *Artificer*, but a *Diver* into *Cauſes*, and into the *Myſteries* of *Proportion*: Of the *Ornaments*, belonging both to *Doores* and *Windowes*, I ſhall ſpeake in another Place: But let mee heere adde one Obſervation; That our *Maſter* (as appeareth by divers Paſſages, and particularly *Lib. 6. cap. 9.*) ſeemes to have beene an extreame Lover of *Luminous Roomes*; and indeede I muſt confeſſe, that a franke Light can miſbecome no *Edifice* whatſoever, *Temples* onely excepted; which were anciently darke, as they are likewiſe at this Day in ſome Proportion. *Devotion more requiring collected than defuſed Spirits.* Yet on the other Side we muſt take Heede not to make a Houſe (though but for civill Uſe) all *Eyes*, like *Argus*; which in Northerne *Climes* would be too cold, in Southerne, too hot: And therefore the Matter indeede importeth more than a merry Compariſon. Beſides, There is no Part of *Structure* either more expencefull than *Windowes*, or more ruinous; not onely for that vulgar Reaſon, as being expoſed to all Violence of Weather; but becauſe conſiſting of ſo different and unſociable Pieces, as *Wood*, *Iron*, *Leade*, and *Glaſſe*, and thoſe ſmall

Lumen eſt diffuſivum ſui & alieni.

ſmall and weake, they are eaſily ſhaken; I muſt likewiſe remember one Thing (though it be but a *Grammatical* Note) touching *Doores*. Some were *Fores* and ſome were *Valvæ*. Thoſe (as the very Word may ſeeme to import) did open *outwards*, theſe *inwards*; and were commonly of two *Leaves* or *Panes*, (as we call them) thereby requiring indeed a leſſer *Circuit* in their *unfoulding*; and therefore much in Uſe among *Italians* at this Day: But I muſt charge them with an Imperfection, for though they let in as well as the former, yet they keepe out worſe.

Of STAIRE-CASES.

TO make a compleate *Staire-caſe*, is a curious Peece of *Architecture*: The vulgar Cautions are theſe.

That it have a very liberall *Light*, againſt all Caſualtie of *Slippes*, and *Falles*.

That the Space above the *Head*, bee large and *Airy*, which the *Italians* uſe to call *Un bel-ſfogolo*, as it were good *Ventilation*, becauſe a Man doth ſpend much Breath in mounting.

That the *Halfe-paces* bee well diſtributed, at competent Diſtances, for repoſing on the Way.

That to avoyd *Encounters*, and beſides to gratifie the Beholder, the whole *Staire-caſe* have no nigard *Latitude*, that is, for the principall *Aſcent*, at leaſt ten Foot in *Royall Buildings*.

That the Breadth of every ſingle *Step* or *Staire* bee never leſſe than one Foote, nor more than eighteen Inches.

That they exceede by no Meanes halfe a Foot in their Height or Thickneſſe; for our *Legges* doe labour more in *Elevation*, than in *Diſtention*: Theſe I ſay are familiar Remembrances, to which let me adde.

That the Steps bee layd where they joyne *Con un tantino di ſcarpa*; we may tranſlate it ſomewhat *ſloaping*, that ſo the Foot may in a Sort both aſcend and deſcend together, which though obſerved by few, is a ſecret and delicate Deception of the Paines in Mounting.

Laſtly, to reduce this Doctrine to ſome *Naturall*, or at leaſt *Mathematicall* Ground, (our *Maſter*, as we ſee, *lib.* 9. *cap.* 2.) borroweth thoſe Proportions, that make the Sides of a *Rectangular Triangle*, which the ancient Schoole did expreſſe in loweſt Tearmes, by the Numbers of 3. 4. and 5. That is, *three* for the *Perpendicular*, from the *Staire-head* to the Ground; *foure* for the *Ground line* it ſelfe, or *Receſſion* from the Wall, and *five* for the whole *Inclination* or Slopeneſſe in the Aſcent; which Proportion, ſaith he, will make *Temperatas graduum librationes*. Hitherto of *Staire-caſes* which are direct: There are likewiſe *Spirall*, or *Cockle Staires*, either *Circular*, or *Ovall*, and ſometimes running about a *Pillar*, ſometimes vacant, wherein *Palladio* (a Man in this Point of ſingular Felicity) was wont to divide the *Diameter* of the firſt Sort into three Parts, yeelding one to the *Pillar*, and two to the *Steps*; of the ſecond into foure, whereof he gave two to the *Staires*, and two to the *Vacuitie*, which had all their Light from above; and this in exact *Ovals* is a Maſter-piece.

Of

Of CHIMNIES.

IN the preſent Buſineſſe, *Italians* (who make very frugall Fires, are perchance not the beſt Counſellers.) Therefore from them we may better learne, both how to raiſe faire *Mantels* within the Roomes, and how to diſguiſe gracefully the Shafts of *Chimnies* abroad (as they uſe) in ſundry Formes (which I ſhall handle in the latter Part of my Labour) and the reſt I will extract from *Philippe de l'Orme:* In this Part of his *Worke* more diligent than in any other, or, to doe him right, than any Man elſe.

Firſt, Hee obſerveth very ſoberly, that who in the Diſpoſition of any Building will conſider the Nature of the *Region*, and the *Windes* that ordinarily blow, from this, or that *Quarter*; might ſo caſt the Roomes, which ſhall moſt need Fire; that hee ſhould little feare the Incommodity of *Smoake*, and therefore hee thinkes, that Inconvenience, for the moſt Part to proceede from ſome inconſiderate Beginning. Or if the Error lay not in the *Diſpoſition* but in the *Structure* it ſelfe; then hee makes a *Logicall* Enquiry, that either the *Winde* is too much let in above, at the Mouth of the *Shafte*, or the *Smoke* ſtifeled below; if none of theſe, then there is a Repulſion of the *Fume*, by ſome higher *Hill* or *Fabrique*, that ſhall Overtoppe the *Chimney* and worke the former Effect: If likewiſe not this, then he concludes, that the Room which is infeſted, muſt bee neceſſarily both little and cloſe, ſo as the Smoke cannot iſſue by a naturall *Principle*, wanting a Succeſſion and Supply of new *Ayre*.

Now, In theſe Caſes he ſuggeſteth divers Artificiall Remedies; of which I will allow one, a little *Deſcription*, becauſe it ſavoureth of *Philoſophie*, and was touched by *Vitruvius* himſelfe, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 6. but by this Man ingeniouſly applied to the preſent Uſe: Hee will have us provide two hollow *braſſe Balles* of reaſonable Capacitie, with little Holes open in both, for Reception of Water, when the Aire ſhalbe firſt ſucked out; one of theſe wee muſt place with the Hole upwards, upon an Yron Wire, that ſhall traverſe the *Chimney*, a little above the *Mantell*, at the ordinary Height of the ſharpeſt Heate or Flames, whereof the Water within being rarified, and by Rarifaction reſolved into *Winde*, will breake out, and ſo force up the Smoke, which otherwiſe might linger in the *Tunnell*, by the Way, and oftentimes revert; with the other, (ſaith he) wee may ſupply the Place of the former, when it is exhauſted, or for a Neede blow the *Fire* in the meane while; which Invention I have interpoſed for ſome little Intertainment of the Reader; I will conclude with a Note from *Palladio*, who obſerveth that the *Ancients* did warme their Roomes, with certaine ſecret *Pipes* that came through the Walles, tranſporting Heate (as I conceive it) to ſundry Parts of the Houſe, from one common *Furnace*; I am ready to baptize them *Caliducts*, as well as they are tearmed *Venti ducts*, and *Aquæ-ducts* that convey Winde and Water; which whether it were a Cuſtome or Delicacie, was ſurely both for Thrift, and for Uſe, far beyond the *German Stoves*; and I ſhould preferre it likewiſe before our owne Faſhion, if the very Sight of a Fire, did not adde to the Roome a Kinde

of

of *Reputation*, * as old *Homer* doth teach us in a Verſe, ſufficient to proove that himſelfe was not blinde, as ſome would laie to his Charge.

Touching *Conducts* for the *Suillage* and other Neceſſities of the Houſe, (which how baſe ſoever in Uſe, yet for Health of the Inhabitants, are as conſiderable, and perhaps more than the reſt) I finde in our Authors, this Counſell; that *Art* ſhould imitate *Nature*, in thoſe ignoble Conveyances; and ſeparate them from Sight, (where there wants a running Water) into the moſt remote, and loweſt, and thickeſt Part of the *Foundation:* with ſecret Vents paſſing up through the Walles like a *Tunnell* to the wilde Aire aloft: which all *Italian* Artizans commend for the Diſcharge of noyſome Vapours, though elſe-where to my Knowledge little practiſed.

Thus having conſidered the precedent *Appertions*, or *Overtures*, in ſeveraltie according to their particular Requiſites, I am now come to the caſting and *Contexture* of the whole *Worke*, comprehended under the Tearme of *Compartition:* Into which (being the maineſt Piece) I cannot enter without a few generall Precautions, as I have done in other Parts.

Firſt therefore, Let no Man that intendeth to build, ſetle his Fancie upon a Draught of the *Worke* in *Paper*, how exactly ſoever meaſured, or neately ſet off in *Perſpective*; and much leſſe upon a bare *Plant* thereof, as they call the *Schiographia* or *Ground Lines*; without a *Modell* or *Type* of the whole *Structure*, and of every Parcell and Partition in *Paſtboord* or *Wood*.

Next that the ſaid Modell bee as plaine as may be, without Colours or other beautifying, leſt the Pleaſure of the *Eye* preoccupate the *Judgement*; which Adviſe omitted by the *Italian Architects*, I finde in *Philippe de l'Orme*, and therefore (though *France* be not the *Theater* of beſt Buildings) it did merit ſome mention of his Name.

Laſtly, The bigger that this *Type* be, it is ſtill the better, not that I will perſwade a Man to ſuch an Enormity, as that *Modell* made by *Antonio Labaco*, of Saint *Peters* Church in *Rome*, containing 22 Foot in Length, 16 in Breadth, and 13 in Heighth, and coſting 4184 Crownes: The Price in Truth of a reaſonable *Chappell:* Yet in the *Fabrique* of ſome 40 or 50 thouſand Pounds charge, I wiſh 30 Pounds at leaſt layd out before Hand in an exact *Modell*; for a little Miſery in the *Premiſes*, may eaſily breed ſome Abſurdity of greater Charge, in the *Concluſion*.

Now, after theſe Premoniſhments, I will come to the *Compartition* it ſelfe; by which, the Authors of this *Art* (as hath beene touched before) doe underſtand, a *gracefull* and *uſefull* Diſtribution, of the whole *Ground plot* both for Roomes of *Office*, and of *Reception* or *Entertainement*, as farre as the *Capacity* thereof, and the Nature of the *Countrey*, will comport. Which Circumſtances in the preſent *Subject*, are all of maine Conſideration, and might yeeld more Diſcourſe than an *Elementall Rapſodie* will permit. Therefore (to anatomize briefly this Definition) the *Gracefulneſſe* (whereof wee ſpeake) will conſiſt in double *Analogie*, or Correſpondencie. Firſt, between the *Parts* and the *Whole*, whereby a *great Fabrique* ſhould have *great Partitions*, *great*

* αιθομένῳ δὲ πυρὸς γεραρωτερῳ οἴκῳ ἰδέσθαι. *Hom. Epig.*

Lights, *great Entrances*, *great Pillars* or *Pylaſters*; in ſumme, all the *Members great.* The next betweene the *Parts* themſelves, not only, conſidering their *Breadths*, and *Lengths*, as before, when wee ſpake of *Doores* and *Windowes*; but here likewiſe enters a third Reſpect of *Height*, a Point, (I muſt confeſſe) hardly reduceable to any generall Precept.

True it is, that the *Ancients* did determine the *Longitude* of all *Roomes*, which were longer than broade, by the double of their *Latitude*, *Vitruvius lib. 6. cap. 5.* And the *Heighth* by the halfe of the Breadth and Length ſummed together. But when the Roome was preciſely ſquare, they made the *Height* half as much more as the *Latitude*; which Dimenſions the moderne *Architects* have taken Leave to varie upon Diſcretion: Sometimes ſquaring the *Latitude*, and then making the *Diagoniall* or overthwart Line, from *Angle* to *Angle*, of the ſaid *Square*, the Meaſure of the *Heighth* ſometimes more, but ſeldome lower than the full Breadth it ſelfe; which Boldneſſe of quitting the old *Proportions*, ſome attribute firſt to *Michael Angelo da Buonaroti*, perchance upon the Credite he had before gotten, in two other *Arts.*

The ſecond Point is *Uſefulneſſe*, which will conſiſt in a ſufficient *Number* of Roomes, of all Sorts, and in their apt *Coherence*, without *Diſtraction*, without *Confuſion*; ſo as the Beholder may not onely call it, *una Fabrica ben raccolta:* as *Italians* uſe to ſpeake of well united Workes, but likewiſe that it may appeare *airie* and *ſpiritous*, and fit for the Welcome of cheerefull Gueſts; about which the principall Difficultie will bee in contriving the *Lightes*, and *Staire-caſes*, whereof I will touch a Note or two: For the firſt, I obſerve that the ancient *Architects* were at much Eaſe. For both the *Greekes* and *Romanes* (of whoſe private Dwellings *Vitruvius* hath left us ſome Deſcription) had commonly two *Cloyſtered* open *Courts*, one ſerving for the *Womens* Side, and the other for the *Men:* who yet perchance now a-Dayes would take ſo much Separation unkindly. Howſoever, by this Meanes, the Reception of *Light*, into the Bodie of the Building, was very prompt, both from without and from within: which we muſt now ſupplie either by ſome open *Forme* of the *Fabrique*, or among gracefull Refuges, by *Tarraſing* any *Storie*, which is in Danger of Darkneſſe; or laſtly, by *perpendicular Lights*, from the *Roofe:* of all other the moſt naturall, as ſhalbe ſhewed anon. For the ſecond Difficultie: which is caſting of the *Stayre-caſes*; that being in it ſelfe no hard Point, but onely as they are Incombrances of Roome for other Uſe: (which Lights were not) I am therefore aptly moved heere to ſpeake of them. And firſt of Offices.

I have marked a Willingneſſe, in the *Italian* Artiſans, to deſtribute the *Kychin*, *Pantrie*, *Bakehouſe*, *Waſhing Roomes:* and even the *Buttrie* likewiſe, under Ground; next above the *Foundation*; and ſometimes Level with the Plaine, or *Floore* of the *Cellar:* rayſing the firſt *Aſcent* into the Houſe *fifteene Foote* or more for that Ende, which beſides the Benefit of removing ſuch *Annoyes* out of Sight, and the gayning of ſo much more Roome above, doth alſo by Elevation of the *Front*, adde *Majeſtie* to the whole *Aſpect.* And with ſuch a Diſpoſition of the principall *Stayre-caſe*, which commonly doth deliver us,

us, into the *Plaine* of the ſecond *Storie*, there may bee Wonders done, with a little Roome, whereof I could alleadge brave *Examples* abroad; and none more Artificiall, and Delicious, than a Houſe built by *Daniele Barbaro Patriarche* of *Aquileia* before mentioned, among the memorable *Commenters* upon *Vitruvius*. But the *Definition* (above determined) doth call us to ſome Conſideration of our owne Countrey, where though all the other pettie *Offices* (before rehearſed) may well enough bee ſo remote, yet by the naturall *Hoſpitalitie* of *England*, the *Buttrie* muſt be more viſible; and wee neede perchance for our *Raunges*, a more ſpacious and luminous *Kitchin*, than the foreſaid *Compartition* will beare; with a more competent Neereneſſe likewiſe to the *Dyning Roome*. Or elſe beſides other Inconveniences, perhapes ſome of the Diſhes may ſtraggle by the Way; Heere let me note a common Defect, that wee have of a very uſefull *Roome*, called by the *Italians Il Tinello*; and familiar, nay almoſt eſſentiall, in all their great *Families*. It is a Place properly appointed, to conſerve the Meate that is taken from the Table, till the *Waiters* eate; which with us, by an olde Faſhion, is more unſeemely ſet by, in the meane while.

Now touching the Diſtribution of *Lodging* Chambers; I muſt here take Leave to reproove a Faſhion, which I know not how hath prevailed through *Italie*, though without ancient Examples, as farre as I can perceive by *Vitruvius*. The Thing I meane is, that they ſo caſt their *Partitions* as when all *Doors* are open, a Man may ſee through the whole *Houſe*; which doth neceſſariely put an intollerable Servitude upon all the *Chambers* ſave the *Inmoſt*, where none can arrive, but through the reſt; or elſe the *Walles* muſt be extreame thicke for ſecret Paſſages: and yet this alſo will not ſerve the Turne, without at leaſt *three* Doores to every *Roome:* a Thing moſt inſufferable, in cold and windie Regions, and every where noe ſmall weakening to the whole *Worke:* Therefore with us that want no Cooling, I cannot commend the direct Oppoſition of ſuch *Overtures*, being indeede meerely grounded upon the fond Ambition of diſplaying to a *Stranger* all our *Furniture* at one *Sight*, which therefore is moſt maintained by them that meane to harbour but a few; whereby they make onely Advantage of the *Vanitie*, and ſeldome prove the *Inconvenience*. There is likewiſe another Defect (as Abſurdities are ſeldome ſolitarie) which will neceſſarily follow, upon ſuch a ſervile diſpoſing of inward Chambers. That they muſt bee forced to make as many common great *Roomes*, as there ſhalbe ſeverall *Stories*; which (beſides that they are uſually darke, a Point hardly avoided, running as they doe, through the middle of the whole *Houſe)* doe likewiſe devoure ſo much Place, that thereby they want other *Galleries*, and Roomes of *Retreate*, which I have often conſidered among them (I muſt confeſſe) with no ſmall Wonder; for I obſerve no *Nation* in the World, by Nature, more *private* and *reſerved* than the *Italian*, and on the other Side, in no *Habitations* leſſe *Privacie*; ſo as there is a Kinde of Conflict betweene their *Dwelling* and their *Being:* It might heere perchance bee expected, that I ſhould at leaſt deſcribe (which others have done in *Draughts* and *Deſignes)* divers *Formes* of *Plants* and *Partitions*, and Varieties of *Inventions:* But ſpeculative *Writers* (as I am) are

not bound to compriſe all particular Caſes, within the Latitude of the *Subject*, which they handle; generall Lights, and *Directions*, and Pointings at ſome Faults, is ſufficient. The reſt muſt be committed to the Sagacitie of the *Architect*, who will bee often put to divers ingenious Shifts, when hee is to wreſtle with Scarſitie of *Ground*. As ſometimes * to damme one Roome (though of ſpeciall Uſe) for the Benefit and Beautie of all the reſt; another while, to make thoſe faireſt, which are moſt in *Sight*, and to leave the other (like a cunning Painter) in Shadow, *cum multis aliis*, which it were infinite to purſue. I will therefore cloſe this Part touching *Compartition*, as cheerefully as I can with a ſhort Deſcription of a *Feaſting* or *entertayning Roome*, after the *Ægyptian* Manner, who ſeeme (at leaſt till the Time of *Vitruvius*) from the auncient *Hebrewes* and *Phenicians* (whence all Knowledge did flow) to have retayned with other *Sciences*, in a high Degree, alſo the *Principles*, and *Practiſe* of this magnificent *Art*. For as farre as I may conjecture by our Maſters Text, *lib.* 6. *cap.* 5. (whereas in many other Places he hath tortured his *Interpreters*) there could no *Forme*, for ſuch a royall Uſe, bee comparably imagined, like that of the foreſaide *Nation*, which I ſhall adventure to explaine.

Let us conceive a *Floore* or *Area* of goodly Length, (for Example, at leaſt of 120 Foote) with the *Breadth* ſomewhat more than the halfe of the *Longitude*, whereof the Reaſon ſhalbe afterwards rendred. About the two longeſt *Sides*, and *Head* of the ſaid *Roome*, ſhall runne an Order of *Pillars*, which *Palladio* doth ſuppoſe *Corinthian* (as I ſee by his Deſigne) ſupplying that Point out of *Greece*, becauſe we know no *Order*, proper to *Ægypt*. The fourth *Side* I wil leave free for the *Entrance*: On the foreſaid *Pillars* was laid an *Architrave*, which *Vitruvius* mentioneth alone: *Palladio* addes thereunto (and with Reaſon) both *Freeze* and *Cornice*, over which went up a continued *Wall*, and therein, halfe or three quarter *Pillars*, anſwering directly, to the Order below, but a fourth Part leſſe; and betweene theſe halfe *Columnes* above, the whole Roome was windowed round about.

Now, from the loweſt *Pillars* there was layd over a *Contignation* or Floore, borne upon the outward *Wall*, and the *Head* of the *Columnes* with *Tarrace* and *Pavement*, *ſub dio* (ſaith our Maſter) and ſo indeed hee might ſafely determine the Matter in *Egypt*, where they feare no *Clowds*: Therefore *Palladio* (who leaveth this *Tarrace* uncovered in the middle, and *balliſed* about) did perchance conſtrue him rightly, though therein diſcording from others: Alwayes we muſt underſtand a ſufficient Breadth of *Pavement*, left between the open Part and the *Windowes*, for ſome Delight of *Spectators*, that might looke downe into the *Roome*: The *Latitude* I have ſuppoſed contrary to ſome former Poſitions, a little more than the halfe of the Length; becauſe the Pillars ſtanding at a competent Diſtance from the outmoſt *Wall*, will by Interception of the *Sight*, ſomewhat in Appearance diminiſh the Breadth; in which Caſes, (as I have touched once or twice before) *Diſcretion* may bee

* The *Italians* call it *una ſtanza dannata*, as when a Buttrie is caſt under a Stayrecaſe, or the like.

more

more licentious than *Art*. This is the Deſcription of an *Egyptian* Roome, for *Feaſtes* and other *Jollities*. About the *Walles* whereof wee muſt imagine entire *Statues*, placed below, and illuminated by the deſcending Light, from the *Tarrace*, as likewiſe from the *Windowes* betweene the halfe *Pillars* above: So as this *Roome* had abundant and advantageous *Light*; and beſides other garniſhing, muſt needes receive much *State* by the very Heighth of the *Roofe*, that lay over two Orders of *Columnes*: And ſo having runne through the foure Parts of my firſt generall *Diviſion*, namely, *Foundation*, *Walles*, *Appertions*, and *Compartition*; the *Houſe* may now have Leave to put on his *Hatte*: having hitherto beene uncovered it ſelfe, and conſequently unfit to cover others. Which Point though it be the laſt of this *Art* in Execution, yet it is alwayes in *Intention* the firſt, for who would build but for *Shelter?* Therefore obtayning both the *Place*, and the Dignity of a *Finall Cauſe*, it hath beene diligently handled by diverſe, but by none more learnedly than *Bernardino Baldi* Abbot of *Guaſtalla* (before cited upon other Occaſion) who doth fundamentally, and *Mathematically* demonſtrate the firmeſt *Knittings* of the upper *Timbers*, which make the *Roofe*. But it hath beene rather my *Scope*, in theſe *Elements* to fetch the Ground of all, from *Nature* her ſelfe, which indeed is the ſimpleſt Mother of *Art*. Therefore I will now onely deliver a few of the propereſt, and (as I may ſay) of the naturaleſt Conſiderations, that belong to this remayning *Piece*.

There are two Extremities to be avoyded in the *Cover*, or *Roofe*; that it be not too *heavy*, nor too *light*. The firſt, will ſuffer a vulgar Objection of preſſing too much the Under-worke. The other, contayneth a more ſecret Inconvenience; for the *Cover* is not onely a bare Defence, but likewiſe a Kind of *Band* or *Ligature*, to the whole *Fabrique*, and therefore would require ſome reaſonable Weight. But of the two Extreames, a Houſe *Top-heavie* is the worſt. Next, there muſt be a Care of *Equality*, that the *Edifice* be not preſſed on the one Side more than on the other; and here *Palladio* doth wiſh (like a cautelous *Artizan)* that the inward Walles might beare ſome good Share in the Burthen, and the outward be the leſſe charged.

Thirdly, The *Italians* are very preciſe in giving the *Cover* a gracefull *Pendence* or *Slopeneſſe*, dividing the whole Breadth into *nine* Parts; whereof two ſhall ſerve for the Elevation of the higheſt *Toppe* or *Ridge*, from the loweſt. But in this Point the Quality of the *Region* is conſiderable: For (as our *Vitruvius* inſinuateth) thoſe *Climes* that feare the falling and lying of much *Snow*, ought to provide more inclining *Pentices*; and *Comelineſſe* muſt yeeld to *Neceſſity*.

Theſe are the uſefulleſt Cautions which I finde in *Authors*, touching the laſt *Head* of our Diviſion, wherewith I will conclude the Firſt *Part* of my preſent *Travaile*. The Second remayneth, concerning *Ornaments* within, or without the *Fabrique:* A Piece not ſo dry as the meere Contemplation of Proportions. And therefore I hope therein ſomewhat to refreſh both the *Reader*, and my ſelfe.

Of

Of the Elements *of* ARCHITECTURE. *The 2d Part.*

EVERY Mans proper *Manſion* Houſe and *Home*, being the *Theater* of his *Hoſpitality*, the *Seate* of *Selfe-Fruition*, the *comfortableſt Part* of his owne *Life*, the *Nobleſt* of his Sonnes *Inheritance*, a Kinde of private *Princedome*; nay, to the *Poſſeſſors* thereof, an *Epitomie* of the whole *World*; may well deſerve by theſe *Attributes*, according to the Degree of the *Maſter*, to be *decently* and *delightfully* adorned. For which Ende, there are two *Arts* attending on *Architecture*, like two of her principall *Gentlewomen*, to *dreſſe* and *trimme* their *Miſtreſſe*, PICTURE and SCULPTURE: Between whom, before I proceed any further, I will venture to determine an ancient Quarrell about their *Precedency*, with this *Diſtinction*; that in the garniſhing of *Fabriques*, *Sculpture* no doubt muſt have the *Prehéminence*, as being indeede of neerer Affinity to *Architecture* it ſelfe, and conſequently the more naturall, and more ſutable *Ornament*. But on the other Side, (to conſider theſe two *Arts* as I ſhall doe *Philoſophically*, and not *Mechanically*) An excellent Piece of *Painting*, is to my Judgement the more admirable *Object*, becauſe it comes neere an *Artificiall Miracle*; to make diverſe diſtinct *Eminences* appeare upon a *Flat*, by Force of *Shadowes*, and yet the *Shadowes* themſelves not to appeare: which I conceive to be the uttermoſt Value and Vertue of a *Painter*, and to which very few have arrived in all *Ages*.

In theſe two *Arts* (as they are applicable to the *Subject* which I handle) it ſhall bee fit firſt to conſider how to *chooſe* them; and next, how to *diſpoſe* them. To guide us in the *Choyce*, wee have a *Rule* ſomewhere (I well remember) in *Pliny*, and it is a pretty Obſervation: That they doe mutually helpe to cenſure one another. For *Picture* is beſt when it ſtandeth off, as if it were carved; and *Sculpture* is beſt when it appeareth ſo *tender*, as if it were *painted*, I meane, when there is ſuch a ſeeming Softneſſe in the *Limbes*, as if not a *Chiſſell* had hewed them out of *Stone*, or other *Materiall*, but a *Penſill* had drawne and ſtroaked them in *Oyle*, which the judicious *Poet* tooke well to his Fancy.

Excudent alii ſpirantia mollius æra.

But this Generalitie is not ſufficient to make a good *Chooſer*, without a more particular Contraction of his Judgement. Therefore when a Piece of *Art* is ſet before us, let the firſt Caution be, not to aſke who made it, leaſt the *Fame* of the *Author* doe captivate the *Fancie* of the *Buyer*. For, that excellent *Men* doe alwaies *excellently*, is a falſe Concluſion; whereupon I obſerve among *Italian* Artizans three notable *Phraſes*, which well decipher the Degrees of their *Workes*.

They will tell you, that a Thing was done *Con diligenza*, *Con ſtudio*, and *Con Amore*; the firſt, is but a bare and *ordinary Diligence*, the ſecond, is a *learned Diligence*; the third, is much more, even a *loving Diligence*; they meane not with Love to the *Beſpeaker* of the *Worke*, but with a Love and Delight in the *Worke* it ſelfe, upon ſome ſpeciall *Fancie* to this, or that *Storie*;

Storie; and when all theſe concurre (perticularly the laſt) in an eminent *Author*, then perchance *Titianus Fecit*, or ὁ Φίδιας ἐποιει will ſerve the *Turne*, without farther *Inquiſition*; Otherwiſe Artizans have not onely their *Growthes* and *Perfections*, but likewiſe their *Vaines* and *Tymes*.

The next Caution muſt be (to proceede *Logically*) that in judging of the *Worke* it ſelfe, wee bee not diſtracted with too many Things at once; Therefore firſt (to beginne with *Picture*) we are to obſerve whether it bee well *drawne*, (or as more elegant *Artizans* tearme it) well *deſign'd*; then whether it be well *Coloured*, which bee the two generall *Heads*; and each of them hath two principall *Requiſites*; for in well *Deſigning*, there muſt bee *Truth* and *Grace*, in well *Colouring*, *Force*, and *Affection*; all other *Praiſes*, are but Conſequences of theſe.

Truth (as we Metaphorically take it in this *Art*) is a *juſt* and *naturall Proportion*, in every Part of the determined *Figure*. *Grace* is a certaine *free Diſpoſition*, in the whole *Draught*, anſwerable to that unaffected Franknes of *Faſhion*, in a living *Bodie*, Man or Woman, which doth *animate Beautie* where it is, and *ſupplie* it, where it is not.

Force conſiſteth, in the *Roundings* and *Raiſings* of the *Worke*, according as the *Limbes* doe more or leſſe require it; ſo as the *Beholder*, ſhall ſpie no *Sharpeneſſe* in the bordering *Lines*; as when Taylors cut out a Sute, which *Italians* doe aptly tearme according to that Compariſon, *Contorni taglienti*; nor any *Flatneſſe* within the *Bodie* of the *Figure*, which how it is done, we muſt fetch from a higher *Diſcipline*; for the *Opticques* teach us, that a *Plaine*, will appeare *prominent*, and (as it were) *emboſſed*, if the Parts fartheſt from the *Axel-tree* or middle *Beame* of the *Eye*, ſhalbe the moſt *ſhadowed*. Becauſe in all *Darkneſſe*, there is a Kinde of *Deepeneſſe*, but as in the *Arte* of *Perſwaſion*, one of the moſt fundamentall *Precepts* is; the *Concealement* of *Arte*, ſoe here likewiſe, the *Sight* muſt be ſweetly deceaved, by an inſenſible Paſſage, from *brighter* Colours, to *dimmer*, which *Italian Artizans* calle the *middle Tinctures*; that is, not as the *Whites*, and *Yolkes* of *Egges* lie in the *Shell*, with viſible Diſtinction; but as when they are *beaten*, and *blended*, in a *Diſh:* which is the neereſt Compariſon, that I can ſuddenly conceive.

Laſtly, *Affection* is the *lively Repreſentment*, of any *Paſſion* whatſoever, as if the *Figures* ſtood not upon a *Cloth* or *Boorde*, but as if they were *acting* upon a *Stage*; and heere, I muſt remember, in Truth with much Marveile, a Note, which I have received, from excellent *Artizans*, that though *Gladneſſe*, and *Griefe*, be oppoſites in *Nature*; yet they are ſuch *Neighbours* and *Confiners* in *Arte*, that the leaſt Touch of a *Penſill*, will tranſlate a * *Crying*, into a *Laughing* Face; which *Inſtance*, beſides divers other, doth often reduce unto my Memorie, that ingenious *Speculation*, of the *Cardinall Cuſanus* extant

in

* The Verſes following, touching the Coincidence of extreame Affections, repreſented by *Homer* in the Perſon of *Hector*'s Wife; as Painters and Poets have alwaies had a Kind of Congeniality.

ΙΛΙΑΔ. ζ.

Ὡς εἰπὼν ἀλόχοιο φίλης ἐν χέρσιν ἔθηκε,
Παῖδ' ἑὸν, ἦδ' ἄρα μιν κηώδεϊ δέξατο κόλπῳ
Δακρύοεν γελάσασα. ——That is,

Shee tooke her Sonne into her Armes,
weepingly laughing.

in his *Workes*, touching the *Coincidence* of *Extreames*. And thus much of the foure *Requisites*, and *Perfections* in *Picture*.

In *Sculpture* likewise, the *two* first are absolutely Necessarie; the *third* impertinent; for *Solide* Figures neede no Elevation, by Force of *Lights*, or *Shadowes*; therefore in the Roome of this, wee may put (as hath beene before touched) a Kinde of *Tenderneſſe*, by the *Italians* tearmed *Morbidezza*, wherein the *Chiſſell*, I muſt confeſſe, hath more Glory than the *Penſill*; that being ſo hard an *Inſtrument*, and working upon ſo unpliant Stuffe, can yet leave *Strokes* of ſo gentle *Appearance*.

The *Fourth*, which is the expreſſing of *Affection* (as farre as it doth depend upon the *Activity*, and *Geſture* of the *Figure*) is as proper to the *Carver*, as to the *Painter*; though *Colours*, no Doubt, have therein the greateſt *Power*; whereupon, perchance, did firſt grow with us the *Faſhion* of *colouring*, even *Regall Statues*, which I muſt take Leave to call an *Engliſh Barbariſme*.

Now in theſe fower *Requiſites* already rehearſed, it is ſtrange to note, that no *Artizan*, having ever beene blamed for Exceſſe in any of the three laſt; onely *Truth* (which ſhould ſeeme the moſt *Innocent*) hath ſuffered ſome Objection, and all *Ages*, have yeelded ſome one or two *Artificers*, ſo *prodigiouſly* exquiſite, that they have beene reputed too *Naturall*, in their *Draughts*; which will well appeare, by a famous Paſſage in *Quintilian*, touching the *Characters* of the ancient Artizans, falling now ſo aptly into my Memory, that I muſt needes tranſlate it, as in Truth it may well deſerve.

The Place which I intend, is extant in the laſt *Chapter* ſave one of his whole *Worke*, beginning thus in *Latine*.

Primi, quorum quidem opera non vetuſtatis modo gratia viſenda ſunt clari Pictores fuiſſe dicuntur, Polygnotus atque Aglaophon, &c.

The whole *Paſſage*, in *Engliſh* ſtandeth thus:

THE firſt *Painters* of Name, whoſe *Workes* bee conſiderable for any Thing more than onely *Antiquitie*, are ſaid to have beene *Polygnotus*, and *Aglaophon*; whoſe bare *Colourings* (hee meanes I thinke in *white* and *blacke*) hath even yet ſo many Followers, that thoſe rude and firſt *Elements*, as it were of that, which within a while, became an *Arte*, are preferred, before the greateſt *Painters* that have beene extant after them, out of a certaine *Competition* (as I conceive it) in Point of *Judgement*. After theſe, *Zeuxes* and *Paraſius* not farre diſtant in *Age*, both about the Time of the *Peloponeſian Warre*, (for in *Xenophon* wee have a Dialogue betweene *Paraſius* and *Socrates*) did adde much to this *Arte*. Of which the *firſt* is ſaid, to have invented the due Diſpoſition of *Lights* and *Shadowes*; The *ſecond*, to have more ſubtilly examined, the *Truth* of *Lines* in the *Draught*; for *Zeuxes* did make *Limbes*, bigger than the *Life*; deeming his *Figures*, thereby the more *ſtately* and *majeſticall*; and therein (as ſome thinke) imitating *Homer*, whom the *ſtouteſt* Forme doth pleaſe, even in *Women*. On the other Side, *Paraſius* did exactly limit all the *Proportions* ſo, as they call him the *Law giver*, becauſe in the *Images* of the *Gods* and of *Heroicall Perſonages*, others have followed his

Paternes

Paternes like a *Decree*; but *Picture* did moſt flouriſh, about the Daies of *Phillip* and even to the Succeſſours of *Alexander*; yet by ſundry *Habilities*; for *Protogenes*, did excell in *Diligence*; *Pamphilius* and *Melanthius* in due *Proportion*, *Antiphilus* in a *franke Facilitie*; *Theon* of *Samos*, in *Strength* of *Fantaſie* and conceiving of *Paſſions*; *Apelles*, in *Invention*, and *Grace*, whereof hee doth himſelfe moſt vaunte; *Euphranor*, deſerves Admiration, that being in other excellent *Studies*, a principall Man, he was likewiſe a wondrous Artizan, both in *Painting* and *Sculpture*. The like Difference we may obſerve among the *Statuaries*; for the Workes of *Calon* and *Egeſias* were ſomewhat *ſtiffe*, like the *Tuſcan* Manner; thoſe of *Calamis* not done with ſo *cold* Stroakes; and *Myron* more *tender* than the former; a diligent *Decency* in *Polycletus* above others, to whom though the higheſt Prayſe bee attributed by the moſt, yet leſt he ſhould goe free from Exception, ſome thinke hee wanted *Solemneſſe*; for as he may perchance be ſayd to have added a *comely Dimenſion* to humane Shape, ſomewhat above the *Truth*; ſo on the other Side, hee ſeemed not to have fully expreſſed the *Majeſty* of the *Gods*: Moreover, hee is ſayd not to have medled willingly with the *graver Age*, as not adventuring beyond *ſmooth Cheekes*: But theſe Vertues that were wanting in *Policletus*, were ſupplied by *Phidias* and *Alcmenes*, yet *Phidias* was a better Artizan in the repreſenting of *Gods*, than of *Men*; and in his Workes of *Ivorie*, beyond all Emulation, even though hee had left nothing behinde him, but his *Minerva* at *Athens*, or the *Olympian Jupiter* in *Elis*, whoſe *Beautie* ſeemes to have added ſomewhat, even to the received *Religion*; the *Majeſtie* of the *Worke*, as it were equalling the *Deity*. To *Truth*, they affirme *Lyſippus* and *Praxiteles*, to have made the neereſt Approach: for *Demetrius* is therein reprehended, as rather exceeding than deficient; having beene a greater Aymer at *Likenes*, than at *Lovelines*.

This is that witty Cenſure of the ancient Artizans, which *Quintilian* hath left us, where the laſt *Character* of *Demetrius* doth require a little *Philoſophicall* Examination; How an *Artificer*, whoſe End is the *Imitation* of *Nature*, can bee too *naturall?* which likewiſe in our Dayes was either the Fault, or (to ſpeake more gently) the too much Perfection of *Albert Durer*, and perhaps alſo of *Michael Angelo da Buonaroti*, betweene whom I have heard noted by an ingenious *Artizan*, a pretty nice Difference, that the *German* did too much expreſſe *that which was*; and the *Italian*, *that which ſhould be*: Which ſevere Obſervation of *Nature*, by the one in her *commoneſt*, and by the other in her *abſoluteſt* Formes, muſt needs produce in both a Kinde of *Rigidity*, and conſequently more *Naturalneſſe* than *Gracefulneſſe*: This is the cleereſt Reaſon, why ſome exact *Symmetriſts* have been blamed for being too true, as neere as I can deliver my Conceit. And ſo much touching the Choyce of *Picture* and *Sculpture*: The next is, the *Application* of both, to the *beautifying* of *Fabriques*.

Firſt, therefore, touching *Picture*, there doth occurre a very pertinent Doubt, which hath beene paſſed over too ſlightly, not onely by ſome *Men*, but by ſome *Nations*; namely, whether this *Ornament* can wel become the *Outſide* of *Houſes*, wherin the *Germanes* have made ſo little Scruple, that their

beſt *Townes* are the moſt painted, as *Auguſta* and *Norembergh*. To determine this Queſtion in a Word; It is true, that a *Story* well ſet out with a good *Hand*, will every where take a *judicious* Eye; but yet withal it is as true, that various Colours on the *Out-walles* of *Buildings*, have alwayes in them more *Delight* than *Dignity:* Therfore I would there admit no *Paintings* but in *Black* and *White*, nor even in that Kinde any *Figures* (if the Roome be capable) under *nine* or *ten* Foot high, which will require no ordinary *Artizan*; becauſe the Faults are more *viſible* than in ſmall *Deſignes*. In unfigured *Paintings*, the nobleſt is the Imitation of *Marbles*, and of *Architecture* it ſelfe; as *Arches*, *Treezes*, *Columnes*, and the like.

Now for the *Inſide*, heere growes another Doubt, whether *Groteſca* (as the *Italians)* or *Antique* Worke (as wee call it) ſhould be received, againſt the expreſſe Authoritie of *Vitruvius* himſelfe, *lib. 7. cap. 5.* where *Pictura* (ſaith hee) *fit ejus, quod eſt, ſeu poteſt eſſe*, excluding by this ſevere Definition, all *Figures* compoſed of different *Natures* or *Sexes*; ſo as a *Syren* or a *Centaure* had beene intolerable in his Eye: But in this wee muſt take Leave to depart from our *Maſter*; and the rather, becauſe he ſpake out of his owne *Profeſſion*; allowing *Painters* (who have ever bin as little limited as *Poets)* a leſſe Scope in their Imaginations, even than the graveſt *Philoſophers*, who ſometimes doe ſerve themſelves of *Inſtances*, that have no *Exiſtence* in *Nature*; as wee ſee in *Platoe's Amphiſbæna*, and *Ariſtotle's Hirco-Cervus.* And (to ſettle this Point) what was indeede more common and familiar among the *Romanes* themſelves, than the *Picture* and *Statue* of *Terminus*, even one of their *Deities?* which yet if we well conſider, is but a Piece of *Groteſca*; I am for theſe Reaſons unwilling to impoveriſh that *Art*, though I could wiſh ſuch *medlie* and *motlie* Deſignes, confined onely to the *Ornament* of *Freezes*, and Borders, their propereſt Place. As for other *Storied* Workes upon *Walles*, I doubt our *Clime* bee too *yeelding* and *moiſt* for ſuch *Garniſhment*; therefore leaving it to the *Dwellers* Diſcretion, according to the Qualitie of his *Seat*; I will onely adde a Caution or two, about the diſpoſing of *Pictures* within.

Firſt, That no *Roome* bee furniſhed with too many, which in Truth were a *Surfet* of *Ornament*, unleſſe they bee *Galleries*, or ſome peculiar *Repoſitory* for *Rarities* of *Art*.

Next, That the beſt *Pieces* be placed not where there is the *leaſt*, but where there are the *feweſt Lights*; therefore not onely *Roomes* windowed on both Ends, which we call through-lighted, but with two or moe *Windowes* on the ſame Side, are Enemies to this *Art*; and ſure it is, that no *Painting* can be ſeene in full *Perfection*, but (as all *Nature* is illuminated) by a *ſingle* Light.

Thirdly, That in the *placing* there be ſome Care alſo taken, how the *Painter* did ſtand in the *Working*, which an intelligent *Eye* will eaſily diſcover, and that *Poſture* is the moſt naturall; ſo as *Italian* Pieces will appeare beſt in a *Roome* where the *Windowes* are high; becauſe they are commonly made to a deſcending *Light*, which of all other doth ſet off Mens *Faces* in their trueſt Spirit.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, That they bee as *properly* beſtowed for their *Quality*, as *fitly* for their *Grace:* that is, *chearefull* Paintings in *Feaſting* and *Banquetting* Roomes; *Graver Stories* in *Galleries*, *Land-ſchips*, and *Boſcage*, and ſuch *wilde* Workes in open *Tarraces*, or in *Summer Houſes* (as we call them) and the like.

And thus much of *Picture*, which let mee cloſe with this Note; that though my former Diſcourſe may ſerve perchance for ſome reaſonable *Leading* in the Choyce of ſuch Delights; yet let no Man hope by ſuch a *ſpeculative* Erudition, to diſcerne the *Maſterly* and *Myſterious* touches of *Art*, but an Artizan himſelfe; to whom therefore we muſt leave the *Prerogative*, to cenſure the Manner and Handling, as hee himſelfe muſt likewiſe leave ſome Points, perchance of no leſſe Value to others; as for Example, whether the *Story* be rightly *repreſented*, the *Figures* in true *Action*, the *Perſons ſuted* to their ſeverall Qualities, the *Affections proper* and *ſtrong*, and ſuch like Obſervations.

Now for *Sculpture*, I muſt likewiſe begin with a *Controverſie*, as before (falling into this Place) or let mee rather call it a very meere *Fancie*, ſtrangely taken by *Palladio*, who having noted in an old *Arch* or two at *Verona*, ſome Part of the *Materials* already cut in fine *Formes*, and ſome *unpoliſhed*, doth conclude (according to his *Logicke*) upon this particular, that the *Auncients* did leave the outward *Face*, of their *Marbles* or *Free-ſtone*, without any *Sculpture*, till they were laid, and *cemented*, in the Bodie of the *Building*; for which likewiſe hee findeth a Reaſon (as many doe now and then very wittily, even before the Thing it ſelfe be true) that the Materialls being left *rough* were more managable in the *Maſons* Hand, than if they had beene *ſmooth*; and that ſo the *Sides* might bee laide together the more exactly; which Conceit, once taken, hee ſeemes to have farther imprinted, by marking in certaine ſtoried *Sculptures*, of oulde Time how preciſely the Parts and *Lines* of the *Figures* that paſſe from one Stone to another, doe meete; which hee thinkes could hardly fall out ſo right, (forgetting while he ſpeakes of *ancient* Things, the auncient *Diligence*) unleſſe they had beene cut, after the joyning of the *Materials*, but all theſe *Inducements*, cannot countervaile the ſole *Inconvenience* of *ſhaking*, and *disjoynting* the *Commiſſures* with ſo many Strokes of the *Chiſſell*, beſides an *Incommodious* Working on *Scaffolds*; eſpecially having no Teſtimonie, to confirme it, that I have yet ſeene among the Records of *Art*; nay, it is indeede rather true, that they did *ſquare*, and *carve*, and *poliſh*, their *Stone* and *Marble* Workes, even in the very *Cave* of the *Quarrie*, before it was hardened by open Aire; but (to leave Diſputation) I will ſet downe a few *poſitive* Notes, for the placing of *Sculpture*; becauſe the chuſing hath beene handled before.

That firſt of all, it bee not too *generall* and *abundant*, which would make a *Houſe* looke like a *Cabbinet*; and in this Point, *morall Philoſophie*, which tempereth *Fancies*, is the *Superintendent* of *Art*.

That eſpecially, there bee a due Moderation of this *Ornament* in the firſt Approach; where our Authors doe more commend (I meane about the principall *Entrance*) a *Dorique*, than a *Corinthian* Garniſhment: So as if the great *Doore* be *arched*, with ſome brave *Head*, cut in fine *Stone* or *Marble*

for the *Key* of the *Arch*, and two *incumbent* Figures gracefully leaning upon it, towards one another, as if they meant to conferre: I ſhould thinke this a ſufficient Entertainement, for the firſt *Reception*, of any *judicious* Sight; which I could wiſh ſeconded with two great ſtanding *Statues* on each Side of a paved Way that ſhall leade up into the *Fabrique*, ſo as the *Beholder* at the firſt Entrance may paſſe his *Eye* betweene them.

That the *Niches*, if they containe *Figures* of *white* Stone or *Marble*, bee not coloured in their *Concavitie* too *blacke*; for though *Contraria juxta ſe poſita magis illuceſcunt* (by an olde Rule) yet it hath beene ſubtilly, and indeede truely noted that our *Sight* is not well contented with thoſe ſudden Departments, from one Extreame to another; therefore let them have rather a *duſkiſh* Tincture, than an abſolute *blacke*.

That *fine* and delicate *Sculptures* be helped with *Neerenes*, and *groſſe* with *Diſtance*; which was well ſeene in the olde Controverſie betweene *Phidias* and *Alcmenes* about the *Statue* of *Venus:* wherein the firſt did ſhew Diſcretion, and ſave Labour, becauſe the *Worke* was to be viewed at good *Height*, which did drowne the ſweet and diligent Strokes of his *Adverſarie:* A famous Emulation of two principall *Artizans*, celebrated even by the *Greeke Poets*.

That in the placing of ſtanding *Figures* aloft, wee muſt ſet them in a *Poſture* ſomewhat bowing forward; becauſe (ſaith our Maſter, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. out of a better *Art* than his owne) the *viſuall Beame* of our Eye, extended to the *Head* of the ſaid *Figures*, being longer than to the *Foote*, muſt neceſſarily make that *Part* appeare *farther*; ſo as to reduce it to an erect or upright *Poſition*, there muſt be allowed a due Advantage of *ſtooping* towards us; which *Albert Durer* hath exactly taught in his fore mentioned *Geometry*. Our *Vitruvius* calleth this Affection in the *Eye*, a *Reſupination* of the *Figure:* For which Word (being in Truth his owne, for ought I know) wee are almoſt as much beholding to him, as for the Obſervation it ſelfe: And let thus much ſummarily ſuffice, touching the Choice and Uſe of theſe adorning *Arts*. For to ſpeake of garniſhing the *Fabrique* with a *Row* of erected *Statues* about the *Cornice* of every *Contignation* or Story, were Diſcourſe more proper for *Athens* or *Rome*, in the Time of their true Greatneſſe, when (as *Plinie* recordeth of his own *Age*) there were neere as many carved *Images* as living *Men*; like a noble Contention, even in Point of *Fertility*, betweene *Art* and *Nature*; which Paſſage doth not onely argue an infinite Abundance, both of *Artizans* and *Materials*; but likewiſe of *magnificent* and *majeſticall* Deſires, in every common Perſon of thoſe Times; more or leſſe according to their *Fortunes*. And true it is indeed that the marble *Monuments* and *Memories* of well deſerving Men, wherewith the very Highwayes were *ſtrewed* on each Side was not a bare and tranſitory Entertainement of the *Eye*, or onely a gentle Deception of *Time*, to the *Travailer*; but had alſo a ſecret and ſtrong *Influence*, even into the Advancement of the *Monarchie*, by continuall Repreſentation of vertuous Examples; ſo as in that Point ART became a Piece of *State*.

Now

Now as I have before ſubordinated *Picture*, and *Sculpture* to *Architecture*, as their Miſtreſſe; ſo there are certaine inferiour ARTS likewiſe ſubordinate to them: As under Picture, *Moſaique*; under Sculpture, *Plaſtique*; which two, I onely nominate, as the fitteſt to garniſh *Fabriques*.

Moſaique is a Kinde of Painting in ſmall *Pebbles*, *Cockles* and *Shells* of ſundry Colours; and of late Dayes likewiſe with Pieces of *Glaſſe*, figured at Pleaſure; an *Ornament* in Trueth, of much Beauty, and long Life, but of moſt Uſe in *Pavements* and *Floorings*.

Plaſtique is not onely under *Sculpture*, but in deed very *Sculpture* it ſelfe: but with this Difference; that the *Plaſterer* doth make his Figures by *Addition*, and the *Carver* by *Subſtraction*, whereupon *Michael Angelo* was wont to ſay ſomewhat pleaſantly: That *Sculpture* was nothing but *a Purgation of Superfluities*. For take away from a Piece of Wood, or Stone, all that is *ſuperfluous*, and the Remainder is the intended *Figure*. Of this *Plaſtique Art*, the chiefe Uſe with us is in the gracefull *fretting* of Roofes: but the *Italians* applie it, to the *manteling* of *Chimneys*, with great Figures. A cheape Piece of *Magnificence*, and as durable almoſt within Doores, as harder *Forms* in the Weather. And here though it bee a little Excurſion, I cannot paſſe unremembred againe, their Manner of diſguiſing the Shaftes of *Chimneys* in various Faſhions, whereof the nobleſt is the *Pyramidall:* beeing in Trueth a Piece of polite and civill Diſcretion, to convert even the *Conduits* of Soote and Smoake, into *Ornaments*; whereof I have hitherto ſpoken as farre as may concerne the Bodie of the Building.

Now there are *Ornaments* alſo without, as *Gardens*, *Fountaines*, *Groves*, *Conſervatories* of rare *Beaſts*, *Birds*, and *Fiſhes*. Of which ignobler Kind of Creatures, *Wee ought not* (ſaith our greateſt * Maſter among the Sonnes of Nature) *childiſhly to deſpiſe the Contemplation*; *for in all Things that are naturall, there is ever ſomething, that is admirable.* Of theſe externall Delights, a Word or two.

Firſt, I muſt note a certaine Contrarietie betweene *Building* and *Gardening:* For as Fabriques ſhould bee *regular*, ſo Gardens ſhould bee *irregular*, or at leaſt caſt into a very wilde *Regularitie*. To exemplifie my Conceit; I have ſeene a *Garden* (for the Maner perchance incomparable) into which the firſt Acceſſe was a high Walke like a *Tarrace*, from whence might bee taken a generall View of the whole *Plott* below; but rather in a delightfull Confuſion, than with any plaine Diſtinction of the Pieces. From this the *Beholder* deſcending many Steps, was afterwards conveyed againe, by ſeverall *Mountings* and *Valings*, to various Entertainements of his *Sent*, and *Sight:* which I ſhall not neede to deſcribe (for that were poeticall) let me onely note this, that every one of theſe Diverſities, was as if hee had beene *Magically* tranſported into a new Garden.

But though other *Countreys* have more Benefite of Sunne than wee, and thereby more properly tyed to contemplate this Delight; yet have I ſeene

* *Ariſt. lib.* 1. *cap.* 5. *de part. Anim.* Δεῖ μὴ δυσχεραίνειν παιδικῶς τὴν περὶ τῶν ἀτιμοτέρων ζῴων ἐπίσκεψιν. Ἐν πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἔνεστί τι θαυμαστόν.

in

in our *owne*, a delicate and diligent *Curiositie*, surely without *parallel* among foreigne *Nations:* Namely, in the Garden of Sir *Henry Fanshaw*, at his Seat in *Ware-Parke*, where I wel remember, hee did so precisely examine the *Tinctures*, and *Seasons* of his *Flowres*, that in their *setting*, the *inwardest* of those which were to come up at the same Time, should be alwayes a little *darker* than the *outmost*, and so serve them for a Kinde of gentle *Shadow*, like a Piece not of *Nature*, but of *Arte*, which mention (incident to this Place) I have willingly made of his *Name*, for the deare *Friendship* that was long betweene us: though I must confesse, with much Wrong to his other *Vertues*; which deserve a more solide *Memoriall*, than among these vacant Observations. So much of *Gardens.*

Fountaines are *figured*, or only plaine *water'd-workes:* Of either of which, I will describe a matchlesse Patterne.

The first, done by the famous Hand of *Michael Angelo da Buonaroti*, in the Figure of a sturdie *Woman*, *washing* and *winding* of Linnen Clothes; in which Acte, shee *wrings* out the Water that made the *Fountaine*; which was a gracefull and naturall Conceit in the Artificer, implying this Rule; that all *Designes* of this Kind, should be *proper.*

The other doth merite some larger Expression; there went a long, straight, mossie Walke of competent Breadth, greene, and soft under Foot, lifted on both Sides with an *Aquæduct* of white Stone, Breast-high, which had a hollow *Channell* on the Top, where ranne a prety trickling Streame; on the *Edge* whereof, were couched very thicke all along, certaine small *Pipes* of Lead, in little Holes; so neatly, that they could not be well perceived, till by the turning of a Cocke, they did sprout over interchangeably from Side to Side, above Mans Height, in Forme of *Arches*, without any Intersection or Meeting aloft, because the Pipes were not exactly opposite, so as the *Beholder*, besides that, which was fluent in the *Aquæducts* on both Hands in his View, did walke as it were, under a continuall *Bowre* or *Hemisphere* of Water, without any Drop falling on him. An *Invention* for Refreshment, surely farre excelling all the *Alexandrian* Delicacies, and *Pneumatiques* of *Hero.*

Groves, and artificiall Devices under Ground, are of great Expence, and little Dignitie; which for my Part I could wish converted here into those *Cryptera*, whereof mention is made among the curious Provisions of *Tycho Braghe* the *Danish Ptolemie*, as I may well call him: which were deepe *Concaves* in Gardens, where the *Starres* might be observed even at *Noone.* For (by the Way) to thinke that the Brightnesse of the Sunnes Body above, doth drowne our discerning of the lesser Lights, is a popular Errour; the sole Impediment being that Lustre, which by *Reflection*, doth spread about us, from the Face of the Earth; so as the *Caves* before touched, may well conduce, not to a delicious, but to a learned Pleasure.

In *Aviaries* of Wire, to keepe Birdes of all Sorts, the *Italians* (though no wastfull Nation) doe in some Places bestow vast Expence; including great Scope of *Ground*, Varietie of *Bushes*, *Trees* of good Height, running *Waters*, and sometimes a *Stove* annexed, to contemper the *Aire* in Winter. So as those *Chantereesses*, unlesse they be such as perhaps delight as much in their Wing,

Wing, as in their Voice, may live long, among ſo good Proviſions and Roome, before they know that they are *Priſoners*, reducing often to my Memory, that Conceit of the *Romane Stoicke*, who in Compariſon of his owne free *Contemplations*, did thinke divers great and ſplendent Fortunes of his Time, little more than *commodious Captivities.*

Concerning *Ponds* of Pleaſure neere the Habitation; I will referre my ſelfe to a grave *Author* of our owne (though more illuſtrious by his other * Worke) namely *Sariſburienſis de Piſcinâ.*

And here I will end the ſecond Part touching *Ornaments*, both *within*, and *without* the *Fabrique.*

Now as almoſt all thoſe, which have delivered the *Elements* of *Logicke*, doe uſually conclude with a Chapter touching *Methode*; ſo I am heere ſeized with a Kind of critical Spirit, and deſirous to ſhut up theſe building *Elements*, with ſome *methodical* Direction how to *cenſure* Fabriques alreadie raiſed: for indeed without ſome Way to contract our *Judgement*, which among ſo many Particulars would bee loſt by Diffuſion; I ſhould thinke it almoſt harder to be a good *Cenſurer*, than a good *Architect*; becauſe the *working* Part may be helped with *Deliberation*, but the *Judging* muſt flow from an *extemporall Habite.* Therfore, (not to leave this laſt *Piece* without ſome *Light*) I could wiſh him that commeth to examine any noble *Work*, firſt of all to examine himſelfe, whether perchance the *Sight* of many brave Things before (which remaine like impreſſed Formes) have not made him apt to thinke nothing *good*, but that which is the *beſt*; for this *Humour* were too ſowre. Next, before hee come to ſettle any imaginable Opinion, let him by all Meanes ſeeke to informe himſelfe preciſely, of the *Age* of the *Worke* upon which hee muſt paſſe his *Doome.* And if hee ſhall finde the apparent *Decayes* to exceed the Proportion of *Time*; then let him conclude, without farther Inquiſition, as an abſolute Decree, that either the *Materials* were too *ſlight*, or the *Seate* is nought. Now, after theſe Premiſſes, if the *Houſe* be found to beare his *Yeares* well, (which is alwayes a Token of ſound *Conſtitution*) then let him ſuddenly runne backewardes, (for the *Methode* of *cenſuring* is contrary to the *Methode* of *compoſing*) from the *Ornaments* (which firſt allure the *Eye*) to the more eſſentiall *Members*, till at laſt hee be able to forme this *Concluſion*, that the *Worke* is *commodious*, *firme*, and *delightfull*; which (as I ſaid in the Beginning) are the three capitall *Conditions* required in good *Buildings*, by all *Authors* both Ancient and Moderne. And this is, as I may tearme it, the moſt *Scientificall* Way of *Cenſuring.* There are two other, which I muſt not forget. The firſt in *Georgio Vaſſari*, before his laborious *Worke* of the Lives of *Architects*, which is to paſſe a running Examination over the whole *Edifice*, according to the Properties of a *well ſhapen Man.* As whether the *Wals* ſtand upright upon cleane Footing and *Foundation*; whether the *Fabrique* bee of a beautifull *Stature*, whether for the *Breadth* it appeare well *burniſhed*, whether the principall *Entrance* be on the middle Line of the *Front* or Face, like our *Mouthes*; whether the *Windowes*, as our *Eyes*, be ſet in equall Number

* *De Nugis Curial. &c.*

and

and Diſtance on both Sides; whether the *Offices* like the *Veines* in our Bodies, be uſefully diſtributed, and ſo forth. For this *Allegoricall* Review may be driven as farre as any *Wit* will, that is at Leaſure.

The ſecond Way, is in *Vitruvius* himſelfe, *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 2. where hee ſummarily determineth ſix *Conſiderations*, which accompliſh this whole *Art*.

Ordinatio.	*Symmetria.*
Diſpoſitio.	*Decor*, and
Eurythmia.	*Diſtributio.*

Whereof (in my Conceit) wee may ſpare him the firſt two; for as farre as I can perceive, either by his *Interpreters*, or by his own *Text* (which in that very Place, where perchance he ſhould be *cleareſt*, is of all other the *clowdieſt*) hee meaneth nothing by *Ordination*, but a well ſetling of the *Modell* or *Scale* of the whole *Worke*. Nor by *Diſpoſition*, more than a neate and full Expreſſion of the firſt *Idea* or *Deſignement* thereof; which perchance doe more belong to the *Artificer*, than to the *Cenſurer*. The other foure are enough to condemne, or abſolve any *Fabrique* whatſoever. Whereof *Eurythmia* is that agreeable *Harmony*, betweene the Breadth, Length, and Height of all the Roomes of the *Fabrique*, which ſuddenly where it is taketh every *Beholder*, by the ſecret Power of *Proportion:* wherein let mee onely note this, that though the leaſt Error or Offence that can be committed againſt *Sight*, is Exceſſe of Height; yet that Fault is no where of ſmall Importance, becauſe it is the greateſt Offence againſt the Purſe.

Symmetria is the *Conveniencie* that runneth betweene the *Parts* and the *Whole*, whereof I have formerly ſpoken.

Decor is the keeping of a due *Reſpect* betweene the *Inhabitant*, and the *Habitation*. Whence *Palladius* did conclude, that the principall *Entrance* was never to be regulated by any certaine *Dimenſions*; but by the Dignity of the *Maſter*; yet to exceede rather, in the *more*, than in the *leſſe*, is a Marke of *Generoſity*, and may alwayes be excuſed with ſome noble *Embleme*, or *Inſcription*, as that of the *Conte di Bevilacqua*, over his large Gate at *Verona*, where perchance had beene committed a little *Diſproportion*.

Patet Janua: Cor magis.

And heere likewiſe I muſt remember our ever memorable Sir *Philip Sidney*, (whoſe *Wit* was in Truth the very Rule of *Congruity*) who well knowing that *Baſilius* (as hee had painted the *State* of his *Minde*) did rather want ſome extraordinary *Formes* to entertaine his *Fancie*, than *Roome* for *Courtiers*, was contented to place him in a *Star-like Lodge*; which otherwiſe in ſevere *Judgement* of *Art* had beene an incommodious *Figure*.

Diſtributio, is that uſefull *Caſting* of all Roomes for *Office*, *Entertainement*, or *Pleaſure*, which I have handled before at more length than any other Piece.

Theſe are the Foure *Heads* which every Man ſhould runne over, before hee paſſe any determinate *Cenſure* upon the Works that he ſhal view, wherewith I will cloſe this laſt Part, touching *Ornaments*. Againſt which (mee thinkes)

I heare

I heare an *Objection*, even from ſome well-meaning Man, that theſe delightfull *Craftes* may be divers Wayes ill applied in a *Land*. I muſt confeſſe indeede, there may bee a *laſcivious*, and there may be likewiſe a *ſuperſtitious* Uſe, both of *Picture* and of *Sculpture*: To which Poſſibility of Miſapplication, not onely theſe *Semi-liberall Arts* are ſubject; but even the higheſt Perfections, and *Endowments* of *Nature*. As *Beautie* in a light Woman, *Eloquence* in a mutinous Man, *Reſolution* in an Aſſaſinate, prudent *Obſervation* of Houres and Humours in a corrupt Courtier, *Sharpeneſſe* of Wit and Argument in a ſeducing Scholler; and the like. Nay, finally let mee aſke, what ART can be more pernicious, than even RELIGION it ſelfe, if it ſelfe be converted into an Inſtrument of ART: Therefore, *Ab abuti ad non uti, negatur conſequentia.*

Thus having ſtitched in ſome Sort together theſe *Animadverſions* touching *Architecture*, and the *Ornaments* thereof; I now feele that *contemplative* Spirits are as reſtleſſe as *active*; for doubting with my ſelfe, (as all Weakeneſſe is jealous) that I may be thought to have ſpent my poore Obſervation abroad about nothing but Stone and Timber, and ſuch Rubbage, I am thereby led into an Immodeſtie of proclaiming another Worke, which I have long devoted to the Service of my *Countrey*; namely, *A Philoſophicall Survey of Education*, which is indeed a ſecond *Building*, or repairing of Nature, and, as I may tearme it, a Kind of *Morall Architecture*; whereof ſuch Notes as I have taken in my foreigne Tranſcurſions or Abode, I hope to utter without publike Offence, though ſtill with the Freedom of a plaine *Kentiſh* Man. In the meane while, I have let theſe other *Gleanings* flie abroad, like the Bird out of the *Arke*, to diſcover what Footing may bee, for that which ſhall follow.

The Danger wherein the Kingdome now ſtandeth, and the Remedie.

Written by Sir ROBERT COTTON, Knight and Baronet, in *January*, *Anno Domini* 1627.

AS ſoone as the Houſe of *Auſtria* had incorporated it ſelfe with *Spaine*, and by their new Diſcoveries gotten to themſelves, the Wealth of the Indies, they began to affect and have ever ſince purſued a firſt Monarchy.

The Emperour CHARLES the Fift would firſt lay the Foundation thereof in *Italy*, by ſurpriſing *Rome*: from this, hee was thruſt by the Force and Reſpect of Religion: HENRY the Eighth being made *Caput Fœderis* againſt him. He then attempted it in high *Germany*, practiſing it by Faction and Force to reduce them firſt to Pettie States, and ſo to his abſolute Power. Thus HEN. the Eighth againe prevented him, by tying the *Lutheran* Princes

under his Confederacie and Assistance. His Sonne the second PHILIP, pursued the same Ambition in the Nether *Germany*, by Reduction whereof hee intended to make his farther Way into the other. This the late Queene of *England* interrupted, by siding with the afflicted People on the one Part, and making herselfe the Head of their Protestants League with the Princes on the other: drawing in as a Secret of State the Countenance of *France*, to give the more Reputation, and Assistance to them, and Security to it selfe.

Spaine seeing his Hopes fruitlesse by those Unions and Straights, began first to breake if hee may the Amitie of *France* and *England*; but finding the common Danger to bee a fast Tye, hee raiseth up in that Kingdome a Faction of his owne, by which the *French* King was distressed, that had not the *English* Counsell and Assistance relieved him, *Spaine* had there removed that next and greatest Obstacle of his Ambition: his Counsell now tels him from these Examples, that the Way to this great Worke is impassable, so long as *England* layes a Net in his Way; and the Remove of that must bee the first of his Intents.

This drew on those secret Practises often against the Queene, and his open Furie in 88. against the State; which shee seeing by following the Advice of a free Counsell, would never after admit of Peace, winning thereby the Hearts of a loving People, who ever found Hands and Money at home, and keeping sacredly her Aliances abroad, securing to her Confederates all her Time, Freedome from *Spanish* Flattery, and so ended her old and happy Dayes in Glory.

Spaine then by the Wisedome and Power of that great Lady dispoiled of his Meanes to hurt, though not of his Desires, makes up with her peacefull Successour of happie Memory, that golden League, that discerning us at home by Opinion of Securitie, and giving them a Power in our Counsell by believing their Friendships, and pretented Marriages, gave them a Way to cherish amongst us a Partie of their owne Beliefe, of Power abroad to leade in Jealousie, and sow Division betweene us and our Confederates, by which we see they have swallowed up the Fortune of our Masters Brother, with the rest of the Imperiall States; distressed the K. of *Denmarke*, by that Quarrell, diverted the *Swedens* Assistance by the Warres with the *Pole*, and maining him now with the Ofer of the *Danish* Crowne. And now whether from the Plot, or our Fatalitie, it hath cast such a Bone betweene *France* and us, as hath made themselves by our Quarrell of Religion a fast Confederate, and us a dangerous Enemy: so that now wee have left no other Assurance against their Malice and Ambition, but the *Netherlanders*, where the Tie of mutuall Safety is weakened, by daily Discontents bred and fed betweene us, from some ill affected to both our Securities; that by the Doubtfulnes of Friendship, as we now stand, wee may rather suspect from our owne domesticke Faction, if they grow too furious, they will rather follow the Example of *Rome* in her growing, that held it equally safe, honorable and more easie *dare Regem*, than *subjugare Provinciam*, considering the Power they have in their Hands, than to give any Friends Assistance to serve the present Condition of our State.

You

You may therefore ſee in what Tearmes wee ſtand Abroad, and I feare me at Home for Reſiſtance in no better State: There muſt be to withſtand a forraine Invaſion, a Proportion both of Sea and Land Forces for to give an Enemy an eaſie Paſſage, and a Port to relieve him in, is no leſſe than to hazard all at one Stake; and it is to be conſidered, that no March of Land can be of that Speed to make Head againſt the Landing of an Enemy, nor no ſuch Prevention as to bee Maſter of the Sea: To this Point of neceſſarie Defence, there can be no leſſe than 24000 for the Land Forces: if it were for an offenſive Warre, the Men of leſſe Livelihood were the beſt ſpared, and were uſed formerly to make ſuch Warre *Purgamento Repub.* if wee made no farther Purchaſe by it: and for a Safetie of a Common-wealth, the Wiſedome of all Times did never intereſſe the publique Cauſe to any other, than ſuch as have a Portion in the publique Adventure, and that we ſaw in 88. when the Care of the Queene and Counſell did make the Body of that large Army no other than the trayned Band with which the Auxiliaries of the whole Realme amounted to no leſſe than 24000 Men; neither was any of theſe drawne from forth their Countries and proper Habitations before the End of *May*, that there muſt bee no long Agrievance to the Publique: ſuch Diſcontentments being even to us a more fatall Enemy than any forraine Force: the carefull Diſtribution and Direction of their Sea and Land Forces, being more fitting for a Counſell of Warre, than a private Man to adviſe of. I paſſe it over, yet willing when I ſhall bee called humbly to offer uppe ſuch Obſervations as I have formerly gathered by the former like Occaſions in this Realme.

To make up this Preparation, there is requiſite two Things; Money, and Affections, for they cannot be properly ſevered.

It was well and wiſely ſaid of the great Counſellor the Lord *Burleigh*, in the like Caſe to the Queene, Win Hearts and you have their Hands and Purſes. And I finde that of late, Diffidence having bin a Defect in the one, it hath unhappily produced the other.

In gathering then of Money for this preſent Need, there is requiſite three Things, Speed, Aſſurance, and Satisfaction; and the Way to gather as others in the like Caſe have done, muſt be by that Path-way that is called *Via Regia*, being more ſecure and ſpeedy; for by unknowne and untrodden Wayes it is both rougher and tedious, and ſeldome ſucceedeth: This laſt Way, although it tooke Place as it were by a Supply at firſt, and received no generall Deniall; yet ſince, it hath drawne many to conſult with themſelves and others in the Conſequence, and is now conceived as a Preſſure on their Liberties and againſt Law; I much feare, if now againe it bee offered eyther in the ſame Face, or by Privie Seale, it will bee refuſed wholly; neyther finde I it, that the Reſtraint of thoſe Recuſants have produced any other Effect than a ſtiffe Reſolution in them and others to forbeare: beſides, although it went at firſt with ſome Aſſurance, yet when wee conſider your Commiſſions, and other Formes incident to ſuch like Services, that how long it hangs in Hand, the many Delayes that wee may eaſily ſee, that ſuch a Summe by Parliament granted is farre ſooner and more eaſily gathered.

If any make the Succeſſions of Time, to produce an inevitable Neceſſitie to inforce it; if denied, whether in generall, or by Exciſe, or by Impoſition, or particular in ſome ſelect Perſons, which is the Cuſtome of ſome Countries, and ſo conclude it as therefore the publique State *Suprema Lege*, hee muſt looke for this to bee told them; that ſeeing Neceſſitie muſt conclude alwayes to gather Money as leſſe ſpeedy or aſſured, than that ſo practiſed, which cannot bee fitter than by Parliament, the Succeſſe attendeth the Humour of the heedleſſe Multitude, that are full of Jealouſie and Diſtruſt, and ſo unlike to comply to any uſuall Courſe of Leavie but by Force; which if uſed, the Effect is fearefull, and hath beene fatall to this State: whereas that by Parliament reſteth principally on the Regall Perſon, who may with Eaſe and Safety mould them to his fit Deſires, by a gracious yeilding to their juſt Petitions.

If a Parliament then be the moſt ſpeedy, aſſured and ſafe Way, it is fit to conceive what is the faireſt Way to act and worke it to the preſent Neede: firſt, for the Time of the uſuall Summons, reputed to bee 40 Dayes, to bee too large for this preſent Neceſſity; it may bee by the dating of the Writs leſſened, ſince it is no poſitive Law, ſo that Care be had that there bee but one County Day; if then, the ſame to bee leavied bee once agreed of for the Time: in the Body of our Graunt there may be Aſſignement made to the Knights of every Shire and County reſpectively, who under ſuch Aſſurance may ſafely give Security proportionable to the Receipts, to ſuch as ſhall advance in preſent for the publique Service any Summes of Money.

The laſt and weightieſt Conſideration, if a Parliament be thought fit, is how to remove or comply the Differences betweene the King and the Subjects in their mutuall Demaunds; and what I have learned amongſt the better Sort of the Multitude I will freely declare, that your Lordſhips may be more enabled to remove and anſwere thoſe Diſtruſts, that either concerne Religion, publique Safety of the King and State, or the juſt Liberties of the Common-wealth: for Religion is a Matter that they lay neereſt to their Conſcience, and they are led by this Ground of Jealouſie to doubt ſome Practiſe againſt it: Firſt, for that the *Spaniſh* Match was broken by the gratefull Induſtrie of my Lord of *Buck.* out of his religious Care; as there hee declared, that the Articles there demanded, in ſome ſuch Sufferance as may endanger the Quiet if not the State of the Reformed Religion heere. Yet there have been (when hee was a principall Actor in the Conditions of *France*) as hard, if not worſe to the Preſervation of our Religion paſſed, than thoſe with *Spaine*; and the Suſpect is ſtrengthened, by the cloſe keeping of his Agreements, in the Point there concluded.

It is no leſſe Argument of a Doubt to them of his Affections, in that his Mother and others, many of his Miniſters in neere Imployment about him are ſo affected, they talke much of his advancing Men papiſtically devoted ſo placed in the Campe of neereſt Service and chiefe Command; and that the Recuſants have got theſe late Yeares, by his Power, more of Courage (than Aſſurance) than before. If to cleere theſe Doubts (which perhaps are worſe in Fancy than in Truth) hee take a Courſe, it might much advance the

the publique Service againſt the ſqueamiſh Humours that have more a violent Paſſion than ſetled Judgement, and are not the leaſt of the oppoſite Number in the Common-wealth.

The next is the late Loſſes, Misfortunes, and Loſſes both of Men and Munition, and how in our late Undertakings Abroad; which the more temperate Spirits impute to want of Counſell, and the more ſublime Wits to Practice.

They began with the *Palatinate*, and lay the Fault of the Loſſe there on the improved Credite of *Gondamor*, diſtruſting him for the Staying of Supplies to Sir *Horace Veere*, when Collonell *Cecill* was caſt on that Imployment; by which the King of *Spaine* became the Maſter of the Kings Childrens Inheritance: And when Count *Mansfield* had a Royall Supply of Forces to aſſiſt the Princes of our Part for the Recovery thereof, eyther Plot or Errour defeated the Enterpriſe for us to *Spaines* Advantage: That Sir *Robert Mansfields* Expedition to *Algiers*, ſhould purchaſe only the Security and Guard of the *Spaniſh* Coaſts: To ſpend ſo many 100000 *l.* in the *Cales* Voyage, againſt the Adviſe of the Parliament, onely to warne the King of *Spaine* to bee in a Readineſſe, and ſo weaken our ſelves, is taken for ſuch a Signe of ill Affection to him amongſt the Multitude: The ſpending of ſo much Munition and Victuals, and Money, in my Lord *Willoughbies* Journey, is conceived an unthriftie Error in the Director of it, to diſarme our ſelves in fruitleſſe Voyages, may (to ſome over curious) ſeeme a Plot of Danger, to turne the Quarrell of *Spaine* our auncient Enemy; that the Parliament peticioned and gave Supply to ſupport upon our Allies of *France*, and ſo ſome after (anew and happily) gave much Talke, that wee were not ſo doubtfull of *Spaine* as many wiſh ſince. It was held not long agoe a fundamentall Rule of theirs and our Security, by the old Lord *Burleigh*, that nothing can prevent the *Spaniſh* Monarchie, but a Faſtneſſe of the two Princes whole Amitie, gave Countenance and Courage to the *Netherlanders* and *German* Princes to make Head againſt his Ambition; and we ſee by this Diſunion a fearefull Defeat hath happened to *Denmarke*, and that Party to the Advantage of the *Auſtrian* Family, and thus farre of the Waſte of publique Treaſure in fruitleſſe Expeditions, and an important Cauſe to hinder any new Supply in Parliament: another Feare that may diſturbe the ſmooth and ſpeedie paſſing of the Kings Deſire in Parliament, is the late Waſte of the Kings Livelyhood whereby is like, as in former Times to ariſe this Jealouſie and Feare, that when he hath not of his owne to ſupport his Ordinarie, for which the Lands of the Crowne were ſettled unalterable and called *ſacri Patrimonium Principis*, that then hee muſt of Neceſſitie reſt to thoſe Aſſiſtances of the People, which ever were collected and conſigned for the Common-wealth: from hence it is like there will be no great Labour and Stiffeneſſe to enduce his Majeſtie to an Act of Reſumption, ſince ſuch Deſires of the State have found an eaſie Way in the Will of all Princes from the 3. HEN. to the laſt, but that which is like to paſſe the deeper to their Diſputes and Care, is the late Preſſures they ſuppoſe to have beene done upon publique Liberties and Freedome of the Subject, in commanding their Goods without

Aſſent

Assent by Parliament, confining their Persons without especiall Cause declared, and that made good by the Judges lately, and pretending a Writ to commaund their Attendance in a forreigne Warre; all which they are like to enforce as repugnant to many positive Lawes and customary Immunities of this Common-wealth; and these dangerous Distrusts to the People are not a little improved by his unexampled Course, as they conceive an Inland Armie in Winter Season, when former Times of greatest Feare produced no such, and makes therein their distracted Feare, to conjecture idly, it was raysed wholly to subject their Fortunes to that Will of Power, not of Law, and so make good some farther Breach upon their Liberties and Freedome at Home, than to defend from any Force Abroad: how farre at Home such Jealousies (if they met with any unusuall Disorder of lawlesse Souldiers) or unapt Distemper of the loose and needy Multitude, which will easily turne away upon any Occasion, in the State they can side with a glorious Pretence of Religion and publique Safetie, when their true End will bee onely Rapine of the Rich (and Ruine of all) is worthy a provident and preventing Care.

Anno 88.

I have thus farre delivered that (that which Freedome you pleased to admit such Difficulties as I have taken up amongst the Multitude) which may avert if not remove Impediments to any speedy Supply in Parliament at this Time, which how to facilitate may better become the Care of your Lordships Judgement than my Ignorance; only wish, that to remove away a personall Distast of my Lord of *Buck.* amongst the People, hee might be pleased, if there bee a Necessitie of Parliament, to appeare a first Adviser thereunto, and what Satisfaction it shall please his Majestie of Grace to give at such Time to his People, which I would wish to be grounded with present of his best and fortunate Progenitors, and which I conceive will largely satisfie the Desires and Hopes of all, if it may appeare in some Sort to be drawn downe from him to the People, by the zealous Care and Industry that my Lord of *Buck.* hath of the publique Unitie and Content, by which there is no doubt, but hee may remaine not only secure from any farther Quarrell with them, but merit happy Memory amongst them of a zealous Patriot, for to expiate the Passion of the People at such Time with Sacrifice of any of his Majesties Servants, I have ever found (as in *Edward* II. *Richard* II. *Henry* VI.) no lesse fatall to the Master than the Minister in the End.

The

Aprill 4, 1628.

The Proceeding of the Parliament being this Day related to the KING, by the Councellors of the COMMONS Houſe of Parliament.

HIS MAJESTIE upon the Report made, expreſſed great Contentment that it gave him; not valewing the Money given, comparable to the Hearts ſhewed in the Way of the Guift: For although his great Occaſions of State did require more Money than at this Time was given; yet now he made Account he could not lacke, ſince he had their Loves; and that this Day, he thought that he had gayned more Reputation in *Chriſtendome*, than if he had wonne many Battailes: Saying further, (according to his Speech the firſt Day of the Parliament) That they might eaſily make him in Love with Parliaments, (now he profeſſed he was ſo:) And that we ſhould finde the Fruits of it by calling us often together, and to ſecure further Feares, and create future Confidence, he aſſured us that we ſhould enjoy as great Immunitie and Freedom in his Time, as ever we poſſeſſed or had under the Reigne of any the beſt Kings of this Realme.

The Duke of *BUCKINGHAM* his Speech to his MAJESTIE, on *Friday*, being the 4th of *April*, 1628.

SIR,

MEE thinkes I now behold you a great *KING*; for Love is greater than Majeſtie. *Opinion* that your People loved you not, had almoſt loſt you in the Opinion of the *World:* but this Day makes you appeare as you are, *A glorious KING loved at Home, and now to bee feared Abroad.* This falling out ſo happily, I beſeech you give mee Leave to bee an humble Sutor unto your *Majeſtie*. Firſt, for my ſelfe, that I who have had the Honour to be your *Favourite*, may now give up my Title unto them, they to bee your *Favourite*, and I to bee your Servant. My ſecond Sute is, that they having all done ſo well, you will account of them all as one, a Body of many Members, but all of one Heart. *Opinion* might have made them differ, but *Affection* did move them all to joyne with like Love in this great *Guift:* for Proportion, it being leſſe than your Occaſions may aſke, yet it is more than ever Subjects did give in ſo ſhort a Time: Nor am I perſwaded it will reſt there, for this is but as an Earneſt of their Affections, to let you ſee, and the World know, what *Subjects* you have; that when your *Honour* and the Good of the *State* is engaged, and *Ayde* aſked in the ordinary Way of Parliament, you cannot want. This is not a Gift of five Subſidies alone, but the opening of a Mine of Subſidies which lyeth in their Hearts. This good Beginning hath wrought already theſe Effects, they have taken your Heart,

Heart, drawne from you a Declaration that you will love Parliaments. And againe, this will be mett, I make no Queſtion, with ſuch Reſpect, that their Demands will be juſt, dutifull and moderate: For they that know thus to give, knowe what is fit to aſke: then cannot your Majeſtie do leſſe than outgoe their Demands or elſe you doe leſſe than your ſelfe, or them: For your Meſſage begat Truſt, their Truſt and your Promiſe muſt then beget Performance. This being done, then ſhall I with a glad Heart hold this Worke as well ended as now begun, and then ſhall I hope that Parliaments ſhalbe made hereafter ſo frequent, by the Effects and good Uſe of them, as ſhall have this further Benefit, to deterre from approaching your Eares thoſe *Projectors* and *Inducers* of Innovation, as Diſturbers both of *Church* and *Common-wealth*. Now *Sir*, to open my Heart and to eaſe my Griefe, pleaſe you to pardon me a Word more. I muſt confeſſe I have long lived in Paine, *Sleepe* hath given mee no Reſt, *Favours* and *Fortunes* no Content, much have bene my ſecret Sorrowes to be thought the Man of *Separation*, and that divided the *KING* from his People, and them from him; but I hope it ſhall appeare, they were ſome miſtaken Mindes, that would have made me the evill Spirit that walked betweene a good *Maſter* and a loyall People for ill Offices. Whereas by your *Majeſties* Favour, I ſhall ever endeavour to approve my ſelfe a good Spirit breathing nothing but the beſt of Services unto them all. Therefore this Day, I account more bleſſed unto me than my Birth, to ſee my ſelfe able to ſerve them, to ſee you brought in Love with Parliaments, to ſee a Parliament expreſſe ſuch Love to you. Love them I beſeech you, and God ſo love me and mine, as I joy to ſee this Day.

The Charge of the SCOTTISH Commiſſioners againſt CANTERBURIE and the Lieuetenant of IRELAND. Together with their Demand concerning the Sixt Article of the Treaty.

Whereunto is added the Parliaments Reſolution about the Proportion of the SCOTTISH Charges, and the SCOTTISH Commiſſioners thankfull Acceptance thereof. 1641.

The Lord is knowne by the Judgement which he executeth. The Wicked is ſnared in the Workes of his owne Hands.

NOvations in Religion, which are univerſally acknowledged to bee the main Cauſe of Commotions in Kingdomes and States, and are knowne to bee the true Cauſe of our preſent Troubles, were many and great, beſide the Bookes of Ordination, and Homilies, 1. Some particular Alterations in Matters of Religion, preſſed upon us without Order, and againſt

gainſt Law, contrary to the Forme eſtabliſhed in our Kirk. 2. A new Booke of Canons and Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſticall. 3. A Liturgie or Booke of Common-prayer, which did alſo carry with them many dangerous Errours in Matters of Doctrine. Of all which we chalenge the Prelate of *Canterbury*, as the prime Cauſe on Earth.

And firſt, that this Prelate was the Author and Urger of ſome particular Changes, which made great Diſturbance amongſt us, wee make manifeſt: 1. By fourteen Letters ſubſcribed, *W. Cant.* in the Space of two Years, to one of our pretended Biſhops, *Bannatine*, wherein hee often enjoyneth him, and other pretended Biſhops, to appear in the Chappell in their Whites, cuntrary to the Cuſtome of our Kirk, and to his Promiſe made to the pretended Biſhop of *Edinburgh*, at the Coronation, that none of them after that Time, ſhould be preſſed to weare theſe Garments, thereby moving him againſt his Will to put them on for that Time, wherein he directeth him to give Order for ſaying the *Engliſh* Service in the Chappell twice a Day, for his Neglect ſhewing him that hee was diſappointed of the Biſhopricke of *Edinburgh*, promiſing him upon his greater Care of theſe Novations, Advancement to a better Biſhoprick, taxing him for his Boldneſſe in preaching the ſound Doctrine of the reformed Kirkes, againſt Maſter *Mitchell*, who had taught the Errors of *Arminius*, in the Point of the Extent of the Merit of Chriſt, bidding him ſend up a Liſt of the Names of Councellours and Senatours of the Colledge of Juſtice, who did not communicate in the Chappell in a Forme which was not received in our Kirke, commending him when he found him obſequious to theſe his Commands, telling him that hee had moved the King the ſecond Time for the Puniſhment of ſuch as had not received in the Chappell: and wherein hee upbraideth him bitterly, that in his firſt Synod at *Aberdeen*, hee had onely diſputed againſt our Cuſtome of *Scotland*, of Faſting ſometimes on the Lords-day, and preſumptuouſly cenſuring our Kirk, that in this we were oppoſite to Chriſtianity it ſelfe; and that amongſt us there were no Canons at all: More of this Stuffe may be ſeene in the Letters themſelves.

Secondly, By two Papers of Memoirs and Inſtructions from the pretended Biſhop of Saint *Androis*, to the pretended Biſhop of *Roſſe*, comming to this Prelate for ordering the Affaires of the Kirk, and Kingdome of *Scotland*, as not onely to obtaine Warrants, to order the Exchequer, the Privy Counſell, the great Commiſſion of Surrenders, the Matter of *Balmerino's* Proceſſe, as might pleaſe our Prelates, but Warrants alſo for ſitting of the High Commiſſion Court once a Week in *Edinburgh*, and to gain from the Noblemen, for the Benefit of Prelates, and their Adherents, the Abbacies of *Kelſo*, *Arbroith*, S. *Androis*, and *Lindors:* and in the ſmalleſt Matters to receive his Comands, as for taking downe Galleries, and Stone-walls, in the Kirks of *Edinburgh* and Saint *Androis*, for no other End but to make Way for Altars, and Adoration towards the Eaſt, which beſides other Evills, made no ſmall Noiſe, and Diſturbance amongſt the People, deprived hereby, of their ordinary Accommodation for publique Worſhip.

The ſecond Novation which troubled our Peace, was a Booke of Canons, and Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſticall, obtruded upon our Kirk, found by our generall Aſſembly to be deviſed for eſtabliſhing a tyrannicall Power, in the Perſons of our Prelates, over the Worſhip of God, over the Conſciences, Liberties, and Goods of the People; and for aboliſhing the whole Diſcipline, and Governement of our Kirk, by generall and provinciall Aſſemblies, Preſbyteries, and Kirk Seſſions, which was ſetled by Law, and in continuall Practiſe ſince the Time of Reformation; that *Canterbury* was Maſter of this Worke, is manifeſt.

By a Booke of Canons ſent to him, written upon the one Side onely, with the other Side blanke, for Corrections, Additions, and putting all in better Order, at his Pleaſure; which accordingly was done as may appeare by Interlinings, Marginalls, and filling up of the blanke Page with Directions ſent to our Prelates; and that it was done by no other than *Canterbury*, is evident by his magiſteriall Way of preſcribing, and by a new Copy of theſe Canons, all written with Saint *Androis* owne Hand, preciſely to a Letter, according to the former Caſtigations, ſent backe for procuring the Kings Warrant unto it, which accordingly was obtained; but with an Addition of ſome other Canons, and a Paper of ſome other Corrections: According to which the Booke of Canons thus compoſed, was publiſhed in Print, the Inſpection of the Bookes, Inſtructions, and his Letters of Joy, for the Succeſſe of the Worke, and of other Letters of the Prelate of *London*, and the Lord *Sterling*, to the ſame Purpoſe; all which we are ready to exhibite, will put the Matter out of all Debate.

Beſide this generall, there be ſome Things more ſpecially worthy to be adverted unto, for diſcovering his Spirit. 1. The 4. Canon of Cap. 8. for as much as no Reformation in Doctrine, or Diſcipline, can be made perfect at once in any Church; therefore it ſhall, and may be lawfull for the Church of *Scotland*, at *any Time*, to make Remonſtrance to his M. or his Succeſſors, *&c.* Becauſe this Canon holdeth the Doore open to more Innovations, he writeth to the Prelate of *Roſſe* his privy Agent, in all this Worke, of his great Gladneſſe, that this Canon did *ſtand behind the Curtaine*, and his great Deſire that this Canon *may be printed fully as one that was to be moſt uſefull.* Secondly, the Title prefixed to theſe Canons by our Prelates. Canons agreed upon to *be proponed to the ſeverall Synods of the Kirk of* Scotland, is thus changed by *Canterbury*; Canons and Conſtitutions *Eccleſiaſticall*, &c. ordained to be obſerved *by the Clergy*. He will not have Canons to come from the Authority of Synods, but from the Power of Prelates, or from the Kings Prerogative. Thirdly, The formidable Canon, Cap. 1. 3. threatning no leſſe than Excommunication againſt all ſuch Perſons whoſoever ſhall open their Mouthes againſt any of theſe Books, proceeded not from our Prelates, nor is to be found in the Copy ſent from them, but is a Thunderbolt forged in *Canterburies* own Fire. 4. Our Prelates in divers Places witneſſe their Diſlike of Papiſts. A Miniſter ſhal be depoſed if hee bee found negligent to convert Papiſts. Chap. 18. 15. The Adoration of the Bread is a Superſtition to be condemned, Chap. 6. 6. They call the abſolute Neceſſity of Baptiſme an Errour

Errour of Popery, Chap. 6. 2. But in *Canterburies* Edition, the Name of Papists and Popery is not so much as mentioned. 5. Our Prelates have not the Boldnesse to trouble us in their Canons, with Altars, Fonts, Chancels, reading of a long Liturgie before Sermon, *&c.* But *Canterbury* is punctuall, and peremptory in all these. 6. Although the Words of the tenth Canon, Chap. 3. be faire, yet the wicked Intentions of *Canterbury* and *Ross*, may bee seen in the Point of Justification of a Sinner before God, by comparing the Canon as it came from our Prelates, and as it was returned from *Canterbury*, and printed, our Prelates say thus: *It is manifest that the Superstition of former Ages hath turned into a great Prophaneneſſe, and that People are growne cold, for the most Part, in doing any Good, thinking there is no Place to good Workes, because they are excluded from Justification. Therefore shall all Ministers, as their Text giveth Occasion, urge the Necessity of good Workes, as they would be saved; and remember that they are* via regni, *the Way to the Kingdome of Heaven, though not* causa regnandi, *howbeit they be not the Cause of Salvation.* Here *Ross* giveth his Judgement, *That hee would have this Canon simply commanding good Workes to be preached, and no Mention made what Place they have or have not in Justification.* Upon this Motion, so agreeable to *Canterburies* Mind, the Canon is set down as it standeth, without the Distinction of *via regni*, or *causa regnandi*, or any Word sounding that Way, urging onely the Necessity of good Works. 7. By comparing Can. 9. chap. 18. as it was sent in Writing from our Prelates, and as it is printed at *Canterburies* Command, may be also manifest, that hee went about to establish auricular Confession, and Popish Absolution. 8. Our Prelates were not acquainted with Canons for inflicting of arbitrary Penalties: But in *Canterburies* Book, whereſoever there is no Penaltie expressely set down, it is provided that it shall be arbitrary, as the Ordinary shall think fittest. By these, and many other the like, it is apparant, what tyrannicall Power he went about to establish in the Hands of our Prelats, over the Worship, and the Souls and Goods of Men, over-turning from the Foundation, the whole Order of our Kirk, what Seedes of Popery hee did sow in our Kirk, and how large an Entry hee did make for the grossest Novations afterward, which hath beene a maine Cause of all their Combustion.

The third and great Novation was the Booke of Common Prayer, Administration of the Sacraments, and other Parts of divine Service, brought in without Warrant from our Kirk to be universally received, as the only Forme of divine Service, under all highest Paines both Civill and Ecclesiasticall; which is found by our nationall Assembly, beside the Popish Frame, and Formes in divine Worship, to containe many Popish Errors, and Ceremonies, and the Seeds of manifold and grosse Superstitions and Idolatries, and to be repugnant to the Doctrine, Discipline, and Order of our Reformation, to the Confession of Faith, Constitutions of generall Assemblies, and Acts of Parliament, establishing the true Religion: That this also was *Canterburies* Worke, wee make manifest.

By the Memoirs, and Instructions sent unto him from our Prelates; wherein they gave a speciall Acccount of the Diligence they had used, to doe all

which herein they were enjoyned, by the Approbation of the Service Booke ſent to them; and of all the marginall Corrections, wherein it varieth from the *Engliſh* Booke, ſhewing their Deſire to have ſome few Things changed in it, which notwithſtanding was not granted: This we find written by Saint *Androis* owne Hand, and ſubſcribed by him, and nine other of our Prelates.

By *Canterburies* owne Letters, Witneſſes of his Joy, when the Book was ready for the Preſſe, of his Prayers that GOD would ſpeed the Worke, of his Hope to ſee that Service ſet up in *Scotland*, of his Diligence to ſend for the Printer, and directing him to prepare a black Letter, and to ſend it to his Servants at *Edinburgh*, for printing this Booke. Of his Approbation of the Proofes ſent from the Preſſe. Of his Feare of Delay, in bringing the Worke ſpeedily to an End, for the great Good, (not of that Church, but) of the Church. Of his encouraging *Roſſe* who was entruſted with the Preſſe, to go on in this Peece of Service without Feare of Enemies. All which may be ſeene in the Autographs and by Letters ſent from the Prelate of *London* to *Roſſe*, wherein as he rejoyceth at the Sight of the *Scottiſh* Canons; which although they ſhould make ſome Noiſe at the Beginning, yet they would be more for the Good of the Kirk, than the Canons of *Edinburgh*, for the Good of the Kingdome. So concerning the Liturgy he ſheweth, that *Roſſe* had ſent to him, to have an Explanation from *Canterbury* of ſome Paſſages of the Service Booke, and that the Preſſe behoved to ſtand till the Explanation come to *Edinburgh*, which therefore he had in Haſte obtained from his Grace, and ſent the Diſpatch away by *Canterburies* owne Convaiance.

But the Booke it ſelfe as it ſtandeth interlined, margined and patcht up, is much more than all that is expreſſed in his Letters, and the Changes and Supplements themſelves, taken from the Maſſe Book, and other Romiſh Rituals, by which he maketh it to vary from the Book of *England*, are more pregnant Teſtimonies of his Popiſh Spirit, and wicked Intentions, which he would have put in Execution upon us, than can bee denied. The large Declaration profeſſeth, that all the Variation of our Booke, from the Book of *England*, that ever the King underſtood, was in ſuch Things as the *Scottiſh* Humour would better comply with, than with that which ſtood in the *Engliſh* Service. Theſe Popiſh Innovations therefore have beene ſurreptitiouſly inſerted, by him without the Kings Knowledge, and againſt his Purpoſe. Our *Scottiſh* Prelates do petition that ſomething may be abated of the *Engliſh* Ceremonies, as the Croſſe in Baptiſme, the Ring in Marriage, and ſome other Things. But *Canterbury* will not only have theſe kept, but a great many more, and worſe ſuperadded, which was nothing elſe, but the adding of Fewell to the Fire. To expreſſe and diſcover all, would require a whole Booke, we ſhall onely touch ſome few in the Matter of the Communion.

This Booke inverteth the Ordour of the Communion, in the Booke of *England*, as may be ſeen by the Numbers, ſetting downe the Orders of this new Communion, 1. 5. 2. 6. 7. 3. 4. 8. 9. 10. 15. Of the divers ſecret Reaſons of this Change, we mention one onely, In joyning the ſpirituall Praiſe and Thankſgiving, which is in the Booke of *England*, pertinently after the

the Communion, with the Prayer of Conſecration before the Communion, and that under the Name of Memoriall or Oblation, for no other End, but that the Memoriall and Sacrifice of Praiſe, mentioned in it, may be underſtood according to the Popiſh Meaning. *Bellar. de Miſſa, lib.* 2. *cap.* 21. Not of the ſpirituall Sacrifice, but of the Oblation of the Body of the Lord.

It ſeemeth to bee no great Matter, that without Warrand of the Book of *England*, the Preſbyter going from the North End of the Table, ſhall ſtand during the Time of Conſecration, at ſuch a Part of the Table, where hee may with the more Eaſe and Decencie uſe both Hands; yet being tried, it importeth much, as, that he muſt ſtand with his hinder Parts to the People, repreſenting (ſaith *Durand*) that which the Lord ſaid of *Moſes*, *Thou ſhalt ſee my hinder Parts*. Hee muſt have the Uſe of both his Hands, not for any thing he hath to doe about the Bread and Wine, for that may bee done at the North End of the Table, and bee better ſeen of the People; but (as we are taught by the Rationaliſts) that he may by ſtretching foorth his Armes to repreſent the Extenſion of Chriſt on the Croſſe, and that hee may the more conveniently lift up the Bread and Wine above his Head to be ſeen and adored of the People, who in the Rubrick of the generall Confeſſion, a little before, are directed to kneel humbly on their Knees, that the Prieſts Elevation ſo magnified in the Maſſe, and the Peoples Adoration may goe together. That in this Poſture, ſpeaking with a low Voyce, and muttering (for ſometimes hee is commanded to ſpeake with a lowde Voyce, and diſtinctly) hee bee not heard by the People, which is no leſſe a mocking of God, and his People, than if the Words were ſpoken in an unknowne Language. As there is no Word of all this in the *Engliſh* Service; ſo doth the Book in King *Ed.* Time, give to every Preſbyter his Liberty of Geſture, which yet gave ſuch Offence to *Bucer*, (the Cenſurer of the Book, and even in *Caſſanders* own Judgement, a Man of great Moderation in Matters of this Kinde) that he calleth them, *Nunquam ſatis execrandos Miſſæ geſtus*, and would have them to be abhorred, becauſe they confirme to the Simple and Superſtitious *ter impiam & exitialem Miſſæ fiduciam*.

The corporall Preſence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament, is alſo to be found here: for the Words of the Maſſe Book ſerving to this Purpoſe, which are ſharply cenſured by *Bucer* in King *Ed.* Liturgie, and are not to be found in the Book of *England*, are taken in here; Almighty God is incalled, that of his Almighty Goodneſſe he may vouchſafe ſo to bleſſe and ſanctifie with his Word and Spirit, theſe Gifts of Bread and Wine, that they may bee unto us the Body and Bloud of Christ.

The Change here is made a Work of God's Omnipotencie: The Words of the Maſſe, *ut fiant nobis*, are tranſlated in King *Edward's* Booke, *That they may be unto us*, which are againe turned into *Latine* by *Aleſius*, *Ut fiant nobis*. On the other Part, the Expreſſions of the Booke of *England* at the Delivery of the Elements of *feeding on Chriſt by Faith*, and of *Eating* and *Drinking in Remembrance that Chriſt died for thee*, are utterly deleated. Many Evidences there bee in this Part of the Communion, of the bodily Preſence

of

of CHRIST, very agreeable to the Doctrines taught by his Secretaries, which this Paper cannot containe. They teach us that CHRIST is received in the Sacrament, *Corporaliter*, both *objectivè* and *subjectivè*. *Corpus Christi est objectum quod recipitur, & corpus nostrum subjectum quo recipitur.*

The Booke of *England* aboliſheth all that may import the Oblation of any unbloody Sacrifice, but here we have beſides the preparatorie Oblation of the Elements, which is neither to be found in the Booke of *England* now, nor in King *Edward's* Booke of Old, the Oblation of the Body and Bloud of CHRIST, which *Bellarmine* calleth, *Sacrificium Laudis, quia Deus per illud magnopere laudatur.* This alſo agreeth well with their late Doctrine. We are ready when it ſhall be judged convenient, and we ſhall be deſired, to diſcover much more Matters of this Kind, as Grounds laid for *Miſſa ſicca*, or the half Meſſe; The private Meſſe without the People; Of Communicating in one Kind; Of the Conſumption by the Prieſt, and Conſummation of the Sacrifice; Of receiving the Sacrament in the Mouth, and not in the Hand, *&c.*

Our Supplications were many againſt theſe Books, but *Canterbury* procured them to be anſwered with terrible Proclamations. Wee were conſtrained to uſe the Remedy of Proteſtation; but for our Proteſtations, and other lawfull Meanes, which we uſed for our Deliverance, *Canterbury* procured us to be declared Rebels and Traitors in all the Pariſh Kirks of *England:* when we were ſeeking to poſſeſſe our Religion in Peace, againſt theſe Devices and Novations, *Canterbury* kindleth Warre againſt us. In all theſe it is known that he was although not the ſole, yet the principall Agent and Adviſer.

When by the Pacification at *Berwick*, both Kingdomes looked for Peace and Quietneſſe, he ſpared not openly in the Hearing of many, often before the King, and privately at the Counſell-table, and the privy Jointo to ſpeak of us as Rebels and Traitors, and to ſpeake againſt the Pacification as diſhonourable, and meet to be broken. Neither did his Malignancie and Bitterneſſe ever ſuffer him to reſt, till a new Warre was entred upon, and all Things prepared for our Deſtruction.

By him was it that our Covenant, approven by Nationall Aſſemblies, ſubſcribed by his M. Commiſſioner, and by the Lords of his M. Counſell, and by them commanded to be ſubſcribed by all the Subjects of the Kingdome, as a Teſtimony of our Duty to GOD and the King, by him was it ſtill called Ungodly, Damnable, Treaſonable; by him were Oaths invented, and preſſed upon divers of our poore Countrey-men, upon the Pain of Impriſonment, and many Miſeries, which were unwarrantable by Law, and contrary to their Nationall Oath.

When our Commiſſioners did appeare to render the Reaſons of our Demands, he ſpared not in the Preſence of the King, and Committee, to raile againſt our Nationall Aſſembly, as not daring to appeare before the World, and Kirkes Abroad, where himſelfe and his Actions were able to endure Tryall, and againſt our juſt and neceſſary Defence, as the moſt malicious and treaſonable Contempt of Monarchicall Government that any by-gone Age had heard of: His Hand alſo was at the Warrant for the Reſtraint and Impriſoment

priſonment of our Commiſſioners, ſent from the Parliament, warranted by the King, and ſeeking the Peace of the Kingdomes.

When we had by our Declarations, Remonſtrances, and Repreſentations, manifeſted the Truth of our Intentions, and Lawfulneſſe of our Actions, to all the good Subjects of the Kingdome of *England*, when the late Parliament could not be moved to aſſiſt, or enter in Warre againſt us, maintaining our Religion, and Liberties, *Canterbury* did not onely adviſe the breaking up of that high and honourable Court, to the great Griefe and Hazard of the Kingdome, but, (which is without Example) did ſit ſtil in the Convocation, and make Canons and Conſtitutions againſt us, and our juſt and neceſſary Defence, ordaining under al higheſt Paines, that hereafter the Clergy ſhall preach 4 Times in the Yeare, ſuch Doctrine as is contrary, not only to our Proceedings, but to the Doctrine and Proceedings of other reform'd Kirks, to the Judgement of all ſound Divines, and Politiques, and tending to the utter Slavery and Ruining of all Eſtates and Kingdomes, and to the Diſhonour of Kings and Monarchs. And as if this had not been ſufficient, he procured ſix Subſidies to be lifted of the Clergy, under Paine of Deprivation to all that ſhould refuſe. And which is yet worſe, and above which Malice it ſelfe cannot aſcend, by his Meanes a Praier is framed, printed, and ſent through all the Paroches of *England*, to bee ſaid in all Churches in Time of Divine Service, next after the Prayer for the Queene and roiall Progeny, againſt our Nation by Name of trayterous Subjects, having caſt off all Obedience to our anointed Soveraigne, and comming in a rebellious Manner to invade *England*, that Shame may cover our Faces, as Enemies to God and the King.

Whoſoever ſhall impartially examine what hath proceeded from himſelfe, in theſe two Books of Canons and Common Praier, what Doctrine hath beene publiſhed and printed theſe Yeares by-paſt in *England*, by his Diſciples and Emiſſaries, what groſſe Popery in the moſt materiall Points we have found, and are ready to ſhew in the poſthume Writings, of the Prelate of *Edinburgh*, and *Dumblane*, his owne Creatures, his neereſt Familiars, and moſt willing Inſtruments to advance his Counſells, and Projects, ſhall perceive that his Intentions were deepe and large againſt all the reformed Kirks, and Reformation of Religion, which in his Majeſties Dominions was panting and by this Time had rendered up the Ghoſt, if God had not in a wonderfull Way of Mercy prevented us: And that if the Pope himſelfe had beene in his Place, he could not have beene more Popiſh, nor could he more zealouſly have negotiated for *Rome*, againſt the reformed Kirks, to reduce them to the Hereſies in Doctrine, the Superſtitions and Idolatry in Worſhip, and the Tyranny in Government, which are in that See, and for which the reformed Kirks did ſeparate from it, and come forth of *Babell*. From him certainely hath iſſued all this Deluge which almoſt hath overturned all. We are therefore confident that your Lordſhips will by your Meanes deale effectually with the Parliament, that this great Fire-brand be preſently removed from his Majeſties Preſence, and that he may be put to Tryall, and put to his deſerved Cenſure according to the Lawes of the Kingdome, which ſhall be good Service to God, Honour to the King and Parliament; Terror to the wicked, and

and Comfort to all good Men, and to us in ſpeciall, who by his Meanes principally have beene put to ſo many and grievous Afflictions, wherein we had periſhed, if God had not beene with us.

We do indeed confeſſe that the Prelates of *England* have beene of very different Humours, ſome of them of a more hot, and others of them, Men of a more moderate Temper, ſome of them more, and ſome of them leſſe inclinable to Popery, yet what knowne Truth, and conſtant Experience, hath made undeniable, we muſt at this Opportunity profeſſe, that from the firſt Time of Reformation of the Kirk of *Scotland*, not only after the Comming of King *James* of happy Memory into *England*, but before, the Prelates of *England*, have beene by all Meanes inceſſantly working the Overthrow of our Diſcipline, and Governement. And it hath come to paſſe of late, that the Prelates of *England* having prevailed, and brought us to Subjection in the Point of Governement, and finding their long waited for Opportunity, and a rare Congruity of many Spirits, and Powers, ready to co-opperate for their Ends, have made a ſtrong Aſſault upon the whole externall Worſhip, and Doctrine of our Kirk. By which their Doing, they did not aime to make us conforme to *England*, but to make *Scotland* firſt (whoſe Weakneſſe in reſiſting, they had before experienced, in the Novations of Governement, and of ſome Points of Worſhip) and thereafter *England* conforme to *Rome*, even in theſe Matters, wherein *England* had ſeperated from *Rome*, ever ſince the Time of Reformation. An Evill therefore which hath iſſued, not ſo much from the Perſonall Diſpoſition of the Prelates themſelves, as from the innate Quality and Nature of their Office, and Prelaticall Hierarchy, which did bring forth the Pope in ancient Times, and never ceaſeth till it bring forth Popiſh Doctrine and Worſhip, where it is once rooted, and the Principles thereof fomented and conſtantly followed. And from that Antipathy and Inconſiſtency of the two Formes of Eccleſiaſticall Governement, which they conceived, and not without Cauſe, that one Iland united alſo under one Head, and Monarch, was not able to beare; the one being the ſame in all the Parts and Powers, which it was in the Times of Popery, and now is in the *Roman* Church: The other being the Forme of Governement, received, maintained, and practiſed, by all the reformed Kirks, wherein by their owne Teſtimonies, and Confeſſions, the Kirk of *Scotland* had amongſt them no ſmall Eminency. This alſo wee repreſent to your Lordſhips moſt ſerious Conſideration, that not only the Fire-brands may be removed, but that the Fire may be provided againſt, that there be no more Combuſtion after this.

The Charge of the SCOTTISH Commiſſioners againſt the Lieutenant of IRELAND.

IN our Declarations we have joyned with *Canterbury*, the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, whoſe Malice hath ſet all his Wits and Power on work, to deviſe and doe Miſchiefe againſt our Kirke and Countrey.

No

No other Cauſe of his Malice can we conceive, but firſt his Pride and ſupercilious Diſdaine of the Kirk of *Scotland*; which in his Opinion, declared by his Speeches, hath not in it almoſt any thing of a Kirk, although the Reformed Kirks, and many worthy Divines of *England*, have given ample Teſtimony to the Reformation of the Kirk of *Scotland*.

Secondly, Our open Oppoſition againſt the dangerous *Innovation of Religion intended, and very farre improved in all his Majeſties Dominions*; of which hee hath ſhewed himſelfe, in his owne Way, no leſſe zealous than *Canterbury* himſelfe, as may appeare by his advancing of his Chaplain, D. *Bramble*, not onely to the Biſhoprick of *Derry*, but alſo to be *Vicar Generall of* Ireland; *a Man prompted for exalting of* Canterburian *Popery, and Arminianiſm*; that thus himſelfe might have the Power of both Swords, againſt all that ſhould maintaine the Reformation; by his bringing of D. *Chappell*, a Man of the ſame Spirit, to the *Univerſity* of *Dublin*, *for poyſoning the Fountaines, and corrupting the Seminaries of the Kirk*.

And *thirdly*, When the Primate of *Ireland* did preſſe a new Ratification of the Articles of that Kirke, in *Parliament*, for barring ſuch Novations in *Religion*, hee boldly menaced him with the Burning, by the Hand of the *Hang-man*, of that Confeſſion, although confirmed in former *Parliaments*.

When hee found that the Reformation begun in *Scotland*, did ſtand in his Way, he left no Meanes uneſſaied to rub Diſgrace upon us, and our Cauſe. The Peeces printed at *Dublin*, *Examen conjurationis Scotticanæ*; The ungirding of the *Scottiſh* Armour; The Pamphlet bearing the counterfeit Name of *Lyſimachus Nicanor*; all three ſo full of Calumnies, Slanders, and Scurrilities againſt our Countrey and Reformation, that the Jeſuits in their greateſt Spite could not have ſaid more; yet not onely the Authors were countenanced and rewarded by him, but the Bookes muſt beare his Name, as the great Patron both of the Worke and Workman.

When the Nationall Oath and Covenant, warranted by our generall Aſſemblies, was approved by Parliament in the Articles, ſubſcribed in the Kings Name, by his Majeſties high Commiſſioner, and by the Lords of Privie Counſell, and commanded to be ſworne by his Majeſties Subjects of all Rankes: and particular and plenary Information was given unto the Lieutenant, by Men of ſuch Quality, as he ought to have beleeved, of the Loyalty of our Hearts to the King, of the Lawfulneſſe of our Proceedings, and Innocency of our Covenant, and whole Courſe, that he could have no Excuſe: yet his deſperate Malice made him to bend his Craft and Cruelty, his Fraud and Forces againſt us. For firſt, he did craftily call up to *Dublin* ſome of our Countrymen, both of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, living in *Ireland*, ſhewing them, that the King would conceive and account them as *Conſpirers* with the *Scots*, in their rebellious Courſes, except ſome Remedy were provided: and for Remedy, ſuggeſting his own wicked Invention, to preſent unto him and his Councell a Petition, which he cauſed to be framed by the Biſhop of *Raphoe*, and was ſeene and corrected by himſelfe, wherein they petitioned to have an Oath given them, containing a formall Renuncia-

tion of the *Scottiſh* Covenant, and a deep Aſſurance never ſo much as to proteſt againſt any of his Majeſties Commandements whatſoever.

No ſooner was this Oath thus craftily contriv'd, but with all Haſte it is ſent to ſuch Places of the Kingdome where our Countrey-men had Reſidence: and Men, Women, and all other Perſons, above the Yeares of ſixteen, conſtrained either preſently to take the Oath, and thereby renounce their Nationall Covenant as ſeditious and trayterous, or with Violence and Cruelty to be haled to the Jayle, fined above the Value of their Eſtates, and to be kept cloſe Priſoners, and ſo far as we know, ſome are yet kept in Priſon, both Men and Women of good Quality, for not renouncing that Oath, which they had taken forty Yeares ſince, in Obedience to the King who then lived. A Cruelty enſued, which may parallell the Perſecutions of the moſt unchriſtian Times: For weake Women, dragged to the Bench to take the Oath, died in the Place, both Mother and Child: Hundreds driven to hide themſelves, till in the Darkneſſe of the Night they might eſcape by Sea to *Scotland*, whither Thouſands of them did flye, being forced to leave Corne, Cattel, Houſes, and all they poſſeſſed, to bee a Prey to their perſecuting Enemies, the *Lieutenants* Officers. And ſome indited and declared guilty of High Treaſon, for no other Guiltineſſe but for ſubſcribing our Nationall Oath, which was not onely Impiety and Injuſtice in it ſelfe, and an utter Undoing of his Majeſties Subjects, but was a weakning of the *Scots* Plantation, to the Prejudice of that Kingdome, and his Majeſties Service, and was a high Scandall againſt the Kings Honour, and intolerable Abuſe of his Majeſties Truſt and Authority: His Majeſties Commiſſion, which was procured by the *Lieutenant*, bearing no other Penalty than a Certification of noteing the Names of the Refuſers of the Oath.

But this his reſtleſſe Rage and inſatiable Cruelty, againſt our Religion and Country, can not be kept within the Bounds of *Ireland*.

By his Meanes a Parliament is called, and although by the ſixe Subſidies granted in Parliament not long before, and by the baſe Meanes which himſelfe and his Officers did uſe, as is contained in a late Remonſtrance, that Land was extreamly impoveriſhed, yet by his Speeches, full of Oaths and Aſſeverations, *that we were Traytors and Rebels, caſting off all Monarchicall Government*, &c. he extorted from them foure new Subſidies, and *inditta cauſa*, before wee were heard, procured that a Warre was undertaken, and Forces ſhould be leavied againſt us as a rebellious Nation, which was alſo intended to be an Example and Precedent to the Parliament of *England* for granting Subſiſidies, and ſending a joynt Army for our utter Ruine.

According to his Appointment in *Parliament*, the Army was gathered, and brought downe to the Coaſt, threatning a daily Invaſion of our Countrey, intending to make us a conquered Province, and to deſtroy our Religion, Liberties, and Lawes, and thereby laying upon us a Neceſſity of vaſt Charges, to keepe Forces on foot on the *Weſt* Coaſt to waite upon his Comming.

And as the Warre was denounced, and Forces leavied before wee were heard; ſo before the denouncing of the Warre, our Ships, and Goods on the

Iriſh

Iriſh Coaſt were taken, and the Owners caſt into Priſon, and ſome of them in Irons. Frigats were ſent forth to ſcoure our Coaſts, which did take ſome, and burne others of our Barkes.

Having thus incited the Kingdome of *Ireland*, and put his Forces in Order there againſt us, with all Haſte he commeth to *England*.

In his parting, at the giving up of the Sword, he openly avowed our utter Ruine and Deſolation, in theſe or the like Words: *If I returne to that honourable Sword, I ſhall leave of the* Scots *neither Root nor Branch.*

How ſoone he commeth to Court, as before he had done very evill Offices againſt our Commiſſioners, clearing our Proceedings before the Point; ſo now he uſeth all Meanes to ſtirre up the King and Parliament againſt us, and to move them to a preſent Warre, according to the Precedent, and Example of his owne making in the Parliament of *Ireland*. And finding that his Hopes failed him, and his Deſignes ſucceeded not that Way, in his Nimbleneſſe he taketh another Courſe, that the Parliament of *England* may be broken up, and deſpiſing their Wiſdome and Authority, not onely with great Gladneſſe accepteth, but uſeth all Means that the Conduct of the Army, in the Expedition againſt *Scotland*, may be put upon him; which accordingly he obtaineth as generall Captaine, with Power to invade, kill, ſlay, and ſave at his Diſcretion, and to make any one, or more Deputies in his ſtead, to doe and execute all the Power and Authorities committed to him.

According to the Largeneſſe of his Commiſſion, and Letters Patents of his deviſing, ſo were his Deportments afterwards; for when the Scots, according to their Declarations ſent before them, were Comming in a peaceable Way, farre from any Intention to invade any of his Majeſties Subjects, and ſtill to ſupplicate his Majeſty for a ſetled Peace, he gave Order to his Officers to fight with them on the Way, that the two Nations once entred in Blood, whatſoever ſhould be the Succeſſe, he might eſcape Tryall and Cenſure, and his bloody Deſignes might be put in Execution againſt his Majeſties Subjects of both Kingdomes.

When the Kings Majeſty was againe enclined to hearken to our Petitions, and to compoſe our Differences in a peaceable Way, and the Peeres of *England* convened at *Yorke*, had, as before in their great Wiſedome and Faithfulneſſe given unto his Majeſtie Counſels of Peace, yet this Fire-brand ſtill ſmoaketh: and in that honourable Aſſembly, taketh upon him to breath out Threatnings againſt us as Traytors, and Enemies to monarchicall Government, that we be ſent Home againe in our Blood, and he will whip us out of *England*.

And as theſe were his Speeches in the Time of the Treaty, appointed by his Majeſty at *Rippon*, that if it had beene poſſible, it might have beene broken up. So when a Ceſſation of Armes, was happily agreed upon there, yet he ceaſeth not, but ſtill his Practiſes were for Warre, his under Officers can tell who it was that gave them Commiſſion to drawe neere in Armes beyond the *Teeſe*, in the Time of the Treaty at *Rippon*.

The Governour of *Barwicke* and *Carlile* can ſhew, from whom they had their Warrants for their Acts of Hoſtility, after the Ceſſation was concluded. It may be tryed how it commeth to paſſe, that the *Ports* of *Ireland* are yet cloſed, our Countrey-men for the Oath ſtill kept in Priſon, Traffique interrupted, and no other Face of Affaires, than if no Ceſſation had been agreed upon.

We therefore deſire that your Lordſhips will repreſent to the Parliament, that this great Incendiarie upon theſe, and the like Offences, not againſt particular Perſons, but againſt Kingdomes, and Nations, may be put to a Tryall, and from their knowne, and renowned Juſtice, may have his deſerved Puniſhment.

16 *Decemb.* 1640.

The SCOTTISH Commiſſioners Demand concerning their Sixt ARTICLE.

CONcerning our Sixt Demand, although it hath often come to paſſe, that theſe who have beene joyned by the Bonds of Religion, and Nature, have ſuffered themſelves to be divided about the Things of this World: And although our Adverſaries, who no leſſe labor the Diviſion of the two Kingdomes, than We doe all ſeeke Peace, and follow after it, as our common Happineſſe, doe preſume that this will be the Partition Wall, to divide us, and to make us loſe all our Labours taken about the former Demand; wherein by the Helpe of GOD, by his Majeſties Princely Goodneſſe, and Juſtice, and your Lordſhips noble and equall Dealing, We have ſo fully accorded, and to keep us from providing for a firme and well grounded Peace, by the Wiſdome and Juſtice of the Parliament of *England*, which is our greateſt Deſire expreſſed in our laſt Demand. We are ſtill confident, that as we ſhall concerning this Article repreſent nothing but what is true, juſt, and honourable to both Kingdomes: So will your Lordſhips hearken to us, and will not ſuffer your ſelves, by any Slanders, or Suggeſtions, to be drawne out of that ſtraight and ſafe Way wherein yee have walked ſince the Beginning.

It is now Wee ſuppoſe knowne to all *England*, eſpecially to both the honourable Houſes of Parliament, and by the Occaſion of this Treatie, more particularly to your Lordſhips, That our Diſtreſſes in our Religion, and Liberties, were of late more preſſing than We were able to beare, That our Complaints and Supplications for Redreſſe, were anſwered at laſt with the Terrours of an Army; That after a Pacification greater Preparations were made for Warre, whereby many Acts of Hoſtilitie were done againſt us, both by Sea and Land; The Kingdome wanted Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and Wee conſtrained to take Armes for our Defence; That we were brought to this extreame, and intollerable Neceſſity, either to maintaine divers Armies upon our Borders againſt Invaſion from *England*, or *Ireland*, ſtill to be deprived

priued of the Benefit of all the Courts of Juſtice, and not onely to maintaine ſo many thouſands as were ſpoiled of their Ships, and Goods, but to want all Commerce by Sea, to the Undoing of Merchants, of Saylors, and many others who lived by Fiſhing, and whoſe Callings are upholden from Hand to Mouth by Sea Trade: Any one of which Evils is able in a ſhort Time to bring the moſt potent Kingdome to Confuſion, Ruine and Deſolation; how much more all the three at one Time combined to bring the Kingdome of *Scotland* to be no more a Kingdome: Yet all theſe behoved Wee either to endure, and under no other Hope, than of the perfect Slavery of our ſelves, and our Poſterity in our Soules, Lives, and Meanes; Or to reſolve to come into *England*, not to make Invaſion, nor with any Purpoſe to fight, except we were forced, God is our Judge, our Actions are our Witneſſes, and *England* doth now acknowledge the Truth, againſt all Suſpitions to the contrary, and againſt the impudent Lyes of our Enemies, but for our Reliefe, Defence, and Preſervation which we could find by no other Meanes, when we had eſſayed all Meanes, and had at large expreſſed our pungent, and preſſing Neceſſities, to the Kingdome, and Parliament of *England*. Since therefore the War on our Part (which is no other but our Comming into *England* with a Guard) is defenſive, and all Men doe acknowledge, that in common Equity, the Defendant ſhould not be ſuffered to periſh in his juſt and neceſſary Defence, but that the Purſuer, whether by way of legall Proceſſe in the Time of Peace, or by way of Violence, and unjuſt Invaſion in the Time of Warre, ought to beare the Charges of the Defendant. We truſt that your Lordſhips will thinke that it is not againſt Reaſon for us to demand ſome Reparation of this Kind, and that the Parliament of *England*, by whoſe Wiſdome and Juſtice wee have expected the Redreſſe of our Wrongs, will take ſuch Courſe, as both may in Reaſon give us Satisfaction, and may in the notable Demonſtration of their Juſtice ſerve moſt for their owne Honour.

Our Earneſtneſſe in following this our Demand, doth not ſo farre wrong our Sight, and make us ſo undiſcerning, as not to make a Difference betweene the Kingdome, and Parliament of *England*, which did neither decerne nor ſet forward a Warre againſt us, and that prevalent Faction of Prelats and Papiſts who have moved every Stone againſt us, and uſed all Sorts of Meanes not onely their Counſells, Subſidies and Forces, but their Kirk Canons, and Prayers for our utter Ruine, which maketh them obnoxious to our juſt Accuſations, and guilty of all the Loſſes, and Wrongs, which this Time paſt wee have ſuſtained: Yet this wee deſire your Lordſhips to conſider, That the Eſtates of the Kingdome of *Scotland* being aſſembled, did endeavour by their Declarations, Informations, and Remonſtrances, and by the Proceedings of their Commiſſioners, to make knowne unto the Counſell, Kingdome, and Parliament of *England*, and to forewarne them of the Miſchiefe intended againſt both Kingdomes, in their Religion, and Liberties, by the Prelates, and Papiſts, to the End, that our Invaſion from *England* might have beene prevented, if by the Prevalencie of the Faction it had beene poſſible. And therefore wee may now with the greater Reaſon, and Confidence preſſe our Demand, That your Lordſhips, the Parliament, the Kingdome, and the King

King himſelfe may ſee us repared in our Loſſes at the Coſt of that Faction by whoſe Meanes we have ſuſtained ſo much Dammage, and which, except they repent, will find Sorrow recompenced for our Griefe, Torments for our Toyle, and an infinite greater Loſſe for the temporall Loſſes, they have brought upon a whole Kingdom, which was dwelling by them in Peace.

All the Devices and Doings of our common Enemies were to beare downe the Truth of Religion, and the juſt Liberties of the Subjects in both Kingdomes. They were confident to bring this about one of two Wayes: Either by blocking us up by Sea and Land to conſtraine us to admit their Will for a Law both in Kirk, and Policy, and thus to make us a Precedent for the like Miſerie in *England*, or by their Invaſion of our Kingdome to compell us furiouſly, and without Order, to break into *England*, that the two Nations once entred into a bloody Warre, they might fiſh in our troubled Waters, and catch their deſired Prey. But as wee declared before our Comming: Wee truſted that God would turne their Wiſedome into Fooliſhneſſe, and bring their Devices upon their owne Pates, by our Intentions, and Reſolutions to come into *England* as among our Brethren, in the moſt peaceable Way that could ſtand with our Safety, in Reſpect of our common Enemies, to preſent our Petitions for ſetling our Peace, by a Parliament in *England*, wherein the Intentions and Actions, both of our Adverſaries, and ours might be brought to Light, the Kings Majeſty, and the Kingdome rightly informed, the Authors, and Inſtruments of our Diviſions, and Troubles puniſhed, all the Miſchiefes of a nationall, and doubtfull Warre prevented, and Religion, and Liberty with greater Peace, and Amity than ever before eſtabliſhed, againſt all the Craft and Violence of our Enemies. This was our Declaration before wee ſet our Foot into *England*, from which our Deportments we ſince have not varied. And it hath bin the Lords wonderfull Doing, by the wiſe Counſels, and juſt Proceedings of the Parliament, to bring it in a great Part to paſſe, and to give us lively Hopes of a happy Concluſion: And therefore wee will never doubt, but that the Parliament in their Wiſedome and Juſtice, will provide that a proportionable Part of the Coſt, and Charges of a Worke ſo great and ſo comfortable to both Nations bee borne by the Delinquents there, that with the better Conſcience the good People of *England* may ſit under their owne Vines, and Figtrees, refreſhing themſelves, although upon our greater Paines and Hazard, yet not altogether upon our Coſt and Charges, which we are not able to beare.

The Kingdome of *England* doth know and confeſſe, that the Innovation of Religion and Liberties in *Scotland*, were not the principall Deſigne of our common Enemies, but that both in the Intention of the Workers, whoſe Zeale was hotteſt for ſetling their Devices at home: And in the Condition of the Worke, making us whom they conceived to be the weaker for Oppoſition, to bee nothing elſe but a leading Caſe for *England*. And that although by the Power of God, which is made perfect in Weakneſſe, they have found amongſt us greater Reſiſtance, then they did feare, or either they or our ſelves could have apprehended: Yet, as it hath beene the Will of God that wee ſhould endure the Heate of the Day; ſo in the Evening the

pretious

pretious Wages of the Vindication of Religion, Liberties, and Lawes are to be received by both Kingdoms, and will enrich wee hope to our unſpeakable Joy, the preſent Age, and the Poſteritie with Bleſſings that cannot bee valued, and which the good People of *England* eſteeme more than Treaſures of Gold, and willingly would have purchaſed with many Thouſands. Wee doe not plead that Conſcience and Piety have moved ſome Men to ſerve GOD upon their owne Coſt, and that Juſtice and Equity have directed others, where the Harveſt hath been common, to conſider the Paines of Labouring, and the Charges of the Sowing, yet this much may we ſay, that had a forraine Enemy, intending to reduce the whole Iſland into Popery, made the firſt Aſſault upon our Weakneſſe, Wee nothing doubt, but the Kingdome of *England*, from their Deſire to preſerve their Religion, and Liberties, would have found the Way to beare with us the Expenſe of our Reſiſtance, and lawfull Defence, how much more being invaded, although not by *England*, yet from *England*, by common Enemies, ſeeking the ſame Ends, wee expect to be helped and relieved.

Wee will never conceive that it is either the Will, or the Well and Honour of *England*, that wee ſhould goe from ſo bleſſed a Worke after ſo many grievous Sufferings, bearing on our Backs the inſupportable Burdens of worldly Neceſſities, and Diſtreſſes, return to our Countrey empty, and exhauſted, in which the People of all Rankes, Sexes, and Conditions, have ſpent themſelves. The Poſſeſſions of every Man, who devoted himſelfe heartily to this Cauſe, are burdened, not onely with his own perſonall, and particular Expenſe, but with the publike and common Charges; of which, if there bee no Reliefe, neither can our Kingdome have Peace at Home, nor any more Credit for Commerce Abroad: Nor will it bee poſſible for us, either to aide, and aſſiſt our Friends, or to reſiſt and oppoſe the reſtleſſe, and working Wickedneſſe of our Enemies: The beſt Sort will loſe much of the Sweetneſſe of the enjoying of their Religion, and Liberties; and others will run ſuch Wayes, and undirect Courſes, as their deſperate Neceſſities will drive them into. Wee ſhall be but a Burthen to our ſelves, a Vexation unto others, of whoſe Strength we deſire to be a conſiderable Part, and a fit Subject for our Enemies to worke upon, for obtaining their now diſappointed, but never dying Deſires.

Wee will not alledge the Example of other Kingdomes, where the Loſſes of neceſſarie and juſt Defence had been repaired by the other Party; nor will wee remember what Helpe wee have made according to our Abilities to other Reformed Kirks; and what the Kingdome of *England* of old, and of late hath done to *Germany*, *France*, and *Holland*; nor doe we uſe ſo many Words, that *England* may be burthened, and we eaſed, or that this ſhould be a Matter of our Covetouſneſſe, and not of their Juſtice and Kindneſſe; Juſtice, in reſpect of our Adverſaries, who are the Cauſes of the great Miſery and Neceſſity, to which wee have been brought: Kindneſſe, in the Supply of our Wants, who have beene tender of the Welfare of *England* as of our own, that, by this Equality and mutuall Reſpect, both Nations may be ſupported in ſuch Strength, and Sufficiencie, that wee may bee the more ſerviceable

viceable to his Majeſty, and abound in every good Work, both towards one another, and for the Comfort and Reliefe of the Reformed Kirks beyond the Seas, that we may all bleſſe GOD, and that the Bleſſing of GOD may be upon us all.

The ENGLISH *Peeres Demand concerning the Preceeding Articles.*

Whether this be a poſitive Demand, or onely an Intimation of the Charge, thereby to induce the Kingdome of *England*, to take your diſtreſſed Eſtate into Conſideration, and to afford you ſome friendly Aſſiſtance.

The SCOTTISH *Commiſſioners Anſwer to this Demand.*

Wee would be no leſſe willing to bear our Loſſes if wee had Abilitie, than wee have beene ready to undergoe the Hazard; but becauſe the Burthen of the whole doth farre exceed our Strength, Wee have (as is more fully conceived in our Papers) repreſented to your Lordſhips, our Charges, and Loſſes, not intending to demand a totall Reparation, but of ſuch a proportionable Part, as that wee may in ſome Meaſure beare the Remanent, which wee conceive your Lordſhips (having conſidered our Reaſons) will judge to bee a Matter, not of our Covetouſneſſe, but of the ſaid Juſtice, and Kindneſſe of the Kingdome of *England*.

Propoſition of the PEERES *to proceed to the other Demands during the Debate of the* SCOTTISH *Loſſes.*

That in the Interim whilſt the Houſes of Parliament take into Conſideration, your Demand of Loſſes, and Dammages, you proceed to ſettle the other Articles of the Peace, and Incourſe betwixt the two Kingdomes.

Anſwer to the PEERES *Demand.*

Wee have repreſented our Loſſes, and thereby our diſtreſſed Condition ingenuouſly, and in the Singleneſſe of our Hearts, with very great Moderation, paſſing over many Things which to us are great Burthens, that there might be no Difficulty, nor Cauſe of Delay on our Part, hoping that the honourable Houſes of Parliament, would thereby be moved at their firſt Conveniencie to take the Matter to their Conſideration.

We doe not demand a totall Reparation, nor doe we ſpeake of the Payment, till wee conſult about the ſetling of a ſolid Peace, at which Time the Wayes of lifting and paying the Money, may be conſidered; Wee doe onely deſire to know what Proportion may be expected. That this being once determined, and all Impediments, ariſing from our by-paſt Troubles, removed, Wee may with the greater Confidence, and more hearty Conſent on both Sides proceed to the eſtabliſhing of a firme and durable Peace for Time to come.

It

It is not unknowne to your Lordſhips, what deſperate Deſires, and miſerable Hopes ou Adverſaries have conceived of a Breach upon this Article; and we doe fore e what Snares to us, and Difficulties to your Lordſhips may ariſe upon the poſtponing and laying aſide of this Article to the laſt Place.

And therefore that our Adverſaries may be out of Hope, and we out of Feare, and that the ſetling of Peace may be the more eaſie: We are the more earneſt, that as the former Articles have bin, ſo this may be upon greater Reaſons conſidered in its owne Place, and Order.

Your Lordſhips upon the Occaſion of ſome Motions made heretofore of the tranſpoſing of our Demands, doe know, that not onely the Subſtance, but the Order of the propounding of them, is contained in our Inſtructions. And as we can alter nothing without Warrant, the craving whereof will take more Time than the Houſes of Parliament will beſtow upon the Conſideration of this Article, ſo are wee acquainted with the Reaſons yet ſtanding in Force, which moved the ordering of this Demand. And therfore let us ſtill be earneſt with your Lordſhips, that there be no halting here, where the Adverſaries did moſt, and we did leaſt of all, by reaſon the Juſtice, and Kindneſſe of the Houſes of Parliament expect it.

Anſwer of the PARLIAMENT *to the preceding Demand.*

Reſolved upon the Queſtion,

That this Houſe thinke fit, that a friendly Aſſiſtance and Reliefe ſhall be given towards Supply of the Loſſes, and Neceſſities of the *Scots*, and that in due Time this Houſe will take into Conſideration the Meaſure and Manner of it.

The SCOTTISH *Commiſſioners Anſwer.*

As wee do with all Thankfulneſſe receive the friendly, and kind Reſolution of the Parliament, concerning our Sixt Demand; and doe therein acknowledge your Lordſhips noble Dealing, for which wee may aſſure that the whole Kingdome of *Scotland* will at all Occaſions expreſſe themſelves in all Reſpect and Kindneſſe; ſo doe we entreat your Lordſhips to repreſent to the Parliament our earneſt Deſire, that they may bee pleaſed, how ſoone their Conveniencie may ſerve, to conſider of the Proportion, wiſhing ſtill, that as wee expect from our Friends the Teſtimonies of their Kindneſſe and friendly Aſſiſtance, ſo the Juſtice of the Parliament may be declared, in making the Burden more ſenſible to the Prelats, and Papiſts (our Enemies, and Authors of all our Evills) than to others, who never have wronged us; which will not only give unto us, and the whole Kingdome of *Scotland*, the greater Satisfaction, but will alſo (as wee doe conceive) conduce much to the Honour of the Kings Majeſty and Parliament. Wee doe alſo expect that your Lordſhips will bee pleaſed to report unto us the Anſwer of the Parliament,

ment, that wee may in this, as in our former Articles, give Accompt to thoſe who ſent us.

The PEERES *Demand upon the above written Anſwer.*

Wee deſire to underſtand, ſince (as wee conceive) the Particulars are like to require much Time, whether wee may not from you let the Parliament know, that (whileſt they are debating of the Proportion, and the Wayes how their kinde Aſſiſtance may bee raiſed) you will proceed to the agreeing of the Articles of a firme and durable Peace, that thereby both Time may bee ſaved, and both Sides proceed mutually with the greater Cheerfulneſſe and Alacrity.

The SCOTTISH *Commiſſioners Anſwer to the preceding Demand.*

As we deſire a firme Peace, ſo it is our Deſire that this Peace may bee with all mutuall Alacrity ſpeedily concluded. Therefore let us entreat your Lordſhips to ſhew the Parliament from us, that how ſoone they ſhall be pleaſed to make the Proportion knowne to us, that wee may ſatisfie the Expectation of thoſe who have entruſted us, (which we conceive may be done in a ſhort Time, ſince they are already acquainted with all the Particulars of our Demand) wee ſhall ſtay no longer upon the Manner and Wayes of raiſing the Aſſiſtance, which may require a longer Time: And yet wee truſt will be with ſuch Conveniencie determined, as may ſerve for our timous Reliefe: But remitting the Manner and Wayes to the Opportunities of the Parliament, ſhall moſt willingly proceed to the Conſideration of the following Articles; eſpecially to that which wee moſt of all deſire, a firme and bleſſed Peace.

Januar. 16.

Reſolved on the Queſtion,

That this Houſe doth conceive, that the Summe of three hundreth Thouſand Pounds is a fit Proportion for that friendly Aſſiſtance and Reliefe, formerly thought fit to bee given, towards the Supply of the Loſſes and Neceſſities of our Brethren of *Scotland.* And that this Houſe will, in due Time, take into Conſideration the Manner how, and the Time when, the ſame ſhall be raiſed.

Anſwer of the SCOTS *Commiſſioners.*

We intreat your Lordſhips, whoſe Endeavours GOD hath bleſſed in this great Work, to make knowne to the Parliament, that We doe no leſſe deſire to ſhew our Thankfulneſſe for their friendly Aſſiſtance and Reliefe, than We have been earneſt in demanding the ſame. But the Thankfulneſſe which

We

We conceive to be due, doth not consist in our Affections or Words at this Time; but in the mutuall Kindnesse, and reall Demonstrations to bee expected from the whole Kingdome of *Scotland* in all Time comming: and that not onely for the Measure and Proportion, which the Parliament hath conceived to bee fit; and which (to begin our Thankfulnesse now) We doe in Name of the whole Kingdome cheerfully accept of, but also for the Kinde and Christian Manner of granting it unto us, as to their *Brethren*, which addeth a Weight above many thousands, and cannot bee compensed but by paying their reciprocall Love and Duty of *Brethren*; and for the Resolution to consider in due Time of the raising of the same for our Reliefe, which also maketh the Benefit to be double. This maketh us confident that God (whose working at this Time hath been wonderfull) hath decreed the Peace and Amity of the two Kingdomes, and will remove all Rubbes out of the Way, that our Enemies will at last despaire to divide us, when they see that God hath joyned us in such a Fraternity; and that divine Providence will plentifully recompence unto the Kingdome of *England*, this their Justice and Kindnesse, and unto *Scotland* all their Losses, which shall not by these and other Means amongst our selves be repaired, but by the rich and sweet Blessings of the Purity and Power of the Gospell, attended with the Benefites of an happy and durable Peace under his Majesties long and prosperous Reigne, and of his royall Posterity to all Generations.

The Passionate Remonstrance of the POPE in his Conclave at *ROME*, upon the disasterous Disappointments given to the *Roman* Cause, by the late Proceedings and great Covenant of *SCOTLAND*. With a Reply of Cardinall DE BARBARISME, in the Name of the *Roman* Clergy. 1641.

Together with a Letter of Intelligence from the Apostolicke Nuntio (now residing in LONDON) to Pope *URBAN* the Eighth.

Ridentem dicere verum nil vetat.

YOU that are the Light of the World, the Beauty of Truth and Zeal (Most holy Assembly, to which the Title of Candor doth properly belong) You Fathers of Integrity, Sons and Heirs, as well of my Institutions, as Designes, whom my holy Benediction hath erected to be the Ornament of the Church, throned in all Catholicall Graces; If naturall Compunction touch you truly, you have found how your most deare Primitive Mother's Heart hath received a late Wound from the Adversaries, and how a Number of Impostors are risen up, preaching a new Sedition, and drawing

her very Life-blood, her Blood of Honour from her ſweet tender Sides: The fearfulleſt Blow our Cauſe ever felt, the lowdeſt Tempeſt that ever Hereticall Schiſme could rouſe, doth now rage moſt furiouſly, and threatens to pull up our Sacred Throne by the very Roots; it hath made S. *Peter*'s tremble, ſhook the very Altars and Statues, and affrighted the Aſhes of ſleeping Popes: We have certainly gotten a Maſter-check, never felt Extremity like this; Amazement covers us, our infallible Staffe doth faile us, and for very Feare our myſterious Miter is turned Paralytick; thick Darkneſſe dwells upon this Houre: Integrity, like one of Heaven's bright Luminaries, by Error's dull Element interpoſing, ſuffers a black Eclipſe; the Locuſts of Hell are let looſe, and if they be not ſwept away, we may reſolve to make Bone-fires of all the Books of the Vaticane, and let all the Religious turne Knights errant: It is to be feared (my Diſciples) leſt this new-fangled Hereſie pervert Nations, and Realmes, to an open Revolt from our ſpirituall Scepter, and theſe Innovators ſpread over the World, cover the Earth's Face, and make dark the Land like *Egyptian* Graſhoppers.

The Affront which our Holineſſe receives, doth the more afflict us, becauſe it comes from that Kingdome of *Scotland*, the moſt infortunate and inconſiderable Angle in the World, a People not worthy to be beloved nor ſought after: Yet our Conſcience beares Us Witneſſe, how affectionatly we have offered unto them our apoſtolicall Embracements, but they hated to be reformed. And to the End that rebellious Nation, might be brought under, You know, how I have moſt laborioufly beſtirred the Strength of *Machiavell*, and diligently ſollicited *Ignatius* Subtilties, who, like a glittering Serpent with his reſplendent Poyſons, can moſt divinely creep into the very Souls of the moſt impregnable Common-wealths and teach them how to deprive Life and Motion from Us; what great Proofes we have had of their Dexterities in ſuch Convoys, the whole Chriſtian World can this Day bear Record; how nimbly likewiſe thoſe Emiſſaries, (fraughted with the ſame Excellencies) went about the great Work called *The Poſſeſſion of the World*, to make it Ours, you have learned by the Informations of our Secretaries, and Addreſſes of our Nuncio's, and may likewiſe judge by the Records of the Articles and Aſſurances which they duly diſpatch from theſe Parts. The continuall Current of that Primate's Intelligence, who for his active Zeale deſerveth well to be called, The *Genius* of the diſtreſſed Church in *England*, did ſweetly refreſh our longing Soules with glad Tydings, and conceived faire Hopes in our Hearts. We have juſtly ripened him with the Beames of our Favour, and we muſt all confeſſe, that howſoever We laid our Commands both thick and faſt upon him, his Allegeance notwithſtanding was ever devoted to Us in a boundleſſe Obedience, the humbleſt, yet mightieſt of all filiall Duties; full well he knew the Language of my Intent, and moved by my ſanctimonious Breath, He hath propined moſt abundantly to that Nation (and I hope effectually too; for the Buſineſſe of the Univerſall Monarchy went well on, I ſaw it in an *Egyptian* Glaſſe) the moſt pure Waters which run from the Threſhold of S. *Peter*'s Sanctuary: Which makes this good ghoſtly Father, amongſt thoſe yet unhallowed Heretiques, to be branded as great and prime

Incen-

Incendiary of all Christendome, who with the *French* Cardinall tosseth Kingdomes like Tenisbals: We heard he can negotiat most handsomely, and factiously, with pleasant Subtilty, and bewitching Courtship, abuse the infatuate State with Delight; he muzles the barking Tongue-men of the Time; and as cunningly as ever the *Florentine* Monster could poyson the faireſt Common-wealth of *Europe* with his Politicks, so hath he most Episcopally exalted our Church Hierarchy, and established a spirituall Government there, and now happily, advanced the Opinion of our Glory, to that Eminency, that the two tutelar Angels of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, stick not almost to maintaine the Myter, of equall Dignity with the Scepter; nay, so good Proficients were they in his apostolicall Canons, that as boldly durst they kick against the one, as spurn at the other: Thus were we hopefull to see the old Quarrell of the *Gwelfes*, and *Gibellines*, * enflame the Swords of Potentates, and die the Copes of *English* Cardinals, with the Blood of Hereticks; for the Course which he ran, seemed to be infallible, as the Prophecies of the Old Testament, immoveable as Fate, and tollerat by Heavens Connivance: And thus like a cunning Catholick, burning with Zeal of the great Cause, and desirous to bring that fatall, and neighbouring Nation under our Banner, and within the Bosome of the Church Catholick, he fastned upon the most promising and apparant Meanes, which our Conclave could teach him, and put the same to as assured Execution, as if *Ignatius* Spirit, had made Pythagoricall Transmigration to his venerable Brains. For the truly Æquivocall Father of that Church, with his Fellow-labourers, the *Scottish* Prelates, caused compyle a Service Book, (to the great Service of our Church) wherein were most divinely couched, the true Orthodox Tenets, of the Ancient, Apostolick, and Catholick Faith; but ever opposed by the Enemies of the Truth in that Land; and in this Web of their Composure, they had so ingeniously interlaced, (for though the Generals were given out from Us, yet we committed the Particulars to their owne Discretion, *respectivè* in Times and States,) the sweet Embellishments of our Art, and the Majestie and Decency of our Missall, that none could well discover at the first Glance, the Girnes of our Holy Treason, by which we would have surprised the Heretick Soules, nor the Mysterie of the Work, unlesse they had the Benefit of *Gregory* the Great, and *Bedae's* Spectacles, or *Calvine's* Perspective, by which he saw the Antichrist say Masse within the Walls of *Rome*. And those Reverend Presbyters of these Northerne Churches, who sought not themselves, nor the Glory of this present World, that they might elude the People alwayes jealous of Novations, and dally with Princes, they advocate Authority, and caused animat the Book with the strong Influence of a secular Power.

S'il est vray peut bien est re.

* Two Germain Brethren; the one whereof maintained the Popes Honour above the Emperour; the other sustained the Emperours Dignitie above the Popes: whereupon they fought, and the one killing the other, their Quarrell was spread throughout all *Italie*.

This

This Drift walkt apace uncenſured, never queſtioned but in Thought, with a Whiſle or Whiſper, and what ever Diſappointment it hath met with ſince, what ever Misfortune hath ſtopped the Current, and very Spring of theſe Advancements, and Over-flowings, it ought not to be imputed to that never-enough deſerving Prelate, who is of the true Champ, and perfectly ſincere: But theſe other of *Scotland*, who were but his Κατεχύμενοι, and Neophytes, have given a little weake Evidence of their good Breeding in their Profeſſion. For the politick Inſtitutor had ſhown them the true and Catholick Paths, and mounted them on the Chariots of Dignity and Power. But once elevate to a Sphere too high, and not able to ſuſtaine ſuch Happineſſe, Powder was not more ambitious when the Match met it, than their Mindes to mount; which emboldened them to preſſe our holy Will a little immaturely: Their prepoſterous Zeal, blown up with Supererogation of Obedience, did anticipate the Maturity of our Deſignes, with an unluckie Diſcovery, to the eternall Diſaſter of thoſe Politicians, and back ſliding of the great Cauſe; had they gone more ſoftly, they had come more ſwiftly to *Rome*; but (good Souls) preſuming on the faire Path of their Meaning, went a little raſhly on, and brought within the Wildernes of an Heretical, though National Law, by ſome Lines or Words dropt unadviſedly out, did innocently hurt the good Cauſe, and gave the Adverſary Advantage by it; had they with an inſinuating Diſtance, played a while with the Eare, and grop't the Peoples Mindes, and found to what Point their Blood moſt inclined, and by ſtrong Epiſcopall Reaſons violented their Soules; had they prepared them with Purgatives, before they adhibited the Book of Miſſall, too ſtrong for the Puritanicall Complexion of the *Scots*, this Day we might have gone in Proceſſion, and ſung *Te Deum*, whereas we now ſhrink under an abortive Wound, and are met to celebrate the Funerals of the moſt important Members of our Church, and moſt conſiderable Souldiours of that Northern Conqueſt. The ſooner they diſperſed their Novations, and the more imperiouſly they urged Obedience, the ſooner they haſtened to the diſplaying of all, and looſed the fair Advantages of Times and Plots. If they had not tempted the Eye of Jealouſie too much, they ſhould quickly have gained, no Queſtion, the Laicks, Sons and Daughters, of their meritorious Seducements.

But when, before the Fulneſſe of Time, the Book pointed out his unknowne Head, O how it was moſt profanely perſecute; and how the ſharpe Invectives, like Points of Spears, have rent and diſcovered his Bowels! It was abhorred as a leprous Brood, and every Parrot in the Land was taught to raile Reproaches, the very Children to preach againſt it, and every Mouth could moſt profuſely vomit forth his Blaſphemies. The uncatholical Multitude, like the ſpectacled Inquiſitors of *Venice*, durſt pick out Syllables of Hereſie, againſt the Canonicall Liberties of our Church Diſcipline: The Laicall Judgements durſt canvaſe the Myſteries of our Conclave, and queſtion our Infallibility: But if our Holineſſe had doubted their Skill in Cheating of Soules; If we had not thought they had been more ſpaniolized Gameſters, We ſhould have taught them the Times and Secrets of State, and wrought out

out our holy Purpoſes more ſoftly, and at length found Means to make them ſwallow it over as greedily, and with as implicite Obedience, as ever the *Turks* did their Alcoran: but we thought, it was no Matter of Difficulty to reconcile that ſilly Lunatick Church with ours, eſpecially ſince they began to have a Communion of Words with Us, and uſed familiarly that Idiome, which once heard of before amongſt them, would have made a whole Church fall into a Swound, ſo much did we confide the continuall Aſſurances of our Attourneyes amongſt them as the Cabinet of my Intelligences can well inſtruct: And therfore our diſeaſed Prelates would have done well, ſometimes to have throwne into the Peoples Eares, out of Pulpits, the Authority of Councels, and guilded over the Rudeneſſe of their Pillules with the Homilies of Fathers; yet faithfull Soules, we know their Intentions were meerly and purely Catholicall; but the affectionat Paſſion to approve themſelves obſequious to our holy Deſires, made them prove too Herculean, that offered to ſtrangle Serpents in their Craddles; for ſooner could the Segniory of *Geneva*, embrace the Miſſall, and the abject *Valdenſes* aſſent to our Supremacy, than that curſed Crew, could be moved to welcome that Book of Reformation, which we out of our holy and fatherly Care, as ſupream Head of the Church on Earth, conceived to be the Soveraigne Way to convey the Beames of our Purity, through the Darkneſs of thoſe Iſlands: but they had all drunk in ſuch a mortall Diſlike againſt it, as no Authority was able to reſtraine the ſtrong inward Thoughts of the diſloyall Subjects, and the hot Murmurings, from comming to outward Reſiſtances, which all the Eccleſiaſticall Canons could not beat down, nor ſecular Power overcome; Thus being a People without Wiſdome, given over to the Spirit of Deluſion, and Hereſie, which wrought moſt powerfully in them, and laying aſide all Subjection of their execrable Wills and Judgements, infected with that Leproſie which they ſuckt from the Arch-Enemies of the Truth with an immovable Reſolution, they combine againſt their own Anointed, and thoſe likewayes whom by the Oyl of Purity we have conſecrate to be the Biſhops of their Soules; and not knowing the Principles of implicite Obedience, they begin to ſift thoſe undoubted Verities, which are as old as the Sunne and Starres, and doe arraigne our Catholick Apoſtolicke Truths before their Tribunall; where our venerable Clergy (being the Character of our own Image) in whoſe Hands we have abſolutely put the Raignes of Eccleſiaſticall and Secular Government, muſt ſtand to their Determination, and wait upon the Diſcretion of an uſurped and hereticall Cenſure. O high Impiety! The laſt of all Nations, (whoſe Revenues could hardly afford Us Oyle to our Sallads) Is it to them we owe Account of our Infallible Wayes? Shall not they take of our Hands, which Multitudes, Nations, Peoples and Tongues, more regarded by Heavens than they, have kindly accepted? Shall they refuſe to drink of that Cup wherewith we have inebriate the Powers of the World?

No, Counſellors and Rulers of the Earth, though hitherto we have ſailed with a very proſperous Wind, and were hopefull to arrive at the Port of our Deſires,

Hinc dolor, hinc lachrymæ.

Desires, yet now certainly our Designes seeme to be scattered by a Thing which they call a *COVENANT*, even as the fired Ship put in, severed the Fleet in 88. For when this black Heresie had displayed the Ensignes of that Covenant, then whole Squadrons, Legions, and Numbers of Hereticks, like Frogs, were so espoused in their Soules to the Devotion thereof, that sooner might you blow away the Light from the Sunne, than pull them from their Covenant, or work up their festered Judgements to right Reason. This accursed Covenant, the King of all Monsters in Religion (which is able to make all other Monsters to be unadmired, and draw all Number to this only) out of whose Wombe, like the *Trojane* Horse, are like to come a furious Crew of undaunted Hereticks to brash the Wals of *Rome)* gives Name to a Sect, which no Nation ever heard of, and if we were to translate, we could not finde a Word to expresse the same in any Language. The Strength of our Confidence, and Life of our Hopes, all those rank Insinuations and alluring Snares wherewith we had enlived, and informed that Book of Service, like a Serpent hath got his Head bruised with a Bolt shot from that Covenant; Nature seemes to debarr us of all Meanes of Helpe; and if the sublimated Inventions of our Policies could serve to restore, yet Fortune likewayes seemes to thunder all, and threatens to shiver our Machinations; for out of the Gates of Hell doe all the Infernall Powers rush like a River, whose Current cannot be stopt; and who can stay their Course? Indeed as the God of Truth, in all the Exigencies of the Church, doth stir up the Spirit of Truth, to vindicate his Purity from the Aspersions of the wicked, who love Darkness better than Truth, so have we found a most gratious and true Witnesse amongst themselves; for their owne Countreyman (in whom all courtly and catholicall Graces doe reign and throng most eminently) hath with a very good Successe drawne his victorious and triumphing Pen against them and their Covenant; We had sufficient Hopes that his magnifick *MANIFESTO* should have curbed the Insolencies of these phanatick Covenanters, laid open their Shame to the World, or restored their diseased Judgements; but he hath fallen so many Bowes short of his reforming Intentions, that like Oyl throwne into the Flame it hath begotten whole Generations of Covenanters, who will impeach the Advancement of our Kingdome, more than ever *Mahomet*, and his Fellow *Sergius*, did obscure *Boniface*; yet the Man hath put forth great Strength of Wit, his Reward doth most duely attend him, he must have some round Preferment and corpulent Dignity, that he may leade a Lordly Life, and raile at Ease: We must let a Beame fall upon him, by which our Highnesse useth to keep Desert warm, and entertain the Life of a Holy Zeale to the great Cause. Certainly he must be *Exalted*, a Master-piece of Man, composed by Heavens for a great Prince's Favour, and Kingdome's Love: Exact Envie cannot finde a Place, to stick a Blot on his Person or Fame; We do ordaine that never-enough admired Book, The Whip and Shame

Un brave homne tout a faict, & miroir qui ne flatte point.

Honor est præmium virtutis.

This may turn Prophetical.

Shame of Covenanters, for the Glory of his moſt doctorall Indowments, and Reverence of his loyall Pains in our Service, be tranſlated in all Tongues and Languages, that his Renowne may paſſe from one End of Heaven to the other; for truly he hath moſt valiantly ſtood in the Gap to hold out this Schiſme and Hereſie from encroaching and prevailing: But the Practiſes of theſe Demoniaques are without Exemple, and all Language is too narrow to expreſſe their virulent and aculeat Humour; for they have torn theſe reverend Names of Arch-biſhops, Prelates, and Preſbyters, which ought to be uſed with holy Ceremony. They have lybelled, arraigned, ſentenced, baniſhed, and O! I'm drunk with Rage, that their Impiety might appeare in its perfect Dye to all After-ages, they have *excommunicat* the Right Reverend Fathers in God. Now my Epiſcopall Dignity lyes panting at this Wound; here Modeſty ſuffers, and all that's Virtuous bluſhes, and Truth's ſelf, like the Sunne vext with Miſt, looks red with Anger: Mine Honour is caſt off, as the Olive ſhakes off her Flower; it is all ſwept away at one Caſt: My refined Noſtrils doe ſmell a diſtracted Hurry, great Things are a-working either in Heaven or Hell: Here is a State puzzell, this execrable Impudency hath given a damnable Check to our Apoſtolicke Deſignes; it hath damped up the Way of our Catholick Stratagems; And if our undaunted Power, with the Helpe of our Sonnes, and Executioners, the Princes of the Earth, doe not obviate the Thunder-cracks of this glorious Oſtentation, and uſhering Storme of Truth's Triumph, it will certainly advance with a ſhrewd Inſolency to our own Throne, and confound the Glory of our great Name: Nay, we may make our ſelves ready for Perdition, lay by our Purple Robes, let Kings and Emperours returne to their own ſacrilegious Poſſeſſions, and drink in the Honour of Martyrdome with open Throat.

Sic erat in fatis.

They have placed alſo Propheticall Confidence in that their Covenant, as *David* did in his little Stone which he ſunk in *Goliahs* Braines, and do certainly beleeve (ſuch is the Strength of the Spirit of Deluſion) that it ſhall prove like *Daniels* Stone, hewen out of the Mountaine without Hands, which filled the Earth with the Greatneſſe thereof: We doe not diſſemble, but the Fame of it hath made the whole Members of our Hierarchie tremble and ſhiver. And if the adjacent Parts to the affected Places be not timely anointed with the Baulme of *Gilead*, which flowes moſt luxuriouſly (both for our Service and Pleaſure) from all the Common-wealths of *Europe*, to our Cabinet, as the Center of their Tribute; it may fortune to endanger, the whole Body of the Church; For it is a moſt uſurping Poyſon, mortally ſearching into all the Veines; We doe not eſteeme that deſperate Church of *Scotland*, We abhorre to waſte a Thought upon that Loſſe, which we value no more, than the Carbuncle which *Clement* the Fifth, transferring the Seat from *Avignon*, did loſe by a Fall from his Horſe. But theſe our holy Children, Paterns of Piety and Sanctitie, the Hope of our Conſolations in theſe Northerne Ilands, the great Officers of our Church, ordained before Time to propagate the ſaving Light to a Land that dwelt in Darkneſſe, theſe loyall and faithfull Miniſters of the Truth, who have devoted their Lives, and neglected the

World for our Service; these We do justly bewaile with our Apostolick Teares: It cuts our Hearts, that those Holy Patriarches should have received the Crowne of Martyrdome in so dangerous a Way; for now We do, as it were, stand over a Vault of Powder, where the Match lyes a-kindling below. And which is the Bane of our Grudgings, we begin almost to apprehend, that the Businesse of the Covenant shall prove a Leviathan Scandall, to lye rolling and troubling the Chrystall Waters of other Nations Devotions, and to the *English* especially (which was wont to be our *Puteus inexhaustus)* prove as great a Stumbling-block as the Altars and Idols of *Rome* are to the *Jewes* Conversion. Here is the true Matter of Grief, and here lies equally ingaged the Life and State of our Church. These Tragedies will fill the Adversaries Mouths, and blow the *Lutherans* Cheeks till they crack againe: Now the whole Liberty of our Church doth suffer; the Hope of absolute Monarchy begins to be Eclipsed; all Things move portentuously a strange Way: For what ever gracious Services, and worthy the fair Reverences of their Places these venerable Soules have done, yet have they nothing effectuat, but wrought out their own Death, even as the blind Moall in casting his ambitious Hills up, is often taken and destroyed in the Midst of his advanced Work. Thus while they were raising the Glory of the House of Candor, they are suddenly throwne downe, and their Building levelled to the Dust: And that Iniquity might ruine them with a more plentifull Confusion, and waste the Treasure of Revenge upon their harmlesse Soules, they have excommunicat them, and delivered them up to be buried under the Heap of Shame, never to appear again.

Pernicioſa conſilia plerumque in: Authores redundant.

Magni viri, & bene meriti de Republ. tandem obruuntur magnis procellis.

Yet all Peace be multiplied upon their most Episcopall Soules, We heartily accept their unfaigned Zeal, and pronounce them the well beloved Children of the Roman Church, though they did not well know how to personate the Businesse intrusted to them, and worke out the Salvation of the Cause with Subtilitie and Patience. * And here by the Power given to Us from above, as the Universall Bishop of the Catholicke Church, Wee doe absolve them from all Dangers of such impious Sentences gone forth against them, wherwith they would labor to staine the Face of Truth, which they call Excommunication; and upon the contrary, as really and truely, as ever *Constantine* the Great gave to *Sylvester* the Citie of *Rome*, with the Territories thereof; so in all sincere Profession, fatherly and effectuall Love, doe we most heartily bestow a free and plenarie Indulgence, for all their veniall and mortall Sinnes, to their departed Soules, and ordaine them by the Authoritie of the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, to be related amongst the Number of canonized, who have lost their Life, for the Libertie of our Kingdome; and wee doe solemnly appoint Dayes of Commemoration to be set apart, wherein a *Requiem* to be chaunted in all the Cathedralls of

* They ought not to lose their Soules in his Holinesse Service, though they have spoiled their Fortunes.

our

our See to their bleſſed Soules, though the whole Artizans of *Italy* ſhould ſtarve: Never had the Calendar of Saincts a more noble Acceſſion; never had the Adverſaries more juſt Reaſon to erect Trophees upon our Diſaſters: Let the Spirit of Diviſion, of Shame, and Confuſion, rage amongſt them unmercifully. Wee doe abſolve that indocile People from all Oath of Allegeance, and proclaime a free Libertie to any Catholike King or Republick whatſoever, to invade that Kingdome ſecurely. That it may be *Primi occupantis*; for certainly we have as juſt Reaſon to powr out the Phialls of our Indignation, and fulminate our extorted Excommunication, againſt both Prince and People, as ever *Alexander* the Third our Predeceſſour of holy Memory had, when he excommunicat his ſtubborne Vaſſall, *Henrie* the Second of *England*, and brought his Royall and haughtie Pride to that Ebb, that he was conſtrained to receive his Crowne and Confirmation thereof from Us.

But what? (invincible Souldiours in our ſpiritual Warfare) though there be a deadly Overthrow given to our beſt Reſolutions; though the King of that ſcurvie covenanting Land, like a Lyon Rampant, with a daring Courage, holds out his inexorable Sword for the Advancement of that fatall Reformation (as they call it) though thoſe wanton Hereticks do now inſupportably inſult to ſee him an arrant Covenanter, and glory more therin than all the Gold of *India*; though now they triumph moſt prophanely, and think they have victoriouſly baniſhed all Novations and barr'd out all Diſlikes, with the Rampart of an everlaſting civill Sanction, and have enthroned their Hereſie by a Municipall Law to be idolized for ever: And though likewayes it were almoſt as eaſie to blow up the whole Iſle of *Brittaine* to the Moone with a Powder Traine, as to divorce the Princes abuſed Soul, from thoſe inward and malignant Hereſies which have been propagate to him from his Uncatholicall Anceſtors; though the moſt pregnant Inſinuations have proved almoſt ineffectuall; and though the dazeling Pompe of the neighbouring Churches and Kingdomes of the World, can nothing invite him to be mollified, and, ſweetned toward Us; but, like an Adder, he ſtill ſtops his Eare at the Voice of the Charmer; and though the Alliance with the moſt Potent and Chriſtian *French* King can nothing ſerve to inveigle the Eyes of his Mind; though (my dearely beloved) all theſe heavie Verities diſcover to Us, many and huge Mountaines of Impediments, which will be hard to remove, let us gird up our Loynes notwithſtanding.

Conſiliariorum impetus, ſæpè abripiunt bonos & moderatos Principes.

Let not Us, who are the Soule and Light of the World, ſubmit our ſelves and our Cauſe to the Tyrannie of Deſpair: Recover our Game: that handfull of Heretickes are but as a Schiſmatick Pawne in the Play: High Impietie and Blaſphemie it were againſt the Apoſtolick Seat, to think the Splendor and Honour thereof could be intereſſed and clouded by any Thing from theſe Parts; for though ordinarily all Evil flowes from theſe turbulent Climats, and the *Gothes* and *Vandals* have ſundry Times made Inundation upon our Patrimony, and moſt profanely troden under Foot our Domicell, *Italy*, the Lady and Miſtris of the World, though oftentimes Emperours and Kings of the Earth, have ſhaken their

Omne malum ab Aquilone.

Scepters upon Us, and offered to ſet Bounds to our unlimited Powers and Deſires, yet I hope, we are as able to wind about the ſacrilegious Deſignes of ſecular and hereticall Factions, as ever any of our holy Predeceſſors.

Wee know perfectly how to begger Kingdomes by Diſſimulation, unjoint the faire Frame of Peace, and Traffick, poyſon Alleageance too: And the transferring of Empires, the Ruines of Kingdomes, the Excommunication and Depoſition of Kings, and Devaſtations by Fire and Sword, are the ordinary Marks and Characters (you know) of the great Stateſmen of our Order, who doe indeed moſt canonically hold, that theſe Practiſes are moſt lawful for them, conducing to the Growth of the Church, and vindicating our temporall Juriſdiction over Princes. Let us not therefore faintly give over, but ſolace our ſelves, with Memory of great Policies paſt, wherewith we have chaſtiſed Emperours, Kings, and Princes, and redacted them to the Obedience of the Mother Church: What ever we ſhall happen to loſe by Battell (as *Matchiavel* records of the *Venetians* who know all the Removes of their Game) Let us labour to recover the ſame by Treatie, and be ſtill Labourers in the great Worke; Let us aſſemble all the Powers of our Soules, and combat the Cauſe.

I'll alambique the *Sorbone* Genius, and ſquize the Subſtance of all the Common-wealthes of *Enrope*, ere I finde not a *Catholicon*, and Soveraigne Elixar for this new ſprung Poyſon, which, if the Pride thereof be not counterchecked, is able to defloure the Glory of our whole Church: No, no, thoſe who will not gentlie reſigne themſelves, to the Embracements of the ancient Apoſtolicke Truth, which we are ſent to offer and preach to the World, as the great Paſtor of the Church, muſt certainly be broken: And before our Miter be not adored by all, amongſt Nations, Tongues, and People, I will firſt threſh the Mountaines and Iſlands of the World with a Fleale, I will beat them to Powder, and fanne them before the Wind of my Wrath, I will arme the Princes of the Earth, and cauſe them to over-turne them, that they never appeare more than the Monaſteries which are ſunk about *Venice*.

An Anſwer to His Holineſſe's Remonſtrance: By Cardinall ANTONIO DI BARBIRIM, in the Name of the reſt of the *Roman* Clergy, in the Conſiſtory at *ROME*.

MOST HOLY FATHER, to whom we convert our humbleſt Duties and Sacrifices of our devoteſt Thoughts, Great Monarch of the Church, to whoſe Glory do all our Actions bend as the laſt Scope of their Advantage. We do moſt paſſionately condole the juſt Anguiſh of your afflicted Heart; certainly our Imaginations are ſo ſtrongly ſeazed, by the ſhaking of theſe turbulent Times, that wee have almoſt reſigned the whole Powers of our Soule to Feare and Wonder; our Tongues are captived, and chayned up without a Sound.

Wee can beare Record, that your Holineſſe, like Heaven's glorious Luminarie, hath bountifully diffuſed the warme Beames of Puritie through the whole

whole Church Catholicke, and every Place thereof: You have not onely guilded the Tops of the Mountaines and made the tall Cedars of *Lebanon* to laugh, ſwelling them with the Graces of your nurſing Favours; but have likewaiſe daigned to viſit the humble Vallies, and made the Marjoline and Myrrhe finde the Benignitie of your favourable Aſpect, and the Influence of your Apoſtolicke Entertainments.

Thus like the Soveraigne Good, who delights to communicate his all embracing Sweetneſs, you would extend the Skirts of your Favour upon the moſt neglected Parts of the World, even that fatall Kingdome of *Scotland* buried in Darkeneſſe and Ignorance. Wee that are the Cabinet and Depoſitary of your ſecret Workings in the Miſterie of your Epiſcopizing, doe well know how you have beene (as it were) hotly courting that ſilly People, and with what a fatherly Zeale you have wooed that rebellious and gaine-ſaying Nation, which hath anſwered the Hopes of your long-wiſhed Joy, with the high Anatheme of a cruell Covenant, and a furious Combination never to bee diſſolv'd againſt your Holineſſe, the great Officer of the Church, Chriſt's Vicegerent on Earth, and all the Maintainers of the Articles and Ceremonies of the *Romain* Faith. We wiſh our Heads were Waters, and our Eyes Fountaynes of Teares, to weep for the Calamities of our Mother. The Fears of Hereſies encreaſe, and all our diſaſtrous Diſappointments, which your Holineſſe out of the Plenitude of your Wiſedome, and Spirit of Sagacitie, hath moſt divinely laid open to our weary Soules. Wee are fallen into the Ends of the World, and Perſecution muſt come for the Elect's Sake. Now the Wicked and Hereticks doe hold the Church by the Throat, and now wee muſt move every Oare, ſtraine all Aſſiſtances, ſollicite all our devoted Crownes, and ſend forth the Kings of the Earth like victorious *Hercules*, to deſtroy the pullulating Heads of this terrible and herettical Serpent, and to ſuppreſſe that all-ſpreading Covenant of *Scotland*, the moſt horrible Invention, and uſurping Monſter that ever Hell hatched: It hath appeared like a blazing Comet in the North (with themſelves may the Event dwell of the portentuous Preſage) and hath in many, who were otherwaies in a pretty Aptitude, and Maturity to be good Catholicks, ſtirred the Spirit of Curioſity, which may marre implicite Obedience, the Subverſion of which Article will make the whole Frame of our Myſtery to crack: A dangerous Perſpective for Laicks to looke into our Conſiſtory *Per Madonna ſantiſſima di Loretta.* When we fall upon the Buſineſſe of that Northerne League, and the Enſign of the Covenant diſplayed, wee looſe our ſelves, and cannot plumb that Deep, it hath affrighted us like a Lightning, made all the Chriſtian Kings ſtart up on their Feet with an, What is it? It is ſurely a Thunderbolt, broke upon the very Head of S. *Peters*, and proudly entring, hath overturned the Alters, throwne downe the Images, diſmantled the Beauty of the Church, aſtoniſhed the whole Ligators of our Moſaick Workes, and profained the whole Glory of the Temple. A Speare it is, which thruſt through the Bowells of State Catholicke, hath dared the very Heart of ſpirituall Monarchy.

Qui malè facit, odit lucem.

Your

Your Holineſſe, whoſe vigilant Eye, doth moſt laboriouſly ſurvey the Conditions of Times and States, and with a fatherly Care watch over the Crowns and Scepters of Nations, hath in Trueth and Strength of Paſſion, moſt Epiſcopally diſcovered the Monſter begotten by the nimbleſt witted Divell, nurſt up in theſe Northern Deſarts, and deſtinat to meaſure the World with his quaint Paces. " Wee doe feare that by the Sting and Tayle of a Scorpion, it ſhall naile the tender Church throw with Shame and Torment. Let us provide it caſt no Venome beyond Seas, for then ſhall it mount over the *Alpes*, and with his poyſonable Attempts, preſume to aſſault your Holineſſe's own Domeſticks: Neither ſhall the proud *Pirennees* keepe it from thruſting in to *Spayne*, the moſt intemerate and immaculate Place of the Church Body: It will mock the ſpectacled Fathers of the Inquiſition, and creepe there inviſiblie like *Fratres Roſeæ Crucis*. And no *Index Expurgatorius* (which, like the *Purgatory* Fire, we have ever with Catholicall Lenitie uſed, either for mollifying, or eradicating other Monſters) will ſerve to correct or baniſh this one. Truely, thoſe diſeaſed Prelates (Holie Father) have ſpun us no fair Thread, nor have they proven Grand Sophies, when by the Conqueſt of that poor Kingdom (which would never make any conſiderable Acceſſion to your Revenues, but was like the Drop to the Bucket) and promoving immature Novations, they have occaſioned too innocently the Loſſe of our Game, and endangered the Myters *Reputation*.

If theſe *Perturbations* doe once come unto a deepe Working, and beginne to extend their prophaine *Petulancies*, We feare your *Holineſſe*, whoſe all adored Miter made proſtrate Crowns to tremble, and Scepters ſhake, may bee glad to bee ſheltered in S. *Angeloes* Caſtle, or run to the Hornes of the *Altar*; and wee the Suns of *Harmonie*, who are the Carbuncles which adde Splendour to your Spirituall Crowne, muſt betake our ſelves to the Favour of *Times* and *Fortunes*, and leave our goodly Dignities, with the Fat of their corpulent Affluence, to the Devotion of ſacrilegious Souldiers.

Nay, certainly, if this ſwelling Combuſtion do but offer to ſtaine the Serenity of our *Heavens* with any *Smoake*, and ſtifle our *Purity*, wee are all confounded, wee are all blowne up, and the Kings of the *Earth*, the Powers of the *World*, and every Soule of Man, even the begging *Capuchine*, who can glory of nothing but his venerable Beard, his Chapplet, and torne Breviarie, ſhall regard your Holineſſe no more, ſhall give you no more bended Knees, nor Sacrifices of real and ſpirituall Tribute, than to the Man of the Moone. And you knowe, moſt *Catholicke Monarch* of BBs, if thoſe golden Floods, which doe moſt proudly play upon the philoſophal Stones of your Vatican, be once withdrawne and call'd back to their Tributary Sources, (to which you have as undoubted and irredeemable a * Right, as to thoſe very omnipotent Keyes which you carry, and to the Monopolie of all Benefices, which you have happily engroſſed to your moſt *Archiepiſcopall* Perſon) Wee cannot but faint, who are fed by the Refreſhments of thoſe Streames: Our

* By the Right of *Merite*, and the Salique Law.

Cardinall

Cardinall Caps, beſtowed upon us by your *Holineſſe* as Garlands of our *Honour*, and *Eminencie*, muſt needs wither and fall away, and remove the Suns Beames; Where ſhall his Glory be? If we, as ſo many Earth-treading Starres, who adorne the Sky of your State be ſtript of our Beautie, if wee ſhutt and fall, in what *Primum Nobile* ſhall your Sanctity ſhine? Wee are ſet about the Seate of your Majeſtie, as Summers ſpeckled flowry Garment, and if wee bee blaſted by the Injuries of tempeſtuous Times, what ſhall embelliſh your Holineſſe: Theſe are heavy Trueths: but under the Roſe be it ſpoke *Santiſſimo Padre.* Some Blowes wee have received, more are feared: *Heavens* and *Earth* doe know, and all *Courts*, all *Churches* are filled with the Fortune or Misfortune of the *great Buſineſſe*; that abortive *Service Booke*, and thoſe *Canons*, have ſhamefully diſobliged the *Church Catholick*, and with their roaring, have awaked and diſturbed all *Chriſtendome*, and turned their ſulphurious Throates againſt their Makers. There are certainely ſome ungracious uncatholicall Planets raging, who have powred forth the Malignitie of their venomous Influence upon your reforming and *fatherly Undertakings.* The *Heavens* diſtill their ſterner Frownes, and threaten us with their baddeſt *Aſpects*. Wee were ready to teare the Clouds with Bells ringing, and Prieſts ſinging, and thought the Smoake of our *Bonfires* ſhould ſhortly aſcend to *Heaven*, and ſtaine the *Sunnes* Face: *But, holie Father*, it's no Time for quaint Speaking; wee ought not *diſſemble*, nor uſe *Indulgence* to our *Wound*. Let us *mittigate* and rectifie our *Woes* as *cunningly* and *quietly* as wee may, the Spate of *diſaſtrous Calamitie* hath almoſt drowned our *faire Hopes* in *Deſpaire*. A cold *Feare* ſits black on each of our *Hearts*; we have not beene *well inward* with the Minde of *Deſtinie* in the Buſineſſe of theſe *Northerne Negotiations*. It ſeemes we have not beene ſufficiently aſſiſted, but deſerted in this Particular: *Conſult the Propheſies, ſet your Aſtrologitians a Worke*; may be you finde (*but Heavens bleſſe the Church Catholicke*, and avert) that ſome of theſe *Northerne Princes* have *Capricornum aſcendentem in Horoſcopo*, which is, and hath ever beene the moſt *fatall* and *malevolent* Signe to the *Roman Empire* in all the *Zodiaque:* And for the Trueth heereof, Wee call the *Times* † never to bee forgotten, and *Hiſtories* of all *Ages*, to witneſſe: From thence, indeed, doe the firſt Cloudes appeare: And as in your *Holineſſe Remonſtrance* was piouſly obſerved, all Propagations of Empyres, all Irruptions and Effuſions of People, are ever found to have beene from the ‖ North to the South. If this bee the Inclination of our averſe Spheares thus unkindely to uſe Us; if this be the Purpoſe of him who beholds the Ends of the World, to preſent this Cup to the *Romane* Prelacie, and put our ſpirituall Kingdome, which wee beleeve ſhall proſper ſo long as the Heavens cover the Earth, thus in Jeopardie; certainely thoſe uncircumciſed Lyons will teare Us to Pieces, and make Banners

Uno dato abſurdo, multa ſequuntur.

Tout bellement Meſſieurs.

† *Imp. Carolus* V. *Franſ. Rex Galliæ, Carolus Corbonius. Coſmus Med. Florentiæ Dux.*

‖ *Aſſyrii vicerunt Chaldeos. Aſſyrios Medi: Græci Perſas: Romani Pœnos: Gothi Romanos: Turcæ fregerunt Arabes: Tartari Turcas: Angli Gallos: Scoti Anglos.*

of

of our Catholicke Skinnes, and ſcratch your Myter (whoſe Shaddow was reverenced by Princes of the Earth) to very contemptible and forgotten Atomes, and powder your ſupreame ſelfe in *Luthers* Barrell: They will ſacke your Citie, the Queene of the Earth, treade upon the Worlds Trophees, and fill the holieſt Place with Abhomination of Deſolation.

Where ever wee ſend foorth our enquiring Eyes, they report nothing from all the Corners of the World, but ſad Entertainements of theſe Feares, and Appearances of Mutations from that Kingdom of *Scotland*, (which is now moſt deſperately diſeaſed of a ſwelling Tympanie or ſome Pluresie, incurable but by the voiding of that prevayling Bloud which over-rules or offends the Head, and choakes the Heart,) as the Source of our Reproach, the Fountaine of our Shame, doe wee deryve, the Streames of our Injuries and Calamities, and to thoſe all-deſpiſed Hereticks likewayes do we juſtly impute the Advancements of the ſame. Your Holineſſe ever ſollicit to gain that which is loſt, had emitted your faithfull Labourers, and planted a Vine, * which for the Time was very luxuriant, and did proudly ſpring like *Jonas* Gourd, but alas, that unexpected poyſonable Worme of the Covenant, hath encroached upon the Heart thereof, and vowed to ſuck out the very Soule of it.

Eheu quam levibus pereunt ingentia cauſis!

Nay, this Worme is like to bee metamorphoſed in a flying Dragon, and infeſt the whole Chriſtian World. Your Holineſſe did mercifully elance a ſaving Beame upon that Cimmerian Land; which was kindly welcommed by thoſe who had ſubmitted themſelves to bee doctrinate by our fomenting † Suggeſtions, and it did moſt effectually animate them to great Performances; Wee were made hopefull to ſee the Day break foorth gloriouſly, for the Cockes fell a crowing, which told us the Nights Departure, yet have they maliciouſly cloſed their Eyes, ‖ rejected the Lights Comfort, and moſt bitterly baniſhed thoſe faithfull Evangeliſts, nay with a more perfect Hatred and meritorious Violence than ever *Loyala's* Tribe was turned out from among the ſtraight-lac't *Venetians*; and now they thinke (reprobate Soules) that they have reproachfully mounted them as it were on the Aſſes of Indignitie, and ſend them to the Land of *Nod* with an *Ecco la fico*, yet nothing ſo, but the pale Horſe of a Civill, and Temporall Death at worſt; upon which, triumphing Martyrs, they have entred Paradiſe, and neceſſary it was, bleſſed Father, that they ſhould bee removed from the Contagions, and Converſation of the Wicked, that when the deſerved Devaſtations and Devourings ſhall break forth in the Fulneſſe of their Rage, they might laugh at their Perſecutors in the Day of their Deſtruction: Thus was the good *Joſias* called to his eternall Home before *Babilon*'s Captivitie, and the moſt Catholicke Biſhop S. *Auguſtine*'s Death, like a gentle Starres Fall, did fore-run and point out the Subverſion of the City of *Bone*. Thoſe are the Ramparts of the Church, which muſt be taken down, that the Inundation of Deſolation may burſt in

* The Service Booke, which produced moſt ſoveraign, and generous Grapes.

† Their Eyes were anointed with ompotent Baulme.

‖ Light is ſowen for the Righteous.

and

and ſwallow the Trophees of inſulting Hereſie; for even as the ſagacious Swallow, doth retire her young Ones, before the approaching Fall of the craſie Vault: ſo are the bleſſed Souls, Heaven's Minions promiſcuouſly confounded with the tumultuous Heretickes, ſingled by, and lift above the Reach of Danger, before the publicke Ruines. All theſe Impieties and Oppreſſions have no more harmed, than if a Man out of his Fury and Anger would thinke to afflict and drowne the harmeleſſe captived Fiſh by throwing it in a River; For wee are bold to perſwade in the Courage of victorious ſpirituall Souldiers, that all theſe Sentences, Excommunications, Extruſions, and other Furies, whereby ſacrilegious Blaſphemie hath exerced the Height of Tyrannie againſt Trueths Heraulds, ſhall prove in End like *Sampſon*'s Lyon, out of the ſtrong ſhall come ſweet, their Righteouſneſſe ſhall ſpreade as the Morning, and their Glory ſhall be terrible as an Armie with Banners: though they now ſleepe, yet it is not to the Death. Indeed Fortune for all this, hath dealt Us a very bad Game at this Tour, but yet a little, and the Cards ſhall bee ſhiffled; they have refuſed our ſaving and Catholick Curteſies, and kickt againe, they have affrighted Us with Lightnings; but may bee, wee ſhall cruſh thoſe terreſtriall Heads with Thunder, and blow away their Deſignes as Chaffe before the Winde: And though the *Lutherans* and our Adverſaries doe fatten themſelves with their Inſultings over Us, and thinke we have ſo deeply taſted the Bitterneſſe of that laſt Overthrow, which our Catholick Friends, * your Holineſſe's nimble Executioners, and thoſe likewayes of your Holineſſe's owne Familie did latelie ſuffer by Sea, in advancing your Evangelicall Intentions; and though they ſtick not to flatter their abuſed Souls with this Confidence, that now there are no more *Conſtantines* to be found, who dare hold up the Banner of the Croſſe, nor any to march under the ſame, yet muſt we be eſpouſed to new Reſolutions of Recovery, and let the triumphing Snakes duly find that our Arms are not ſhortned, our Wings are not clipt, and that neither are the Kingdoms ſubjected to our two all-commanding Swords, exhauſt of the true Faith's Defenders; nor *India* and *Peru*, yet prompt of red and white Earth, which ſhall produce Us Children to maintain Truth's Garland, even in the Midſt of our Enemies, for our Chymiſts are excellent Operators, and can extract the ſoveraign Baulm, and very effectually apply it to the ſuſpected Places, which being cunningly adhibite with the Concurrence of your Apoſtolike Benedictions and Encouragements, wee have ſeene have ſuch a powerfull Operation, that it hath never ceaſed till awaking an inteſtine Diſcord, at length it hath caſt out all redundant and noxious Humours, and expelled the Root of the Diſeaſe. And as to that little Shuffle which our Apoſtolicke Navy hath received, partly by the Indiſcretion of the Sea, and Uncurteſie of the Windes, (for among theſe *Hugenotes*, the very Aire and Water are Puritans) and partly by the Neglect and Connivance of Princes; Be it knowne wee have already digeſted that little tickling Pill of Misfortune, as clearely as wee have eclipſed the Memorie of the † Creſcent in 88.

* The *Spaniards* and *Italians*.

† The Armado which came diſplayed in Forme of the Moone Creſcent.

But here we ſpare to ſtretch our ſelves on theſe Regates, your Epiſcopall Providence will ſmell the Storme afarre, looke to the prevailing thereof, and find out the moſt powerfull Meanes to elude the Dangers of theſe tumbling Times, that the afflicted Church, as the Lilly among Thornes, may looke ſweet and glorious as the Moone in her full Pride: Yet by the Preſumptions of Times, one Thing ſeemes to bee ſure, if wee might ſee Fates Booke, the Senate Houſe of Planets hath at no Time beene more unfriendly ſet for the acting of ſome ſtrange Trage-comedie in *Europe*.

Which makes Us call to Minde the pernicious Propheſies of thoſe Unchriſtian Dames, thoſe *Sybilles*, who like phanatick *Syrenes*, have intoxicate the World, and ſo ſtrongly poſſeſt the Soules of thoſe who are converſant with Curioſity, that many good Catholickes, and of high Endowments, poyſoned with their *Greek* Muſick, doe entertaine ſecret Opinions and Fears of a very fatall Period, ordained for our ſpirituall Kingdome; for in thoſe their prophane Invectives, and hell-blowne Satyrs, wherewith they have perſecuted your Holineſſe's Throne (as the Spirit of Deluſion doth cheate the Worlds Beliefe) and your Seate; this Citie likewayes (which looks like the Moone amongſt the leſſer Starres) though ſhee bee ſtellified to Heaven, yet thoſe unpure Spirits, with their uſurping uncatholicall Pens, have preſumed to lay her Horne in the Duſt; and they have preſented the Map * of after-times (to thoſe who will idolize their Oracles) ſo farre to the Diſadvantage and Shame of your Holineſſe's high Calling, that all the reſplendant Rayes of our dazeling Pomp, wherewith wee have obfuſcaed, even at a great Diſtance, the reſt of Nations, muſt bee drowned for ſooth in the Smoake of an utter Ruine and endleſſe Confuſion, Your Holineſſe's Purple, and our ſcarlet Roabes wherewith wee darkned the Eyes of Beholders, and enamoured the admiring Stranger, by a prophane and poeticall Fury they have turned over our Heads, and rejoyce to have our Nakedneſſe diſplay'd to the World. Surely a ſtrange Enthuſiaſme in theſe Feminine Braines; yet theſe Times may fortune to renew the Ideas, which thoſe chimerick Impreſſions have given to the more facile Soules, who are eaſily carried about with every Winde of Beliefe; for now there is a great Unconſtancie and certayne Kinde of Branktings in many Parts, even amongſt the Sons of your Inſtitutions, Heires of your unmeaſured Deſignes, Expectants of the Bleſſed Chaire, and thoſe, on whom *Ignatius*, and *Matchiavell*, the two Genius of the Myter, had powred a double Meaſure of their Spirits.

Spirituall and Temporal Counſellors.

Every Alteration in States, even to the better, your Holineſſe knowes is dangerous: And whether the Newes of this great Change, of a Patriarch to bee ſet up in *France*, have arrived at your Holineſſe ghoſtly Eares, or not, wee are ignorant: You may deſcend to view what Face the Purpoſe hath, and try the Pedigree from whom it came, and whether it goes. Out of the Profundity of your infallible Judgement, your Holineſſe can obviate the Im-

* In the ſecond Book of the Oracles of *Sybilla*, at this Part — *hominum tu denique ſeclum, exiſtes decimum.*

pertinencie

pertinencie of any Event, and devance the Conſequence of this ſpringing. You beſt know, what conduceth both to the Glory, Grouth, and Indemnitie of the Church, and for the Honour and Majeſtie of your owne Throne: But truly, Wee the Fathers of the Conclave, doe thinke it to bee a very ſtrange Boutade, and a labouring Deſigne, pregnant with many monſtrous Productions; and that his vehement and polypragmaticke Spirit, through the Inſolencie and Indulgence of a ſwelling Fortune, cannot reſt, but making Eruption beyond the Limits of his Vocation, with an inordinate Appetite of Glory, ſhall aſpire to the Top of the Pyramide. Such exorbitant Humours are moſt apt to confound the Order of Geometrick Proportion; and beeing voyde of a politique Manſuetude, indocile or blinde Obedience, Lovers of Mutations, are moſt fertile of Emulations, and Civill Warres, and oftentimes involve all in a dolefull Conflagration. This (as many other Emergencies of theſe Times) ſeemes to bee the Beginning of a Deviation, which cannot end but in Apoſtaſie, eſpecially among that Nation, which doth ever pleaſe it ſelfe in Changes: Could not, Holie Father, all the Crownes in *France* ſerve, to ſtay his vaſt Ambition, unleſſe he had ſomething above his Cardinall's Coronet likewayes? Preſſe into the inner Cabinet of theſe Deſignes, there your Holineſſe may well finde ſomething, which cannot bee conſiſtent with your Myter.

For though your Holineſſe hath now obſcured the Brightneſſe of the Patriarches of the Eaſt, and hath erected your Apoſtolick Creſt to that unparrallell'd Height of Pre-eminencie, from whence you doe ſtately overlooke them, and all other Churches, even as the Mountaines of *Ararat*, whereupon the Arke reſted, lifted up their welcome, and triumphing Tops, above the decreaſing Waters, yet the appearing of this Patriarch, as of a new unknown Starre, may beget a Deſire in the Laicks, to ſtudy the Motion of our Heavens too officiouſly, and ſo run the Hazard of revolting Hereſies, in their ſupererogatory Contemplations. For your Holineſſe cannot forget to remember, that howbeit by the *Florentine* and *Laterane* Councells it was unanimouſly and canonically concluded, that the foure Patriarches of *Conſtantinople*, *Antiochia*, *Alexandria*, and *Jeruſalem* ſhould receive their Mantle, the Signe of Plenitude of their pontificall Dignitie, from your holy Hands, and after the Order of the aſſigned Precedencie, tender the Oath of Allegiance to the Romane Prelate, at whoſe Appearance in his fulleſt Grace, they muſt put up their Beames and diſappeare; yet they have alwayes had Proteſtations of Reluctancie, and rebound to the Title of their patriarchall Dignitie, holding themſelves iſo-Preſbyters, compoſed of that ſame Stuffe whereof Popes are ſaid to bee made, and can hardly bee induced to humble themſelves to the Dependance of a Derivation, or reſtrayned from tranſcending the Category of Subordination: Nay certainely, it doth reliſh too much of an Exemption from the *Romane* Sea and Studie of Monarchie: Wee ſhould not have wondred ſo profuſely to have ſeene ſuch Hierarchicall Ambition, point out his preſumptuous Head, in the remoter Parts of *Brittain*, and *Ireland*, beeing ſo farre diſtant from the Influence of your pacificke Scepter, (the Advancements being there but very greene as yet) not attained their flouriſhing Luſtre;

For even as the Windes and Raines doe exerce a mutuall Rage, ſhooting foorth their Luxuries in the lower Parts of the Ayre, where they raigne in their turbulent Kingdome, but in the higher Regions thereof, nigh to the Fire's Orbe, and approaching the Sunne, no Motion, no Agitation, but a gentle Calme doth continually dwell; So certainely in thoſe forgotten and barbarous Places, not apt for the Spirit of Obedience, the true Author of Peace; no Wonder there bee Commotion and Scandals: but in *France* the very Myter's Eye to build Altars of Offence, may beget a Storme, which will force Us to pull downe our Sailes, if wee eſcape Shipwracke: And if the Pagan Souldiers, made Scruple to uſe Chriſt's Reverend Roabe ſo rudely, as to teare the ſame; how deſervedly ought they to bee redargued, who prepare the renting of his ſacred Bodie, the Church, with their ambitiouſly ſwelled Zeale?

The crying Neceſſities of theſe Times which looke too ſullen, and the Exigences of the affronted Church, if there bee Pitty amongſt us, and holy Zeale to vindicate her Credite, would wring from us Poyſon to kill all the Policies of *Europe*. Yet (holie Father) though the Powers of Hereſie ſhould combine and concentrate their Malice, though the Frame of the Univerſe ſhould be disjointed, we have a never-failing Promiſe, that the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevaile againſt us. Heavens great Subſtitute, abſolute Father of the Church, if ever Power did ſhew a Maſterie in you, let it now appeare, and make the redacted World ſtand amazed.

O nimium dilecte Deo cui militat æther,
Et conjuratæ curvato poplite gentes
Succumbunt ———
Tu ne cede malis, ſed contra audentior ito.

Eccleſiaſtæ volunt eſſe Monarchæ.

There's Elixir of Braine and Spirit amongſt Us, and the God of Riches lies impriſoned in our Cabines and Monaſteries. Let Us doe any thing to rule alone, though it bee very rare to ſee the World ruled by one: The moſt proud and obſtinate Reſiſtances are aloft, and now a-dayes Women's ſoft Soules are wrought up to a maſculine Malice and Reſolution, for perſecuting Truth, and hugging Error; therefore make your Wrath likewiſe to ſwell. Extend your mighty Armes, call up the Princes of the Earth, let the Sounds of your Alarum be heard from one Ende of Heaven to the other, and ſtraight behold the Kings and Potentates, like Children of Obedience, ſhall forſake their Palaces out of a filiall Submiſſion, and leave their ſtately Magnificence to bee poſſeſt of Solitude, inhabited by Bats and Owles, and entruſt their deareſt Queenes to the Benevolence of Church-men and Eunuches: Then will they muſter their Forces, employ their Scepters, and ſtraine all the Nerves of their Kingdome for the well of the Cauſe Catholicke.

Flectere ſi nequeunt ſuperos Acheronta movebunt.

Let it alwayes be the chiefeſt of our Cares, the firſt of our Deſires, to hold up Warre immortall, ever to trouble the Calme of Peace, to ſhut up the Seas, to diſable, to disjoyne, to inſpire our Emiſſaries, and Incendiaries, with the Spirits of Diſſimulation

tion and Diviſion, to infold all State Policies in Confuſion, to choake all, to inflame all with a moſt Catholike Combuſtion; for certainly ſome Cruelties are better and more neceſſary, than ſilly improfitable Mildneſſe, which like a cold and barren Quality, can never mature the Churches Growth. No, no, the braying of Canons, the dawbing of Drums are good Catholike Muſicke, by which our Apoſtolick Expeditions uſe to advance the ſpirituall Kingdome, and goe in Proceſſion through the World; Our Motions muſt be reſtleſſe and buſie, like that of the Heavens, every one beſtirring himſelfe in his owne Spheare; and your Holineſſe with moſt grave, and venerable Alacritie, will give the ſtrong Impulſe. Wee in the Conſiſtorie, and thoſe miniſtring and ſubtle Spirits of that rich Seed-plot of *Sorbone*, ſhall come ſuch Riddles, and ſhall ſo inveagle the Heretick Soules and Churches, that Kings ſhall find themſelves enough puzled. From this holy Citadell, this impregnable Capitoll, our ſpirituall Engineeres, who are moſt Canonically bred, and authentically practiſed, ſhall throw ſuch fierie Balls among Nations and People, as thoſe that dare oppone Truth's Candor, ſhall bee put in a terrible Damp. From the Conclave.

Go to (holy Father) move ſtrongly, as becomes the State of your Courage, and in a high ſweld Metropolitan Confidence, blow downe the ſtrong Holds of Errour; Remove the Iſles out of the Sea, and ſhake the Mountaines that ſtand up ſo heretically againſt the promiſed, the propheſied Reformations to the Faith *Catholike*; never unbend your infallible Bow, till you have hit the conquered Marke of your moſt *Evangelick* Intentions, our Adverſaries muſt not erect the Trophees of their Ambition upon the Ruines of our Reproaches. Wee will firſt fetch the Compaſſe of the *World*, and *conglomerate* our undaunted Forces, like a deſtroying and inexorable Tempeſt, to ſweep away Truths Enemies. All our Convents ſhall firſt be turned into Fencing-Schooles, before the great Cauſe be diſgraced. We will defend mainly, engage our very *Crucifixes*, and hypothecat our *Cardinals Caps* before the *Mitre's* Honour be any whit touched.

But now becauſe many Incumbrencies advertiſe us to diſſolve, and ſome ſtrange Embaſſadors attend your Holineſſe from whoſe Boſome they come to receive *Apoſtolick* Directions, to lead them as a Starre in the Way to the Hill of Greatneſſe, where the *Laurells* of Triumph doe condignly attend them: We forbeare to preſume on this Time's Importance, onely daring repreſent to your Holineſſe, how neceſſary it is to imploy Pens, Policies, and Power, to rack all our Might for advancing our holy Intentions, and breaking the Clouds of Errour and Hereſie, which are like to over-ſpread the whole World: Conſider how the crying Neceſſities of our bleeding Primitive Mother doe implore the ſame: In the mean Time (till your Holineſſe have more precious Leiſure to beſtow upon further Catholike Reſolutions) let there bee a grand Apoſtolick *Nuncio* diſpatched upon the Wings of Speed to the Iſle of *Britain*, (if there bee any Courteſie to receive him there worthily) even ſtrongly aſſiſted with the Spirit of Truth, which your Holineſſe's Predeceſſors did uſually ſend to the *Tridentine* Councell for the actuating

Well blown Seignior.

actuating of those infallible Members, and extirping of Heresie. Instruct him deeply how to proclaime to the World, and write it on the Skie with Letters of Gold never to be forgotten, and print it in the Records of Histories to all After-ages, that though Religion bee the common Pretence of Discontent amongst these untamed Heretick̃s, wherewith they use to maske their unbridled Licence, their affronted Boldnesse, their high Contempt of Soveraigntie, and dare commit any Impiety, guilded with the Lustre of Sanctity: Yet nothing is so strongly desired, nothing so truely intended by them, abhorring the Order of Subjection, than to shake off the Yoke of Monarchie, and breake the Cords of Spirituall and Temporall Jurisdiction, with the Spring of their desperate Frenzie.

It will not bee inexpedient likewise to cause some others, who are enriched with the Strength of more subtle Abilities, and do cunningly know how to creep into the Mindes and Cabines of Princes, and take Dominion there, be sent forth with all Convenience, for subverting the Machinations of these *Matchiavilian Calvinists:* Let Authority, Lords of Power, and Masters of Time be taught (for Clemencie is the Nurse of Rebellion) how to presse them downe with Weight, though the conspiring Crew that breaths nothing but Fire, and vomits Blasphemie, who hath consecrate their Estates, and espoused their neglected Lives to the Lust of Revolting, should crie out Violence, and Rigour, and Crueltie, and Tyrannie, and Craft, and Malice; for those Things have been the soveraigne and effectuall Wayes of our Enlargings, and it is the Mysterie of Greatnesse to hold the Inferiors still ignorant of it, and strike like Lightning and Thunder.

Moreover, Because the seditious Furie of the unruly Multitude (even as a tumbling Flood acquiring Strength to it selfe by moving, carryes all it meets before it in a Precipice) doth waxe to such a prevailing Strength as none can hold out against the Bitternesse of the Tempest; Therefore let us worke wisely, and as Men use to disappoynt the over-flowings of undaunted Rivers, by branching them in little weake Rivulets, thus to extenuate the Impetuositie of the maine Streame, by diverting the Fulnesse of indocile Waters, and turning them aside. So must wee (in a Degree more than becomes Supremacie to stoope) flatter a while, and nourish the Hopes, and entertaine the Desires of Conspirers, distract the Mindes of the Muititude, weaken them by the Breach of Union, and delude them most egregiously; for so long as those Conventions rule, whereby the Consent of the abused People receives most poisonable Aliment, and they become fortified in their Errour, then each provokes another, even as the Billowes of the inraged Sea are driven forward by their urging and importune Fellowes.

Therefore must it bee amongst the first of the Articles of your Attourneyes Instructions, exceedingly to labour this Point, that those their great Councels, infallible Assemblies, and unwarranted Synagogues of Hypocrites, bee most divinely impeded; and that Parliaments bee broke up, and crushed in the Bud both in *Scotland*, and *England*, for those Confluences of demure Divells, have ever given Us the greatest Dash, and beene the very Bane of our Agonies.

Well remembred.

Wee

Wee hope withall, your Holineſſe out of the Bowels of Pittie, cannot forget the miſerable Prelates, your faithfull Labourers. It is indeed their Fortune; (through too eager and unadviſed Zeale, to the Glory of raiſing Altars to your Holineſſe's Purpoſes, in that Land where they lived) and not their Fault, that thus they are left in the Wilderneſſe of Times and Povertie, make them taſte therfore of the Sweetneſſe of your Remembrances; for it were high Indignitie to your Holineſſe, the Prince of Biſhops, to let thoſe ſilly Soules engage their Surplis, and Service-Books, for the Maintenance of their laborious Lives.

Amongſt all other Expediences, here is one likewayes which cries extreamely, that ſince we had very juſtly anchored our beſt Expectations upon the Northerne Cities of that rigid and infortunate Iland of *Scotland*, where indeede the Religion pretended was never perfectly welcommed, and that by our laſt Intelligence wee have learned they * have likewiſe joyned Hand with Impietie, and divorcing themſelves from the Loyaltie of the great Worke, have entred the Dance with the reſt of the giddy Hereticks, neglecting our Reſentments of moſt Catholick Services done, and our Encouragements to perſevere, that yet notwithſtanding there might be ſome zealous Invention and ſpirituall Stratagem found how to regaine them, and to redeeme them from that deſerved Perdition which followes Hereſie.

And as to the Parliamentary Stage-men, who do now perſonat ſo bravely, we hope before they come to the laſt Act of the Play, where they truſt to bring in your Holineſſe as a Mytred Boufoone, if there be any Soule amongſt us, we ſhall do our beſt to make their dalliance Epilogue in a Tragedy, and overturn the Stage upon the Actors. The Lords of the Parliament.

Intelligence from the Apoſtolicke Nuncio, *Il Conte di* ROZETTI, now reſiding at *London*, to Pope *URBAN* the Eighth.

May it pleaſe your Holineſſe,

THE humble Zeale to acquit my ſelfe loyall to your Apoſtolick Employments, and the Perfection of that great Worke for which I was ſent hither, made me haſten with my trembling Pen in Hand to drop out ſome Advertiſements to you, in Behalfe of Truth's Candor, who never in greater Extremity than this, doth make her pittifull Addreſſe to your Holineſſe, by whoſe Protection ſhe is ſecured from the inſolent Affronts of the Vulgar: Being diſtreſſed, ſhe makes you her faire Sanctuary; being wounded, ſhee makes you her ſoveraigne Balme. I know this infortunate Paper of Intelligence ſhall ſwell your vext Soule mightily, and affright all *Italy* with Feare and Wonder. Yet if your Heart bee not ſplit aſunder with Griefe, and Terrour; or if there be any Counſell, or Courage left in your *Conclave*,

* The City of *Aberdeene* honoured by embracing the Covenant.

looke

looke to the Agony of the Miter, which is now ſicke, even ſicke to the Death: Lift up your weeping Eyes, conſider the Times, and Seaſons; and let the Spirit of Prudence preſerve us from utter Perdition, leaſt this reprobate indocile Iland make us very quickly a Reproach and Opprobry to the World.

It would certainly burne the Hearts of all true Catholicks with conſuming Anguiſh to looke upon the preſent Diſtempers, and to thinke how glorious your Kingdome had lookt by this Time, like a *Coloſſus* upon the Columnes of Strength and Policy; ſcorning Thunder, and out-laſting Tempeſts; O! that wee had never angled in that abhominable Kingdome of *Scotland*, nor ſollicited the Return of that ſtubborn People to us ſo hotly: for ſurely belike they will awake all Chriſtendome, and pervert the World. Your Holineſſe did behold them with the Eye of Diſdaine, lookt aſquint upon them (as the Sun doth) and conceaved theſe Northernes to be but dull, and halfe ſpirited Soules; who could not diſcover Plots, refiſt the Majeſty of your Intentions, nor mount to their Wiſhes in a direct Line without Stop, or Hinderance; but let mee tell your Sanctity, they reſolve to goe on (armed with their Princes Smile) and deſtroy your very Name, your Memory, your Aſhes, with as eaſie a Freedome, as rough Winds demoliſh craſie Buildings.

Not content with that great Diſgrace they have done your Apoſtolick Dignity, in their owne Church, (now indeed deſerted, and deſperate) by that Covenant, (which Wee thought a ſilly Shrub, but is now growne a ſturdy Oake; and waxeth ſtately like the proud Cedar) they have mov'd a Banner againſt the Reſidue of our Hopes in *England:* for the Epiſcopall Expedition, and holy War againſt the Hereticks, and Rebels moſt damnably ſucceeding (which will make a black, and ſhamefull Hiſtory to embelliſh the *Vatican* Library) they have come forward incenſed, and with ſtrange Pretences (as brave Men, who in their awfull Palmes doe beare about bitter Deſtinies, and command even Fate it ſelfe) advance our Deſtruction ſtrongly; for albeit Wee did little regard their harmeleſſe Simplicity, and mocked all their Sayings, which they diſtilled ſoft as Oyle; yet Wee have now found their Sting, ſharper than two edged Swords; for they have ſo poyſoned the World, with their Pamphlets, their Papers, and new Tricks of a Reformation as they call it; (a Thing as contrary to the Myſtery of your Kingdome, as Light to Darkneſſe) that now nothing can compoſe the Fury of the obſtinate People, nor ſmooth the Commotions, unleſſe Epiſcopacy firſt of all be throwne over boord; and then having given the Swinge to the Wheele of their Fancy, no Hopes of Reſt.

Your Holineſſe had wiſely, and effectually too eſtabliſhed your Right, and continued your Poſſeſſion in thoſe Parts, by that Hierarchy; But now the Glory is departed from thoſe mighty Champions; they are chaſed to and fro as a forſaken Leafe before the Wind, and know not where to pitch; and he alſo that ere while was the great Primate of *England*, *alterius Orbis Patriarcha*, for a Throne of Eminency, is like to be brought upon the Scaffold of Delinquency; and the reſt of the holy Fathers of this Church, Lovers of Peace, and moſt religious Obſervers of the old Apoſtolick Eminency, for the

Honour

Honour of the Church, and Glory of the Goſpell, are likewiſe trembling, every Day ready to be offered up as a Sacrifice to the publick Hate. The valorous Pens of your Emiſſaries, and faithfull Labourers are now diſcouraged, lulled aſleepe, and turned againſt themſelves. The Authors of the moſt meritorious Peeces are now arraigned before the hereticall Tribunals, and ſhall hardly be brought off, if the Strength of your Policy, and Aſſiduity of your Prayers doe not prepare their Safety. Their ſhining Vertues, by which they ought to have beene ſo deare to the Church of *Rome*, are now wrapt in Clouds of Shame. All Things move croſly; and now when our Affaires were even ripening, and our juſt Hopes pregnant with Conceit of Wreaths, and Tryumphs, behold We are filled with nothing but Diſappointments, and Apprehenſions of farther reaching Woes.

I know the portentuous Newes of the *Scottiſh* and *Engliſh* Treaty (which fills all Courts, and Kingdomes) hath long ere now afflicted your moſt ſacred Eares: for the Eſtates of *Scotland* (which we can never name without Shame and Anger) have given Order to their Commiſſioners (Embaſſadours of our Overthrow) to treat with the Peeres of *England* for the Production of an eſtabliſhed Peace betwixt the two Nations, and ſo conſequently for preparing worſe Dayes to us, than the Miſeries of the moſt diſaſtrous War: They are linked together like two malignant powerfull Planets in Conjunction, who have ſuch forceable Influence in the Times, that they caſt forth a Flood of Fire, and animate every Thing againſt us with a dangerous Temper. By the Conference of this Treaty (which joynes their interlaced Minds in an individuall League) and by the prophane canvaſſing and ſupercilious Contractation of the higheſt Myſteries of State, We ſee how they have over-done us, and over-witted us in all our Policies: It ſhall bee found (moſt holy Father) true as the eternall Verities, that their Union will prove our infallible Confuſion, and that ordinary Remedy of a Diviſion, which has oftentimes proved ſo effectuall, in ſuch Exigencies will likewiſe now forſake us; for all their Purpoſes, their Judgments, their Affections,

(Like as a nimble ſmiling Flame
Meeting another, grows the ſame.)

Are now but all one, pointing upward with their Heads, not to Heaven, but to the Top of their execrable Hopes, being no other than to ſee your Venerable Miter (which ſo long hath beene the Terrour of Princes) buried in the Duſt; never did Plots thrive like theirs; every Day, and every Circumſtance of Time adds a new Degree of Strength to their Machinations; fortifying themſelves againſt us moſt ſenſibly, even as by the continuall Revolution of the approaching Sun We find the Day is enlengthned, and the Summer begotten. There be greater Conſiderations in Hands than the curious Rules of Ceremonies, which I confeſſe did moſt multiply egregiouſly, after the Majeſty, and Decency of the *Italian* Splendour: certainely their Actions doe carry an unuſuall Weight, and ſutable to themſelves doe flye at an unuſuall Height. Their Progreſſe is ſwift, and powerfull, as is the Progreſſe of

unlimited Fire in a populous City; or like Winds, whoſe Force doe at their Birth rend ope the ſtubborne Wombe of the dull Earth.

I have ſkrewed my ſelfe as cunningly as I could in the Boſome of their Intelligence, and found the Pulſe of the Buſineſſe; but I declare my Sagacity failes me, if they do not thirſt after the very Heart-blood of your Honour, and combine for your finall Fall; and all this under the gallant Name of Loyalty to their King, and ſpecious Pretext of Defending the Faith. Oh the cunning Hereticks the *Scots!* they have beſieged us moſt ſubtilly, and ſprung a Mine as it were under your Holineſſe's own Throne.

Amongſt other inveagling Devices, they have coined ſuch a blaſphemous Way of argumenting againſt venerable Epiſcopacy, that it will prove moſt deſtructive of that heavenly Hierarchy, by which your Holineſſe had anchored on the Beauty of this Church; and this Malignancy is followed with Congruity of Humours ſo eaſily elemented, that I doubt the miſerable torne Thing cannot eſcape Shipwracke in this Hell-blowne Tempeſt. They laugh at the Authority of our Church; they ſcorne the Arguments of Antiquity, ſaying, that Truth did precede Errour; and all the Conſiderations of Pompe and State, and externall Magnificence, they hold lighter than Vanity.

As to the Aſſembly of the high Court of Parliament, here (upon which all hereticke Churches doe gaze more ſuperſtitiouſly than the *Indians* looke upon the Sun which they adore) 'tis more terrible than many Armies with Banners, and by unmercifull Wayes intends a mighty Vengeance againſt the *Romiſh* and Prelate Faction. They are in a ſtrange Motion, and run a Tyde cleane contrary to our ſtanding; ſome wonderfull Aſſiſtance muſt prompt the Times dangerouſly, and the great Body of this juſtly redoubted Parliament, is like to have a Vertue too immenſe for one Region to containe, and moves with greater Majeſty than as it were reſolved to confine its Revolutions within the narrow Limits of this Iland; for the Policies are ſo many and tranſcendent, their Reſolutions ſo firme and immoveable, that they are eaſily powerfull not onely to baniſh the Catholicks out of their owne Land, but doe Violence to the *Romiſh* Faith in the Heart of *Italy*, and perſwade the *Turkes* and *Barbares* to become hereticall Impoſtors. It is able to make your Anceſtors breake their mabre Lodgings, come forth and quarrell this ſuperlative Fury, which riots ſo boundleſly. Hee that would diſ-compoſe this Parliament, muſt firſt overthrow a Kingdome, a Prince, à Law; nay elſe as eaſily might hee commixe with Lightnings, or call backe a Thunder-bolt, as offer to reſtore it: for it is diſeaſed in Mind, diſeaſed paſt Recovery. All the Canons, and Conſtitutions of that ſacred Synode (which were truely the Magazin of our ſpirituall Strength) are here bitterly peſtered, and ſwept away; and the Children of Policy, who made the Advancement of your Eſtate and Honour the greateſt Part of their Study, are now moſt dangerouſly cenſured, and made the deplored Subject of the Times. They take as little Notice of your Off-ſpring, the reverend Prelats, as the ſurly North does of the Snow; which when it has engendered, its wild Breath ſcatters through the Earth forgotten. If Buſineſſe take ſo hot a working, truely for what I can conjecture by the Purpoſes of Heaven, or Earth, all the Lawrels growing on your Holineſſe's

Creſt

Creſt, will bee turned to Cypreſſe, ſerving to no Uſe but to adorn your Funeralls; and the Cardinalls, Arch-biſhops, and Biſhops of *Italy* ſhall bee ſhortly ſent to viſite their cold Urnes, and the Nunnes left to keepe warme their Aſhes with their deareſt Teares.

Your Arch officers, and Friends, can be no more uſefull to your Holineſſe; though they were indeed your miniſtring and faithfull Spirits, yet are they now ſhut up in Priſons, and groane under the martyring Hand of impious and corrupt Juſtice; reſolve to compoſe their funerall Anthemes, and make ready condigne Places for them in the Calender: for the blackeſt Crime in their Charge is, that they have befriended the *Romiſh* Cauſe (truſty Soules!) and laboured to rectifie a ſtubborne State too imperiouſly. The Perſecution is ſo hot here, and the winnowing of Men ſo exact, that ſundry (out of Conſcience of humbling, and weakening the State, to make it more capable of Alterations, and apt to obey) not able to ſtand before ſuch a ſophiſticat Light, as is their Parliament (which notwithſtanding of our light Eſteem, has melted them as Snow) have embraced a voluntar Baniſhment, and tranſplanted themſelves beyond Sea, where they may enjoy the Safety of a more gracious Shade, and under your Holineſſe's Beames grow fat. Wee have not yet ſeene all the Links of this Chaine of Providence, till the unwearied Spheares, the Diſpenſers of Time, ſpin them out one after another; but if your Holineſſe will caſt your Eyes about you, and looke to the Commotions, and Earthquakes in Kingdomes, and Common-wealths, Wee dare almoſt be bold to ſay, that your Kingdome is now at the Age of Conſiſtence, and can grow no further. Your Sun-beames have paſt the Meridian, and chaſed with the ſtifling Miſts of Errour, like Smoake out of the Pit, are ſwiftly declining, and that without Hopes to ariſe againe; ſo they take it univerſally for granted, and beleeve with ſtrong Confidence, that now upon the Stage of *Europe* there is a ſtrange Comedy acting, whoſe Epilogue ſhall be in *Rome*; for Matters cannot ſtand at this Point, but our Enemies who have their Deſires ſtrengthned, will ſtrive to encompaſſe what yet remaines.

May it not well be feared that the *Engliſh* Majeſty, with his two puiſſant Armies in the Fields (ready for all Undertakings) ſhall eſpouſe the Cauſe of the *Hugenots* in *France*, and now when the *French* King is offering to ſet his Foot upon that little Republicke of *Geneva*, ſhall appeare moſt terribly for their Reliefe, and lift up the Hereticks Horne, now lying in the Duſt, and finally confound all the pioning Policies of the Cardinall *Richilieu*, who has ſo proſperouſly triumphed in his Garlands of Lillyes, and Floure-deluces. What ſhould hinder him from becomming the Head of all theſe pretended Reformed Churches? and diſplay an uncontrolled Banner, till he have ſprung over the *Alpes* upon the Wings of Renowne, and as full of Succeſſe, as Hopes ſpread Feare and Love through the World; and having forgotten your Right to the Patrimony of the Church, by the Benevolence of *Conſtantine* the Great, hee ſtrip you naked of all your Riches, and Eminence; making you miſerable as the pooreſt *Capuchin:* and armed with Zeale, teare downe the Walls of *Rome* like a ramping Lyon? I think Wee ſhould be ſufficiently puzled, and the moſt generous Armies your Holineſſe could com-

mand, would take them to their laſt Abilities, and have uſe of all their Counſell, and Strength, if theſe Motions ſhould bee followed.

It is here likewiſe reported to the great Encouragement of our Enemies, that there be ſtrange and dangerous Novations in *France*, which leade to an open Revolr, and the powerfull prevailing of Hereſie; for if their Church Service be received in a known Tongue againſt the Practiſes, and Conſtitutions of the Church (as the Fame flyes) and that by the Advice of the *Hugenots*, who will never move beyond their Line, to meet us (not a Haire-breadth) certainly you may then make the Myter's Epitaph, and perſwade your ſelfe of greater Inundations of Evills than ever were thought cou'd have ſprung from the Covenant of *Scotland*, or the Trienniall Parliaments in *England*; you may ſee then the Combuſtion which began in *Scotland*, and threatned but weakely at a great Diſtance, is now come to the Skirts of the holy Land almoſt, and that you had Need to looke to your owne Building.

Our Evills multiply, as the Heads of *Hydra*; for what Conſequence may Wee apprehend from the Marriage of the Daughter of *England*, with thoſe who bee Arch-enemies to your moſt Catholicke Sonne, the right Hand of your Execution? And can the Prince *Palatine* be arrived here for any Thing which will bring either Happineſſe to the common Cauſe, or divert the Calamities which are daily emergent, like ſwolne Clouds of Infection ariſing upon the Horizon and darkening the Skie? No, our Evills are preparing as the Arrowes are ready to bee ſent from the bended Bow.

Through this Beliefe, the prophane World doe glory in moſt ſacrilegious Inſolencies; for the diſ-mantling of Churches, the pulling up of the Railes (which make the comely Diſtance from the holy Place) nay, the over-turning of Altars, (which in all the Corners of the Kingdome did riſe moſt bravely after the *Italian* Mode) are but the daily Practiſes of the undaunted, and undiſtinguiſhing Vulgar. Wee are come to ſuch Height of Contempt, that Boyes ſing our Scandale in the Streets; they tune Ballads to our Infamy: and hee that can reproach us moſt handſomly, and deepely informe againſt us, has moſt ſtrongly demerited Church and State. I like not the Complexion of our Affaires; ſtrange Symptoms of a moſt dangerous Conſumption, and many pregnant Reaſons for the Encreaſe of our Feares! The Pulpits have forgotten that gracious Sound, with which they were of late moſt entirely acquainted; the Bookes dare not appeare in the *Romiſh* Dye, but come forth in Squadrons; in ſtrange Habit, and hereticall Colours. Our Poſſeſſion heere is gone, it ſeemes; and our Hopes to recover it, wholly blaſted: nay if the pernicious Counſells, and the Opinions of the daring *Scots* prevaile, Wee may as eaſily thinke to entice the Sun from his Ecliptick, as work an Alteration of their Humours, or ſhake them from theſe new Grounds to which they are now ſo miſerably wedded.

I dare not forget to ſhew your Holineſſe, what great Expreſſions of Joy have bin heere in the City of *London*, tearing the Clouds with the Muſicke of their Bells, and condenſing the Aire with the Smoake of their Bonefires, as if they had already ſeene their furtheſt Deſires crowned, and had bin ringing our funerall Knels; becauſe the Prince has granted to the Eſtates a

Triennall

Triennall Parliament, wherewith the People have beene as ſtrongly affected, as if they had beene delivered from Peſt or Famine; or had received the Spoiles of moſt important Conqueſt: by this Meanes they reſolve to hammer us ſo flat, that Wee ſhall never ſet up our Heads, nor bud againe.

If ever Affliction could awake the Sonnes and Daughters of the *Romane* Church, 'tis now, when the angry Winds are let looſe from the Corners of the Earth. Wee have not indeed ſlept our Time here, but practiſed very laborioufly, and according as the Churches Exigency did call us to a double Care, ſo likewiſe have We attempted all Expediencies for deluding the Purpoſes of our Enemies, and ſtrengthning our ſelves. We have ſtretched our Wit, and ſtudied fitting Policies in all the Latitude of a Catholick Conſcience; there remaines nothing in the Treaſure of Invention which We have not ſollicited, and now in theſe bleeding Times with greater Strength of Wit; but I know not what has interpoſed betwixt your Holineſſe's Influence, and a good Effect: ſome thing of late has made Obſtructions in the effectuall Derivations of your Apoſtolick Benedictions; all has proved unprofitable: And (not to offend your Holineſſe) I feare leaſt the Tyde of your Sorrowes be but yet growing; for whereas Wee have ever magnified, and exalted Tradition above the Scripture, yet we know not how to faſten on theſe Impoſtures, for they adhere ſo cloſe to their Scriptures, in their Reaſons, and Opinions, that ſooner may you divorce the Light from the Sun, than pull them from their grand Purpoſe of ſlighting the Traditions and Cuſtomes of the *Romiſh* Church with as much Diſdaine, as we neglect the *Alchoran*; and ever when they oppone Scripture to our Traditions, We know not what to ſay, and have not bin acquainted with other Authority than the Churches: therefore your Holineſſe would doe well to hearken to this, and conſider that the Times in Likelyhood are comming, when the Scriptures (which have bin ſo highly eſteemed by the Simplicity of that pretended Religion) will bee the Rule of Faith, and Church Government, and overthrow our Subtilties: I hope your Holineſſe, as the great Ghoſtly Father of the Church, will ſee that your Building be firmely ſeated upon permanent Foundations; for if they be not ſure and able for all Aſſaults, it may happly fall, and cruſh us all: And I aſſure your Holineſſe, if your Affronts encreaſe, your Strength do not convaleſce, and this bad Fortune of the Miter continue, a pannick Feare will invade all your devoted Kings, Princes, and Cardinals; they will betake them to the ſtrongeſt Side, and leave you in the Mire.

It is now therefore high Time to ſummon up all that is Vertue about you; what ever any of the great Monarches of the Church could doe, let it now appeare by your Power moſt eminently diſplayed: your Holineſſe would doe well to call a Counſell, and conſult with Heaven, and learne how to ſtop theſe Hereticks Mouthes; convince them of the Truth, and heape Coales on their Heads: Seeke out the End of theſe Troubles, that afflict the World; for it is indeed to be feared, if Hereſie become ſo inſolent, and ſwell with ſo good Fortune, that ſhortly their Truth ſhall ſhine glorious as the Sun, and become as it were the Idole of the World, extinguiſhing the Life of our Miſteries, under which Wee have had ſuch Halcyonian Dayes.

Since

Since then all the Fabrick of our Religion, the ſtanding of the Apoſtolick Empire, and all that is deare and ſplendid to the Glory of the Miter is now ſhaking; riſe up from your Throne, put to your ſaving Hand to the Helme, and doe not neglect one Day, one Houre, one Minute to weare out with Toyle of Plot, and Practiſe of Conceit, your buſie and fruitfull Wit; beſtir like the firſt Mover, your inferiour, and obedient Spirits, every one in their owne Spheare; never take Reſt, nor force a Smile which is not borrowed from a ſacred and Papall Vengeance, ſuch as becomes the State of your Diſgrace, and unbounded Fate, till your Holineſſe know what Way to ſatisfie Fury and Revenge; till you and your Succeſſors, the undoubted Inheritors of the World's metropoliticall Throne, have touched the Ends of the Earth with your all-conquering Scepter, and hath led Truth in Proceſſion, triumphing over the Ruines of Errour.

Fragmenta Regalia: Or, Obſervations on the late QUEEN *ELIZABETH*, her Times, and Favourites.

Written by Sir ROBERT NAUNTON, Maſter of the Court of WARDS. 1641.

To take Her in the Originall, She was

THE Daughter of King *Henry* the Eighth by *Ann Bullen* the ſecond of ſix Wives which he had, and one of the Maydes of *Honour* to the divorced Queene *Katherine* of *Auſtria*, (or as the now ſtiled *Infanta* of *Spaine*) and from thence taken to the *Royall Bed.*

That ſhe was not of a moſt noble and royall Extract by her Father, will not fall into Queſtion, for on that Side was diſimboyned into her Veynes by a Confluence of Blood, the very Abſtract of all the greateſt Houſes in Chriſtendome, and remarkeable it is, conſidering that violent Deſertion of the royall Houſe of the *Britaines*, by the Intruſion of the *Saxons*, and afterwards by the Conqueſt of the *Normans:* that through Viciſſitude of Times, and after Diſcontinuance almoſt of a thouſand Yeares, the *Scepter* ſhould fall againe, and be brought back into the old regall Line and true Current of the *Britiſh Blood* in the Perſon of her renowned *Grandfather* King *Henry* VII. together with whatſoever the *German*, *Norman*, *Burgundian*, *Caſtilian*, and *French* Atchievements with their Intermarriages which 800 Yeares had acquired, could adde of Glory thereunto.

By her Mother ſhe was of no Soveraigne Diſcent, yet noble and very antient in the Family of *Bullen*, though ſome erroneouſly branded them with a Citizen's Riſe, or Originall, which was yet but of a ſecond Brother, who as it was divine in the Greatneſſe, and Luſtre to come to his Houſe, was ſent into

into the City to acquire Wealth *(ad ædificandam antiquam domum)* unto whoſe Atchievements (for he was *Lord Major* of *London*) fell in as it is averred, both the Blood and Inheritance of the eldeſt Brother, for Want of Iſſue Males, by which Accumulation the Houſe within few Diſcents mounted *In fulmen honoris*, and was ſodainly delated in the beſt Families of *England* and *Ireland*: as *Howard*, *Ormond*, *Sackevile*, and others.

Having thus touched, and now leaving her Stipe, I come to her Perſon, and how ſhe came to the Crowne by the Deceaſe of her Brother and Siſter.

Under *Edward* VI. ſhe was his, and one of the Darlings of *Fortune*, for beſides the Conſideration of Blood, there was betweene theſe two Princes, a Concurrencie and Sympathy of their Natures and Affections, together with the Cœleſtiall Bond (confirmative Religion) which made them one, for the King never called her by any other Appellation, but his ſweeteſt and deareſt Siſter, and was ſcarce his own-Man, ſhe being abſent; which was not ſo betweene him and the Lady *Mary*.

Under her Siſter ſhe found her Condition much altered, for it was reſolved, and her Deſtinie had decreed it, for to ſet her Apprentice in the Schoole of Affliction, and to draw her through that ardell Fire of Tryall, the better to mould and faſhion her to Rule and Soveraignitie; which finiſhed, and *Fortune* calling to Minde, that the Time of her Servitude expired, gave up her Indentures, and therewith delivered into her Cuſtodie a *Scepter*, as the Reward of her Patience, which was about the 26th of her Age, a Time in which, as for her Externalls ſhe was full blowne, ſo was ſhe for her Internalls growne ripe and ſeaſoned by Adverſitie, in the Exerciſe of her Vertue: for it ſeemes, *Fortune* meant no more but to ſhew her a Peece of Varietie, and Changeableneſſe of her Nature, but to conduct her to her Deſtinie *(id eſt)* Felicitie.

She was of Perſon tall, of Hayre and Complexion faire, and therewith well favored, but high noſed, of Limbs and Feature neate, and which added to the Luſtre of theſe externall Graces, of a ſtately and majeſticke Comportment, participating in this more of her Father, than of her Mother, who was of an inferiour allay-plauſible, or as the *French* hath it, more debonaire, and affable, Vertues, which might well ſuite with *Majeſty*, and which deſcending as Hereditary to the Daughter, did render her of a more ſweeter Temper, and endeared her more to the Love and Liking of the People, who gave her the Name and Fame of a moſt gracious and popular Prince.

The Atrocitie of the Fathers Nature was rebated in her, by the Mothers ſweeter Inclinations for to take, and that no more than the Character out of his owne Mouth, *he never ſpared Man in his Anger, nor Woman in his Luſt.*

If we ſearch further into her *Intellectualls* and *Abilities*; the wheele Courſe of her Government deciphers them to the Admiration of Poſteritie, for it was full of Magnanimitie, tempered with *Juſtice*, *Pietie*, and *Pittie*, and to ſpeake Truth, noted but with one Act of Staine, or Taint, all her Deprivations, either of *Life* or *Libertie*, being legall and neceſſitated, ſhe was learned, her Sex and Time conſidered, beyond common Beliefe, for Letters about this Time, or ſome-what before, did but begin to be of Eſteeme,

and

and in Fashion, the former Ages being over-cast with the Mists and Fogs of the *Roman* Ignorance, and it was the Maxime that over-ruled the foregoing Times, that Ignorance was the Mother of Devotion: her Wars were a long Time more in the auxiliarie Part, and Assistance of forraigne Princes and States: than by Invasion of any, till common Policie advised it, for a safer Way, to strike first Abroad, then at Home to expect the War, in all which she was ever felicious and victorious.

The Change and Alteration of Religion, upon the Instant of her Accession to the *Crowne*, the Smoake and Fire of her Sister's Martyredomes scarcely quenched, was none of her least remarkeable Actions, but the Support and Establishment thereof, with the Meanes of her owne Subsistance, amidst so powerfull Enemies Abroad, and those many domestique Practises, were (methinks) Works of Inspiration, and of no humane *Providence*; which, on her Sister's Departure, she most religiously acknowledged, ascribing the Glory of her Deliverance to GOD above: for she being then at *Hatfield*, and under a Guard, and the *Parliament* sitting at the selfe same Time, the Newes of the Queene's Death, and her owne Proclamation by the generall Consent of the House, and the publique Sufferance of the People: whereat, falling on her Knees, after a good Time of Respiration, she uttered this Verse of the Psalme, *A domino factum est istud, & est mirabile in oculis nostris.* And this we find to this Day on the Stampe of her Gold; with this on her Silver, *Posui Deum adjutorem meum.* Her Ministers and Instruments of State, such as were *participes curarum*, and bore a great Part of the Burthen, were many; and those memorable, but they were onely *Favorites*, and not *Mynions*, such as acted more by her Princely Rules and Judgments, than by their owne Wills and Appetites; for we saw no *Gaveston*, *Vere*, or *Spencer*, to have swayed alone, dureing fortie foure Yeares; which was a well setled and advised Maxime, for it valued her the more, it awed the most secure, it tooke best with the People, and it staved off all Emulations, which are apt to rise and vent in obloquious *Acrimonie* even against the Prince, where such onely are admitted into high Administrations.

A Major Pallacii.

THE principall Note of her Raigne will be, that she ruled much by Faction and Parties, which she herselfe both made, upheld and weakned, as her owne great Judgement advised; for I do dissent from the common, and received Opinion, that my Lord of *Leicester* was absolute, and alone in her *Grace*; and though I come somewhat short of the Knowledge of these Times, yet, that I may not erre nor shoot at Randome, I know it from assured Intelligence that it was not so, for Proofe whereof (amongst many that could present) I will both relate a Story, and therein a knowne Truth, and 'twas thus: *Bowyer* the Gentleman of the *Black Rod*, being charged by her expresse Command, to looke precisely to all Admissions into the *Privy-Chamber*; one Day stayed a very gay *Captaine* (and a Follower of my Lord of *Leicester*) from Entrance, for that he was neither well knowne, nor a sworne Servant to the

the Queene: At which Repulſe, the Gentleman (bearing high on my Lord's Favor) told him, that he might perchance procure him a Diſcharge. *Leiceſter* coming to the Conteſtation, ſayd publikely, which was none of his wonted Speeches, that he was a Knave, and ſhould not long continue in his Office; and ſo turning about to goe to the Queene, *Bowyer* (who was a bould Gentleman and well beloved) ſtept before him, and fell at her Majeſties Feet, relates the Story, and humbly craves her Grace's Pleaſure, and whether my Lord of *Leiceſter* was King, or her Majeſty Queene? Whereunto ſhe replied (with her wonted Oath) *God's Death*, my Lord, I have wiſhed you well, but my Favour is not ſo locked up for you, that others ſhall not participate thereof; for I have many Servants unto whom I have and will at my Pleaſure bequeathe my Favor, and likewiſe reſume the ſame, and if you thinke to rule here, I will take Courſe to ſee you forth coming: I will have here but one *Miſtreſs*, and no *Maſter*; and look that no ill happen to him, leaſt it be ſeverally required at your Hands: Which ſo quailed my Lord of *Leiceſter*, that his fained Humilitie was long after one of his beſt Vertues.

Moreover the Earle of *Suſſex*, then Lord Chamberlaine, was his profeſſed Antagoniſt to his Dying Day; and for my Lord *Hunſdowne*, and Sir *Thomas Sackevile*, after Lord Treaſurer, who were all Contemporaries, he was wont to ſay of them, that they were of the Tribe of *Dan*, and were *Noli me tangere*; implying, that they were not to be conteſted with, for they were indeed of the Queene's nigh Kindred.

From whence, and in many more Inſtances, I conclude, that ſhe was abſolute and ſoveraigne Miſtreſs of her Graces, and that all thoſe to whom ſhe diſtributed her Favors, were never more than Tennants at Will, and ſtood on no better Termes than her princely Pleaſure, and their good Behaviour.

And this alſo I preſent as a knowne Obſervation, that ſhe was, though very capable of Counſell, abſolute enough in her owne Reſolution, which was ever apparent even to her laſt; and in that of her ſtill Averſion to grant *Tyrone* the leaſt Drop of her Mercy, though earneſtly and frequently adviſed thereunto, yea wrought onely by her whole Counſell of State, with very many Reaſons; and as the State of her Kingdome then ſtood, I may ſpeake it with Aſſurance, neceſſitated Arguments.

If we looke into her Inclination as it was diſpoſed to Magnificence or Frugalitie, we ſhall find in them many notable Conſiderations, for all her Diſpenſations were ſo poyſed, as though Diſcretion and Juſtice, had both decreed to ſtand at the Beame; and ſee them weighed out in due Proportion, the Maturitie of her Peaces and Judgements, meeting in a Concurrance; and that in ſuch an Age as ſeldome lapſeth to Exceſſe.

To conſider them a part, we have not many Preſidents of her Liberalitie, nor any large Donatives to particular Men: my Lord of *Eſſex* his Booke of *Parks* excepted, which was a Princely Gift, and ſome more of a leſſer Size, to my Lord of *Leiceſter*, *Hatton*, and others.

Her Rewards chiefly conſiſteth in Grants, and Leaſes of Offices, and Places of Judicature, but for ready Money, and in great Summes, ſhe was very ſparing; which we may partly conceive, was a Vertue rather drawne out

of Neceſſity, than her Nature; for ſhe had many Layings out, and as her Wars were laſting, ſo their Charge increaſed to the laſt Period. And I am of Opinion with Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, that thoſe many brave Men of her Times, and of the *Militiæ*, taſted little more of her Bounty, than in her Grace and good Word with their due Entertainement, for ſhe ever payd the Souldiers well, which was the Honour of her Times, and more than her great Adverſary of *Spaine* could performe: ſo that when we come to the Conſideration of her Frugality, the Obſervation will be little more, than that her Bounty and it were ſo woven together, that the one was ſtayned by an honorable Way of ſpareing.

The *Iriſh* Action we may call a Mallady, and a Conſumption of her Times, for it accompanied her to her End, and it was of ſo profuſe and vaſt Expence, that it drew neare unto a Diſtemperature of State, and of Paſſion in herſelfe, for towards her laſt, ſhe grew ſomewhat hard to pleaſe her Armies, being accuſtomed to Proſperity, and the *Iriſh* Proſecution not anſwering her Expectation, and her wonted Succeſſe, for it was a good while an unthrifty, and inauſpicious War, which did much diſturb, and miſlead her Judgment; and the more, for that it was a Preſident taken out of her owne Patterne?

For as the Queene by Way of Diviſion, had at her Coming to the *Crowne*, ſupported the revolted States of *Holland*, ſo did the King of *Spaine* turne the Tricke upon her ſelfe towards her going out, by cheriſhing the *Iriſh* Rebellion, where it falls into Conſideration, what the State of this Kingdome, and the *Crowne* Revenues were then able to indure and embrace.

If we looke into the Eſtabliſhments of thoſe Times with the beſt of the *Iriſh* Army, counting the Defeatures of Blackwater, with all the precedent Expences, as it ſtood from my Lord of *Eſſex*, his Undertaking of the Surrender of *Kingſale*, and the Generall *Mountjoy*; and ſomewhat after we ſhall find the Horſe and Foote Troopes were for 3 or 4 Yeares together much about 20000, beſides the Navall Charge which was a Dependant of the ſame War, in that the Queene was then enforced to keepe in continuall Pay a ſtrong Fleete at Sea, to attend the *Spaniſh* Coaſts and Parts both to allarum the *Spaniards*, and to intercept the Forces, deſigned for the *Iriſh* Aſſiſtance; ſo that the Charge of that War alone did coſt the Queene three hundred thouſand Pounds per Annum at leaſt, which was not the Moiety of her other Diſburſements, and Expences, which without the publique Aydes the State and the royall Receipts, could not have much longer endured; which out of her owne frequent Letters and Complaints to the Deputy *Mountjoy*, for caſheering of that Liſt as ſoone as he could, might be collected, for the Queene was then driven into a Straite.

We are naturally prone to applaude the Times behinde us, and to vilifie the preſent; for the Concurrent of her Fame carries it to this Day, how royally and victoriouſly ſhe lived and dyed without the Grudge and Grievance of her People, yet the Truth may appeare without Retraction from the Honour of ſo great a Princeſſe. It is manifeſt ſhe left more Debts unpayd, taken upon Credit of her Privy-Seales, than her Progenitors did or could have taken

taken up that were an 100 Yeares before her, which was no inferiour Peece of State to lay the Burthen on that Houſe which was beſt able to beare it at a dead Lift, when neither her Receipts could yield her Reliefe, at the Pinch, nor the Urgencie of her Affayres endure the Delayes of Parliamentary Aſſiſtance, and for ſuch Aydes it is likewiſe apparant, that ſhe received more, and that with the Love of her People, than any two of her Predeceſſors, that tooke moſt, which was a Fortune ſtrayned out of the Subjects, through the Plauſibilitie of her Comportment, and (as I would ſay without Offence) the prodigall Diſtribution of her Grace to all Sorts of Subjects; for I beleeve no Prince living, that was ſo tender of Honour, and ſo exactly ſtood for the Preſervation of Soveraigntie, was ſo great a Courtier of the People, yea of the Commons, and that ſtooped and declined lowe in preſenting her Perſon to the publique View, as ſhe paſſed in her Progreſſe and Perambulations, and in her Ejaculations of her Prayers on the People.

And truely though much may be written in Praiſe of her Providence, and good Huſbandry, in that ſhe could upon all good Occaſions abate her Magnanimitie, and therewith comply with the *Parliament*, and ſo alwaies come off, both with Honour, and Profit, yet muſt we aſcribe ſome Part of the Commendation to the Wiſdome of the Times, and the Choyce of *Parliament-men*, for I ſayd not that they were at any Time given to any violent or pertinacious Diſpute, the Elections being made of grave and diſcreet Perſons, not factious and ambitious of Fame, ſuch as came not to the Houſe with a malevolent Spirit of Contention, but with a Preparation to conſult on the publique Good, and rather to comply than to conteſt with Majeſty, neither dare I finde that the Houſe was weakned and peſtered through the Admiſſion of too many young Heades, as it hath beene of latter Times, which remembers me of the Recorder *Martin*'s Speech, about the Truth of our late Soveraigne Lord King *James*, when there were Accompts taken of forty Gentlemen, not above twenty, and ſome not exceeding ſixteen Years of Age, which made him to ſay, that it was the antient Cuſtome for old Men to make Lawes for young Ones; but there he ſaw the Caſe altered, and that there were Children in the great Councell of the Kingdome, which came to invade and invert Nature, and to enact Lawes to governe their Fathers, ſuch were in the Houſe alwaies, and tooke the common Cauſe into Conſideration, and they ſay the Queene had many Times juſt Cauſe, and Need enough to uſe their Aſſiſtance, neither do I remember that the Houſe did ever capitulate, or preferre their private Intereſt to the publique, and the Queene's Neceſſities, but waited their Times, and in the firſt Place gave their Supply, and according to the Exigence of her Affaires, yet failed not at the laſt to attaine what they deſired, ſo that the Queene and her *Parliaments* had ever the good Fortunes to depart in Love, and on reciprocall Termes, which are Conſiderations that have not beene ſo exactly obſerved in our laſt Aſſemblies. And I would to *God* they had beene for conſidering the great Debts left on the King, and into what Incombrances the Houſe it ſelfe had then drawn him, his Majeſty was not well uſed, though I lay not the Blame on the whole Suffrage of the Houſe, where he had many good Friends, for I dare avouch it, had the Houſe been freed of halfe a

Dozen popular and discontented Persons, such as with the Fellow that burnt the Temple of *Ephesus*, would be talked of, though for doing of Mischiefe, I am confident the King had obtained that which in Reason, and at his first Occasion he ought to have received freely and without Condition. But pardon this Digression, which is here remembred not in Way of Aggravation, but in true Zeale of the publique Good, and presented in Caveat of future Times; for I am not ignorant how the Genius and Spirit of the Kingdome now moves to make his Majesty amends, on any Occasion, and how desirous the Subject is to expiate that Offence at any Rate; may it please his Majesty to make Triall of his Subjects Affections, and at what Prise they value now his Goodnesse and Magnanimitie.

But to our Purpose: The Queene was not to learne that, as the Strength of the Kingdome consisted in the Multitude of the Subjects; so the Securitie of her Person consisted and rested in the Love and Fidelitie of her People, which she pollitiquely affects (as it hath been thought) some-what beneath the Height of her naturall Spirit and Magnanimitie.

Moreover it will be a true Note of her Providence, that she would alwaies listen to her Profit: for she would not refuse the Information of the meanest Personages, which proposed Improvement, and had learnt the Philosophie of *(Hoc agere)* to looke unto her owne Worke: of which there is a notable Example of one *Carmarden* an under-Officer of the *Custome-house*, who observing his Time, presented her with a Paper, shewing how she was abused in the under-renting of the Customs, and therewith humbly desired her Majesty to conceale him, for that it did concerne two or three of her great Counsellors whom Customer *Smith* had bribed with 2000*l.* a Man, so to loose the Queene 20000*l. per Annum*; which being made knowne to the Lords, they gave strict Order that *Carmarthen* should not have accesse to the back Staires; but at last her Majesty smelling the Craft, and missing *Carmarthen*, she sent for him back, and incouraged him to stand to his Information, which the poore Man did so hansomly, that within the Space of ten Yeares he was brought to double his Rent, or leave the Custome to new Farmers: so that we may take this also in Consideration, that there were of the Queene's Councel which were not in the Catalogue of Saints.

Now as we have taken a View of some particular Motives of her Times, her Nature and Necessities: It is not without the Text to give a short Touch of the Helps and Advantages of her Raigne, which were not without Parolles; for she had neither Husband, Brother, Sister, nor Children to provide for, who as they are Dependants on the *Crowne*, so do they necessarily draw Lively-hood from thence, and oftentimes exhaust and drawe deepe, especially when there is an ample Fraternity *Royall*, and of the Princes of the Blood, as it was in the Time of *Ed.* III. and *Hen.* IV. for when the *Crowne* cannot, the publique ought honourable Allowance, for they are the Honour and Hopes of the Kingdome, and the publique which enjoyes them hath the like Interest with the Father which begat them, and our Common Law, which is the Inheritance of the Kingdome, did ever of old provide Aydes for the *primo genitus*, and the eldest Daughter; for that the Multiplicitie of Courts,

and

and the great Charges which neceſſarily followes, a *King*, a *Queene*, a *Prince*, and *Royall Iſſue*, was a Thing which was not *in rerum natura*, during the Space of 44 Yeares; but worne out of Memory, and without the Conſideration of the preſent Times, inſomuch as the Aydes given to the late and right noble *Prince Henry*, and to his Siſter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, which were at firſt generally received as Impoſitions for *Knight-hood*, though an ancient Law fell alſo into the Imputation of a Tax of Nobilitie, for that it lay long covered in the Embers of Diviſion, betweene the Houſes of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*, and forgotten or connived at by the ſucceeding *Princes*; ſo that the Strangeneſſe of the Obſervation, and the Difference of thoſe latter Raignes, is that the *Queene* tooke up much beyond the Power of Law, which fell not into the Murmur of People, and her Succeſſors nothing but by Warrant of the Law, which nevertheleſſe was received through Diſuſe to be injurious to the Libertie of the *Kingdom*.

Now, before I come to any mention of her Favorites, for hitherto I have delivered but ſome oblivious Paſſages, thereby to prepare and ſmooth a Way for the reſt that followes.

It is neceſſary that I touch on the Religiouſneſſe of the others Raigne, I meane the Body of her Siſter's Counſell of State, which ſhe retained intirely, neither removing, nor diſcontenting any, although ſhe knew them averſe to her Religion, and in her Siſter's Time, perverſe to her Perſon, and privie to all her Troubles, and Impriſonments.

A Prudence which was incompatible to her Siſter's Nature, for ſhe both diſſipated, and preſented the Major Part of her Brother's Counſell; but this will be of certaine, that how complyable and obſequious ſoever ſhe found them, yet for a good Space ſhe made little Uſe of their Counſells, more than in the ordinary Courſe of the Board, for ſhe had a dormant Table in her owne privy-breſt, yet ſhe kept them together, and in their Places, without any ſuddaine Change; ſo that we may ſay of them, that they were then of the Court, not of the Counſell; for whileſt ſhe amazed them by a kind of promiſſive Diſputation concerning the Points controverted by both Churches; ſhe did ſet downe her owne Gheſts without their Privity, and made all their Progreſſions, Gradations, but for that the Tenents of her Secrets, with the Intents of Eſtabliſhments were pitched before it was knowne where the Court would ſit downe.

Neither do I finde that any of her Siſter's Counſell of State were either repugnant to her Religion, or oppoſed her Doings. *Englefeild* Maſter of the *Wardes* excepted, who withdrew himſelfe from the Board, and ſhortly after out of her Dominions; ſo pliable and obedient they were to change with the Times, and their Prince; and of them will fall a Relation of Recreation: *Pawlet* Marqueſſe of *Wincheſter*, and Lord *Treaſurer*, had ſerved then four *Princes* in as various and changeable Times and Seaſons, that I may well ſay, no Time nor Age hath yeelded the like Preſident: this Man being noted to grow high in her Favor (as his Place and Experience required) was queſtioned by an intimate Friend of his, how hee had ſtood up for 30 Yeares together, amidſt the Change and Ruines of ſo many Chancellors, and great Perſonages; why, quoth

quoth the *Marqueſſe*, *Ortus ſum e ſalice, non ex quercu*, I am made of pliable Willow, not of the ſtubborne Oake? And truely it ſeemes the old Man had taught them all, eſpecially *William Earle of Pembrooke*, for they two were alwaies of the *King Religion*, and alwaies zealous Profeſſors: of theſe it is ſayd, that being both younger Brothers, yet of noble Houſes, they ſpent what was left them, and came on truſt to the Court, where upon the bare Stocke of their Wits they began to traffique for themſelves, and proſpered ſo well, that they got, ſpent, and left more than any Subjects from *Normans* Conqueſt, to their owne Times: whereupon it hath beene pretily ſpoken, that they lived in a Time of Diſſolution.

To conclude then, of all the former Raigne, it is ſayd, that thoſe two lived, and died, chiefly in her Grace and Favor, by the Letter written uppon his Sonns Marriage with the Lady *Catharine Gray*; he had like utterly to have loſt himſelfe, but at the Inſtant of Conſummation, as apprehending the Unſafety, and Danger of Intermarriage with the Blood *Royall*, he fell at the *Queene's* Feet, where he both acknowledged his Preſumption, and projected the Cauſe, and the Divorce together; ſo quick he was at his Worke, that in the Time of Repudiation of the ſayd Lady *Gray*, he clapt up a Marriage for his Son, the Lord *Herbert*, with *Mary Sidney*, Daughter to Sir *Henry Sidney*, then Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, the Blow falling on *Edward* the late Earle of *Hartford*, who to his Coſts tooke up the divorced Lady, of whom the Lord *Beauchampe* was borne, and *William* now Earle of *Hartford*, is deſcended.

I come now to preſent them to her owne Election, which were either admitted to her Secrets of State, or tooke into her Grace and Favor, of whom in Order I crave leave to give unto Poſteritie, a cautious Deſcription, with a ſhort Character, or Draught, of the Perſons themſelves; for without Offence to others, I would be true to my ſelfe, their Memories, and Merits, diſtinguiſhing thoſe of *Militiæ*, from the *Togati*; and of both theſe ſhe had as many, and thoſe as able Miniſters, as had any of her *Progenitors*.

Leicester.

IT will be out of Doubt, that my Lord of *Leiceſter* was one of the firſt whom ſhe made Maſter of the Horſe, hee was the youngeſt Sonne then living of the Duke of *Northumberland*, beheaded *primo Mariæ*, and his Father was that *Dudley* which our Hiſtories couple with *Empſon:* and both be much infamed for the Caterpillars of the Common-wealth, dureing the Raigne of *Henry* the Seventh, who being of a noble Extract, was executed the firſt Yeare of *Henry* the Eighth, but not thereby ſo extinct, but that he left a plentifull Eſtate, and ſuch a Sonne, who as the Vulgar ſpeakes, it would live without a Teate; for out of the Aſhes of his Father's Infamy he roſe to be a *Duke*, and as high as Subjection could permit, or Soveraigntie indure, and though he could not find out any Appellation to aſſume the *Crowne* in his owne Perſon: yet he projected, and very nearely effected it for his Sonne *Guilbert* by Entermariage with the Lady *Jane Gray*, and ſo by that Way to bring it into his Loynes.

Obſer-

Obſervations, which though they lie beyond us, and ſeeme impertinent to the Text, yet are they not much extravagant, for they muſt leade us, and ſhew us how the after Paſſage were brought about, with the Dependances on the Lyne of a collaterall Work-man-ſhip, and ſurely it may amaze a well ſetled Judgment to look back into theſe Times, and to conſider how the *Duke* could attaine to ſuch a Pitch of Greatneſſe, his Father dying in Ignominie, and at the Gallowes, his Eſtate confiſcate for pilling and polling the People.

But when we better thinke upon it, we find that he was given up, but as a Sacrifice to pleaſe the People, not for any Offence committed againſt the Perſon of the *King*; ſo that upon the Matter he was a Martire of the Prerogative, and the *King* in Honour could do no leſſe than give backe to his Sonne the Priviledge of his Blood, with the acquireing of his Father's Profeſſion, for he was a Lawyer, and of the *King's* Counſell, at Law, before he came to be *ex interioribus Conſiliis*, where beſides the Licking of his owne Fingers, he got the *King* a maſſe of Riches, and that not with Hazard, but with the Loſſe of his Life and Fame, for the King's Father's Sake.

Certainely it is, that his Sonne was left rich in Purſe, and Braine, which are good Foundations, and Fewell to Ambition, and it may be ſuppoſed, he was on all Occaſions well heard of the *King*, as a Perſon of Marke and Compaſſion in his Eye, but I finde not that he did put up for Advancement, during *Henry* VIII. Time, although a vaſt Aſpirer, and a provident Stayer.

It ſeemes he thought the *King's Raigne* was much given to the Falling-Sickneſſe, but eſpying his Time fitting, and the Soveraignitie in the Hands of a Pupill Prince, he then thought he might as well put up, for it was the beſt for having the Poſſeſſion of Blood, and of Purſe, with a Head-peece of a vaſt Extent, he ſoone got to Honour, and no ſooner there, but hee began to ſide it with the beſt, even with the Protector, and in Concluſion, got his, and his Brother's Heades, ſtill aſpiring till he expired in the Loſſe of his owne; ſo that Poſteritie may by reading of the Father, and Grandfather, make Judgment of the Sonne, for we ſhall finde that this *Robert*, whoſe Originall we have now traced, the better to preſent him, was Inheritor to the Genius, and Craft of his Father, and *Ambroſe* of the Eſtate, of whom hereafter we ſhall make ſome ſhort Mention.

We tooke him now as he was admitted into the Court and the Queene's Favour, and here he was not to ſeeke to play his Part well, and dexteriouſly, but his Play was chiefly at the Foregame, not that he was a Learner at Latter, but he loved not the After-wit, for the Report is (and I thinke not unjuſtly) that he was ſeldome behind Hand with his Gameſters, and that they alwayes went with the Loſſe.

He was a very goodly Perſon, tall, and ſingularly well featured, and all his Youth well-favored, of a ſweet Aſpect, but high-foreheaded, which (as I ſhould take it) was of no Diſcommendation, but towards his latter, and which with old Men was but a middle Age, he grew high coloured, ſo that the Queene had much of her Father, for excepting ſome of her Kindred, and ſome few that had handſome Wits in crooked Bodies; ſhe alwaies tooke Perſo-

Perſonages in the Way of Election, for the People hath it to this Day, *King* Henry *loved a Man.*

Being thus in her Grace, ſhe called to Minde the Sufferings of her Anceſtors, both in her Fathers and Siſter's Raignes, and reſtored his, and his Brother's Blood, creating *Ambroſe* the Elder, Earle of *Warwick*, and himſelfe Earle of *Leiceſter*, and as he was *ex primiciis*, or of her firſt Choyce, ſo he reſted not there, but long enjoyed her Favor, and therewith what he liſted, till Time and Emulation, the Companions of Greatneſſe, reſolved of his Period, and to collour himſelf at his ſiting in a Clowde (at *Conebury*) not by ſo violent a Death, or by the fatall Sentence of Judicature, as that of his Father and Grandfather's was, but as it is ſuppoſed by that Poyſon which he had prepared for others, wherein they report him a rare Artiſt.

I am not bound to give Credit to all vulgar Relations, or to the Libells of his Time, which are commonly forced and falſified, ſutable to the Wordes and Honours of Men in Paſſion, and Diſcontent, but which bindes me to thinke him no good Man amongſt other Things of knowne Truth, is that of my Lord of *Eſſex* his Death in *Ireland*, and the Marriage of his Lady, which I forbeare to preſſe, in Regard he is long ſince dead, and others living whom it may concerne.

To take him in the Obſervation of his Letters and Writings, which ſhould beſt ſet him off, for ſuch as have fallen into my Hands, I never yet ſaw a Stile or Phraſe more ſeemingly religious, and fuller of the Straines of Devotion, and were they not ſincere, I doubt much of his well Being, and I feare he was too well ſeene in the Aphoriſmes, and Principles of *Nicolas* the *Florentine*, and in the Reaches of *Cæſar Borgias*.

And hitherto I have onely touched him in his Courtſhips. I conclude him in his Lanuce. He was ſent Governor by the Queene to the revolted States of *Holland*, where we reade not of his Wonders, for they ſay, he had more of *Mercury*, than he had of *Mars*, and that his Deviſe might have beene without Prejudice to the great *Cæſar*. *Veni, vidi, redivi.*

RADCLIFE *Earle of* SUSSEX.

HIS Corrivall was *Thomas Radcliffe* Earle of *Suſſex*, who in his Conſtellation was his direct Oppoſite; for indeed he was one of the Queene's Martialiſts, and did her very good Service in *Ireland*, at his firſt Acceſſion, till ſhe recalled him to the *Court*, whom ſhe made Lord *Chamberlane*; but he play'd not his Game with that Cunning and Dexteritie, as the Earle of *Leiceſter* did, which was much the more, the fairer Courtier, though *Suſſex* was thought much the honeſter Man, and far the better Souldier, but he lay too open on his Guard; he was a godly Gentleman, and of a brave and noble Nature, true, and conſtant to his Friends, and Servants; he was alſo of a very ancient and noble Lyneage, honoured through many Diſcents, through the Tytle of *Fitzwalters*. Moreover there was ſuch an Antipathy in his Nature, to that of *Leiceſter*, that being together in Court, and both in high Imployments, they grew to a direct Frowardneſſe, and

and were in continuall Oppoſition, the one ſetting the Watch, the other the Guard, each on the others Actions, and Motions, for my Lord of *Suſſex* was of a great Spirit, which backt with the Queene's ſpeciall Favor, and Support, by a great and ancient Inheritance, could not brooke the others Empire, in ſo much as the Queene upon ſundry Occaſions had ſomewhat to do to appeaſe and attone them, untill Death parted the Competition, and left the Place to *Leiceſter*, who was not long alone without his Rivall in Grace, and Command: To conclude, this Favorite, it is confidently affirmed, that lying in his laſt Sickneſſe, he gave this Caveat to his Friends.

I am now paſſing into another World, and I muſt leave you to your Fortunes, and the Queene's Grace and Goodneſſe, but beware of the Gipſey, meaning Leiceſter, *for he will be too hard for you all, you know not the Beaſt ſo well as I do.*

Secretary WILLIAM CECILL.

I Come now to the next, which was Secretary *William Cecill*, for on the Death of the old Marqueſſe of *Wincheſter*, he came up in his Roome, a Perſon of a moſt ſubtile, and active Spirit.

He ſtood not by the Way of Conſtellation, but was wholly intentive to the Service of his Miſtreſs, and his Dexterity, Experience, and Merit therein, challenged a Roome in the Queene's Favor, which eclipſed the others overſeeming Greatneſſe, and made it appeare that there were others ſteered, and ſtood at the Helme beſides himſelfe, and more Stars in the Firmament of Grace, than *Urſa Major*.

He was borne as they ſay, in *Lincolne ſhire*, but as ſome aver, upon Knowledge of a younger Brother, of the *Cecills* of *Hartford-ſhire*, a Family of my owne Knowledge, though now private, yet of no meane Antiquitie; who being expoſed, and ſent to the Citie, as poore Gentlemen uſe to do their Sons, who became to be a rich Man on *London-bridge*, and purchaſed in *Lincoln-ſhire*, where this Man was borne.

He was ſent to *Cambridge*, and then to the *Innes* of *Court*, and ſo came to ſerve the Duke of *Summerſet*, in the Time of his Protector-ſhip as Secretary, and having a Pregnancie to high Inclinations, he came by Degrees, to a higher Converſation, with the chiefeſt Affaires of State and Councells, but on the Fall of the Duke, he ſtood ſome Yeares in Umbradge, and without Imployment, till the State found they needed his Abilities, and although we finde not that he was taken into any Place, during *Marie's Raigne*, unleſſe (as ſome ſay) towards the laſt, yet the Councell ſeverall Times made uſe of him, and at the Queene's Entrance, he was admitted Secretary of State, afterwards he was made Maſter of the Court of Wards, then Lord Treaſurer, a Perſon of moſt excellent Abillities, and indeed the Queene began to need and ſeeke out Men of both Guards, and ſo I conclude to ranke this great Man, this great Inſtrument amongſt *Togati*, for he had not to doe with the Sword, any more than as the great Pay-maſter, and Contriver of the War, which ſhortly followed, wherein he accompliſhed much, through his

theoricall Knowledge at home, and his Intelligence abroad, by unlocking of the Councells of the Queene's Enemies.

We muſt now take it, and that of Truth, into Obſervation, that untill the tenth of her Raigne, the Times were calme and ſerene, though ſometimes over-caſt, as the moſt glorious Sunne-riſing is ſubject to ſhadowings and dropings, for the Clowdes of *Spaine*, and the Vapers of the holy League began to diſperſe and threaten her Felicitie. Moreover, ſhe was then to provide for ſome inteſtine Strangers, which began to gather in the Heart of her Kingdome, all which had Relation, and Correſpondency, each one to the other, to diſthrone her, and to diſturbe the publique Tranquilitie, and therewithall, as a principall Marke, the eſtabliſhed Religion, for the Name of *Recuſant* then began firſt to be knowne to the World, untill then the *Catholiques* were not more than Church Papiſts, but now commanded by the Popes expreſſe *Catholique-Church* their Mother, ſo it ſeemes the Pope had then his Aymes to take a true Number of his Children, but the Queene had the greater Advantage, for ſhe likewiſe tooke Tale of her oppoſite Subjects, their Strength, and how many they were, that had given up their Names to *Baal*, who then by the Hands of ſome of his Proſolites, fixed his Bulls on the Gates of *Pauls*, which diſcharged her Subjects of all Fidelitie, and received Faith, and ſo under the Vaile of the next Succeſſor, to replant the *Catholique Religion*, ſo that the Queene had then a new Taſke and Worke in hand, that might well awake her beſt Providence, and required a Muſter of new Armes, as well as Court-ſhips, and Counſells, for the Time then began to grow quick, and active, fitter for ſtronger Motions than them of the Carpet, and Meaſure, and it will be a true Note of her Magninimitie, that ſhe lov'd a Souldier, and had a Propention in her Nature to regard, and alwaies to grace them, which the Courtiers taking into their Conſideration, tooke it as an inviteing to winne Honour; together with their Majeſtie's Favor, by expoſeing themſelves to the Wars, eſpecially when the Queene and the Affaires of the Kingdome ſtoode in ſome neceſſity of the Souldiers, for we have many Inſtances of the Sallies of the Nobilitie, and Gentry, yea and of the Court, and of her privy Favorites, that had any Touch or Tincture of *Mars* in their Inclinations, and to ſteale away without Licence, and the Queene's Privitie, which had like to coſt ſome of them deare, ſo predomminate were their Thoughts, and Hopes of Honour growne in them, as we may truely obſerve in the Expoſition of Sir *Philip Sidney*, my Lord of *Eſſex*, *Mountjoy*, and diverſe others, whoſe Abſence, and the Manner of their Irruptions, was very diſtaſtfull unto her; whereof I can hereunto add a true, and no impertinent Story, and that of the laſt: *Mountjoy*, who having twice, or thrice, ſtolen away into *Brittany*, where under Sir *John Norris*, he had then a Company without the Queene's Leave and Privitie; ſhe ſent a Meſſenger unto him, with a ſtrict Charge to the Generall, to ſee him ſent Home.

When he came into the Queene's Preſence, ſhe fell into a kind Rayling, demanding of him how he durſt goe over, without her Leave; Serve me ſo (quoth ſhe) once more, and I will lay you faſt enough for running; you will never leave till you are knock't over the Head, as that inconſiderate Fellow

Sidney

Sidney was, you ſhall goe when I ſend you; in the meane Time, ſee that you lodge in the Court, (which was then at *Whitehall*) where you may follow your Booke, read, and diſcourſe of the Warres: but to our Purpoſe: It fell out happily to thoſe, and as I may ſay, to theſe Times, that the Queene during the calme Time of her Raigne was not idle, nor rock't aſleepe with Security, for ſhe had beene very provident in the Reparation, and Augmentation of her Shipping, and Ammunition, and I know not whether by a fore-ſight of Policy, or any Inſtinct it came about, or whether it was an Act of her Compaſſion, but it is moſt certaine ſhe ſent no ſmall Troopes to the revolted States of *Holland*, before ſhe had received any Affront from the King of *Spaine*, that might deſerve to tend to a Breach of Hoſtilitie, which the Papiſts maintaine to this Day, was the Provocation to the after Wars; but omitting what might be ſayd to this Point, theſe *Netherland* Wars, were the Queene's Seminaries and Nurſeries, of very many brave Souldiers, and ſo likewiſe were the Civill Wars of *France*, whither ſhe ſent five ſeverall Armies.

They were the *French* Scollers that inured the Youth, and Gentry of the Kingdome, and it was a *Militia* wherein they were daily in Acquaintance with the Diſcipline of the *Spaniards*, who were then turned the Queene's inveterate Enemies.

And thus have I taken in Obſervation her *Dies Halcionii*, theſe Yeares of hers, which were more ſerene and quiet, than thoſe that followed, which though they were not leſſe propitious as being touched more with the Points of Honour, and Victory, yet were they troubled and loaded ever, both with domeſtique and forraigne Machinations, and as it is already quoted, they were ſuch as awakened her Spirits, and made her caſt about her to defend, rather by offending, and by Way of Proviſion, to prevent all Invaſions than to expect them, which was a Peece of the Cunning of the Times, and with this I have noted the Cauſes, and *principium* of the Wars following, and likewiſe Points to the Seed-plots, from whence ſhe took up theſe brave Men, and Plants of Honour, which acted on the Theatre of *Mars*, and on whom ſhe diſperſed the Rayes of her Graces, which were Perſons in their Kindes of Care, Vertues, and ſuch as might out of Merit pretend Intereſt to her Favors, of which Ranke the Number will equall, if not exceed that of the Gowne-men, in Recompt of whom, I will proceed with Sir *Philip Sidney*.

Sir PHILIP SIDNEY.

HE was the Sonne of Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and Preſident of *Wales*, a Perſon of great Parts, and of no meane Grace with the Queene; his Mother was Siſter to my Lord of *Leiceſter*, from whence we may conjecture, how the Father ſtood up in the Sphere of Honour, and Imployments, ſo that his Deſcent was apparantly noble on both Sides; and for his Education, it was ſuch as Travaile, and the *Univerſitie* could afford none better, and his Tutors infuſe, for after an incredible Proficiencie in all the Spheres of Learning, hee left the *Academicall*, for that of the Court, whither he came by his Uncle's Invitation, famed after by noble Reports of

his Accompliſhments, which, together with the State of his Perſon, framed by a naturall Propenſion to Armes, ſoone attracted the good Opinions of all Men, and was ſo highly praiſed in the Eſteeme of the Queene, that ſhe thought the Court deficient without him: and whereas through the Fame of his Deſert, he was in Election for the Kingdome of *Pole*, ſhe refuſed to further his Preferment: It was not out of Emulation of Advancement, but out of feare to looſe the Jewell of her Time. He married the Daughter, and ſole Heire of Sir *Francis Walſingham*, the Secretary of State; a Lady deſtinated to the Bed of Honour, who after his deplorable Death at *Zutphen*, in the *Low Countries*, where he was at the Time of his Uncle *Leiceſter's* being there, was remarried to the Lord of *Eſſex*, and ſince his Death, to my Lord of Saint *Albones*, all Perſons of the Sword, and otherwiſe of great Honour, and Vertue.

They have a very quaint Conceipt of him, that *Mars*, and *Mercury*, fell at Variance, whoſe Servant he ſhould be, and there is an *Epigrammiſt* that ſaith, that *Art*, and *Nature*, had ſpent their Excellencies in his faſhioning, and fearing they could not end what they had begun, they beſtowed him up for Time, and *Nature* ſtood mute, and amazed to behold her owne Marke: But theſe are the Particulars of Poets.

Certaine it is, he was a noble and matchleſſe Gentleman, and it may be ſayd juſtly of him without theſe Hiperboles of Faction, as it was of *Ca. Ubicenſis*, and that he ſeemed to be born onely to that which he went about *Vir ſubtilis Ingenii*, as *Plutarch* ſayth it, but to ſpeake more of him, were to make them leſſe.

WALSINGHAM.

SIR *Francis Walſingham*, as we have ſayd, had the Honour to be Sir *Philip Sidney's* Father in Law; he was a Gentleman at firſt, of a good Houſe, and of a better Education, and from the Univerſitie travelled for the reſt of his Learning; doubtleſſe he was the onely Linguiſt of his Times, how to uſe his owne Tongue, whereby he came to be imployed in the chiefeſt Affaires of State.

He was ſent Ambaſſador to *France*, and ſtay'd there Legate long in the Heate of the Civil Warrs, and at the ſame Time that Mounſier was here a Sutor to the Queene, and if I be not miſtaken, he played the very ſame Part there, as ſince *Gundamore* did here: at his Returne he was taken principall Secretary, and for one of the great Engines of State, and of the Times, high in his Miſtreſs the Queene's Favor, and a watchfull Servant over the Safety of his Miſtreſs.

They note him to have certaine Curteſies and ſecret Wayes of Intelligence above the reſt, but I muſt confeſſe, I am to ſeeke wherefore he ſuffered *Parry* to play ſo long as he did, hang on the Hooke before he hoyſed him up: and I have been a little curious in the Search thereof, though I have not to doe with the *Arcana Regalia imperii*, for to know it's ſometimes a Bur-

a Burthen; and I remember it was *Ovid*'s criminant Error, that he ſaw too much, but I hope theſe are Collateralls, and of noe Danger.

But that *Parry* having an Intent to kill the Queene, made the Way of his Acceſſe, by betraying of others, and in appeaching of the Prieſts of his owne Correſpondency, and thereby had Acceſſe to conferre with the Queene, as oftentimes private and familiar Diſcourſe with *Walſingham*, will not be the Quere of the Myſtery, for the Secretary might have had an End of a further Diſcovery and Maturity of the Treaſon, but that after the Queene knewe *Parrye*'s Intent, why ſhe would then admit him to private Diſcourſe, and *Walſingham* to ſuffer him, conſidering the Conditions of all the Deſignes, and to permit him to goe where and whither he liſted, and onely under the Secrecy of a darke Sentinell ſet over him, was a Peece of Reach and Hazard, beyond my Apprehenſion: I muſt againe profeſſe that I have read many of his Letters, for they are commonly ſent to my Lord of *Leiceſter*, and of *Burleigh*, out of *France*, containing many fine Paſſages, and Secrets; yet if I might have been beholding to his Cyphers, they would have told pretty Tales of the Times, but I muſt now cloſe him up, and ranke him amongſt the *Togati:* yet Chiefe of thoſe that layd the Foundations of the *French* and *Dutch* Warres, which was another Peece of his Fineneſſe of the Times, with one Obſervation more, that he was one of the greateſt alwaies of the *Auſterian* Imbracements, for both himſelfe, and *Stafford*, that preceded him, might well have beene compared to him in the Goſpel, that ſowed his Tares in the Night; ſo did they their Seedes in Diviſion, in the Darke, and as it is a likely Report, that they father on him at his Returne, the Queene ſpeaking to him with ſome Senſibility of the *Spaniſh* Deſignes on *France*; Madam, he anſwered, I beſeech you be content, and feare not, the *Spaniards* have a great Appetite, and an excellent Digeſtion, but I have fitted him with a Bone for theſe 20 Yeares, that your Majeſty ſhould have noe Cauſe to doubt him, provided that if the Fire chance to ſhake, which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and caſt in ſome of your Fewell, which will revive the Flame.

WILLOUGHBIE.

MY Lord *Willoughbie* was one of the Queene's firſt Swordmen; he was of the ancient Extract of the *Bartewes*, but more ennobled by his Mother, who was Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*; he was a great Maſter of the Art Military, and was ſent Generall into *France*, and commanded the ſecond Army of five, the Queene had ſent thither, in Ayde of the *French:* I have heard it ſpoken, that had he not ſlighted the Court, but applyed himſelfe to the Queene, he might have enjoyed a plentifull Portion of her Grace; and it was his Saying, and it did him no good, that he was none of the *Reptilia*; intimating, that he could not creepe on the Ground, and that the Court was not his Element; for indeed as he was a great Souldier, ſo he was of a ſuitable Magnanimitie, and could not brooke the Obſequiouſneſſe and Aſſiduitie of the Court, and as he was then ſomewhat deſcending from Youth, happily he had an *Animam revertendi*, and to make a ſafe Retreate.

BACON.

BACON.

AND now I come to another of the *Togati*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, an Arch-peece of Wit, and of Wiſdome; he was a Gentleman, and a Man of Law, and of great Knowledge therein; whereby, together with his after Part of Learning and Dexteritie, he was promoted to be Keeper of the Great Seale; and being of Kin to the Treaſurer *Burleigh*, and alſo the Helpe of his Hand to bring him to the Queene's great Favor, for he was abundantly factious, which tooke much with the Queene, when it ſuited with the Seaſon, as he was well able to judge of the Times: He had a very quaint Saying, and he uſed it often to good Purpoſe, *that he loved the Jeſt well, but not the Loſſe of his Friend*; and that though he knew that *verus quiſque ſuæ fortunæ faber*, was a true and a good Principle, yet the moſt in Number were thoſe that numbred themſelves; but I will never forgive that Man, that loſeth himſelfe to be rid of his Jeſts.

He was Father to that refined Wit, which ſince hath acted a diſaſterous Part on the publique Stage; and of late ſate in his Father's Roome as Lord Chancellor: Thoſe that lived in his Age, and from whence I have taken this little Modell of him, give him a lively Character; and they decipher him to be another *Solon*, and the *Synon* of thoſe Times, ſuch a one as *Œdipus* was, in diſſolving of Riddles; doubtleſſe he was an able Inſtrument, and it was his Commendations that his Head was the Mallet, for it was a very great one, and therein kept a Wedge, that entred all knotty Peeces that came to the Table.

And now againe I muſt fall back to ſmooth, and plane a Way to the reſt that is behind, but not from my Purpoſe. There have been about this Time two Rivalls in the Queene's Favor; old Sir *Francis Knowles*, Comptroler of the Houſe, and Sir *Henry Noris*, whom ſhe called up at Parliament, to ſit with the Peeres in the higher Houſe, as *Henry Norris* of *Rycot*, who had married the Daughter and Heire of the old *Henry Williams* of *Tayne*, a Noble Perſon, and to whom in her Adverſite the Queene had been committed to his ſafe Cuſtodie, and from him had received more than ordinary Obſervances: Now ſuch was the Goodneſſe of the Queene's Nature, that ſhe neither forgot the good Turnes received from the Lord *Williams*; neither was ſhe unmindfull of this Lord *Norris*, whoſe Father in her Father's Time, and in the Buſineſſe of her Brother, died in a noble Cauſe, and in the Juſtification of her Innocency.

NORRIS.

MY Lord *Norris* had by this Lady an apt Iſſue, which the Queene highly reſpected, for he had ſixe Sonnes, and all martiall and brave Men; the firſt was *William* the eldeſt, and Father to the late Earle of *Barkeſhire*, Sir *John* vulgarly called Generall *Norris*, Sir *Edward*, Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Henry*, and *Maximilian*, Men of hauty Courage, and of great Experience in the

the Conduct of Military Affayres; and to ſpeake in the Character of their Merit, they were Perſons of ſuch Renowne and Worth, as future Times muſt out of Duty owe them the Debt of an honourable Memory.

KNOWLES.

SIR *Francis Knowles* was ſomewhat neare in the Queene's Affinitie, and had likewiſe noe incompetent Iſſue; for he had alſo *William* his eldeſt Sonne, and ſince Earle of *Banbury*, Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Robert*, and Sir *Francis*; if I be not a little miſtaken in their Names, and Marſhalling: and there was alſo the Lady *Lettice*, a Siſter of thoſe, who was firſt Counteſſe of *Eſſex*, and after of *Leiceſter*; and thoſe were alſo brave Men in their Times and Places, but they were of the Court and Carpet, and not by the Genious of the Camp.

Betweene theſe two Families, there was as it falleth out amongſt great Ones and Competitors of Favor, no great Correſpondency, and there were ſome Seedes either of Emulation, or Diſtruſt, caſt betweene them, which had they not beene disjoyned in the Reſidence of their Perſons, as that was the Fortune of their Imployments, the one ſide attending the Court, and the other the Pavillion, ſurely they would have broken out into ſome kind of Hoſtilitie, or at leaſt they would have intwinde and wreſtled one in the other like Trees circuled with Ivy; for there was a Time, that when both theſe Fraternities being met at Court, when there paſſed a Chalenge betweene them at certaine Exerciſes, the Queene and the old Men being Spectators, which ended in a flat Quarell amongſt them all: one I am perſwaded, though I ought not to judge, that there were ſome Reliques of this feyned, that there were long after the Cauſes of the one Families almoſt utter Extirpation, and the others in Proſperitie, for it was a knowne Truth, that ſo long as my Lord of *Leiceſter* lived, who was the maine Pillar on the one Side, for having marryed the Siſter, the other Side tooke no deepe Root in the Court, though otherwiſe they made their Waies to honour by their Swords, and that which is of more note, conſidering my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s uſe of Men of War, being ſhortly after ſent Governor to the revolted States, and no Souldier himſelfe, is that he made no more Accompt of Sir *John Norris* a Souldier then deſervedly famouſed, and trained from a Page under the Diſcipline of the greateſt Captaine in Chriſtendome, the Admirall *Caſtilliau*, and of command in the *French*, and *Dutch* Warres, almoſt 20 Yeares; and it is of further Obſervation, that my Lord of *Eſſex*, after *Leiceſter*'s Deceaſe, though addicted to Armes, and honoured by the Generall, in the *Portugall* Expedition, where out of Inſtigation, as it hath beene thought, or out of Ambition and Jelouſie ecclipſed by the Fame and Splendor of this great Commander, never loved him in Sincerity.

Moreover, and certaine it is, he not onely cruſhed, and upon all Occaſions quailed the Youth of this great Man, and his famous Brethren, but therewith drew on his owne fatall End, by undertaking the *Iriſh* Action, in Time when he left the Court empty of Friends and full fraught with his profeſſed Enemies,

Enemies. But I forbeare to extend my ſelfe in any further Relation upon this Subject, as having loſt ſome Notes of Truth in theſe two Nobles, which I would preſent, and therewith touched ſomewhat, which I would not, if the Equity of the Narration, would have omitted.

PERROT.

SIR *John Perrot* was a goodly Gentleman, and of the Sword, and he was of a very ancient Diſcent, as an Heire to many Subſtracts of Gentry, eſpecially from *Guy De Brian*, of *Lawhorn*, ſo was he of a very vaſt Eſtate, and came not to Court for want, and to theſe Advancements; he had the Endowments of Carriage, and Height of Spirit, had he alighted on the Ally and Temper of Diſcretion, the Defect whereof, with a native Freedome and Bouldneſſe of Speech, drew him on to a clowded Sitting, and layd him upon the Spleene and Advantage of his Enemies, of whom Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* was profeſſed; he was yet a wiſe Man, and a brave Courtier, but rough and participating more of active, than ſedentary-Motions, as being in his Inſtellation deſtined for Armes, there is a Quære of ſome Denotations, how he came to receive the Foyle, and that in the Cataſtrophe, for he was ſtrengthened with honourable Alliances, and the prime Friendſhip in *Court*; my Lord of *Leiceſter*, and *Burleigh*, both his Contemporaries, and Familiars, but that there might be (as the Adage hath it) Falſitie in Friendſhip, and we may reſt ſatisfied, that there is no Diſpute againſt Fates, and they quit him for a Perſon that loved to ſtand too much alone on his Leggs, of too often Regreſſe and Diſcontinuance from the Queene's Preſence, a Fault which is incompatible with the Waies of Court and Favor. He was ſent Lord Deputy into *Ireland*, as it was then apprehended, for a Kind of Hautineſſe and Repugnancie in Counſells; or, as others have thought, the fitteſt Perſon then to bridle the Inſolencies of the *Iriſh*; and probable it is, that both conſidering the Sway that he would have at the Board, and Head in the Queene's Favor, concurred, and did alike conſpire his Remove and Ruine: But into *Ireland* he went, where he did the Queene very great and many Services, if the Surpluſage of the Meaſure did not abate the Value of the Merit, as after Time found to be no Paradox, to ſave the Queene's Purſe; but both her ſelfe and my Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, ever tooke for good Service: He impoſed on the *Iriſh* the Charge for bearing their own Armes, which both gave them the Poſſeſſion, and taught them the Uſe of Weapons, which proceeded in the End to a moſt fatall Worke, both in the Profuſion of Blood and Treaſure.

But at his Returne, and upon ſome Accompt ſent Home before, touching the Eſtate of that Kingdome, the Queene powred out aſſiduous Teſtimonies of her Grace towards him, till by his Retreate to his Caſtle of *Cary*, where he was then building, and out of a Deſire to be in Command at Home, as he had beene Abroad, together with the Hatred and Practiſe of *Hatton*, then in high Favour, whom he had not long before bitterly taunted for his Dancing; he was accuſed for High Treaſon, and for high Wordes, and by a forged Letter, condemned; though the Queene, on the Newes of his Condemnation, ſwore

ſwore by her wonted Oath, that the Jury were all Knaves; and they delivered it with Aſſurance, that on his Returne to the Towne, after his Triall, he ſaid with Oathes, and with Fury, to the Lieutenant Sir *Owen Hopton*, what will the Queene ſuffer her Brother to be offered up as a Sacrifice to the Envy of my flattering Adverſaries? Which being made knowne to the Queene, and ſomewhat enforced, ſhe refuſed to ſigne it, and ſwore he ſhould not die, for he was an honeſt and faithfull Man: And ſurely, though not altogether to ſet our Reſt and Faith upon Tradition, and old Reports, as that Sir *Thomas Perrot*, his Father, was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and in the Court married to a Lady of great Honour, which are Preſumptions in ſome Implications; but if we goe a little further, and compare his Pictures, his Qualities, Geſture, and Voyce, with that of the King, which Memory retaines yet amongſt us, they will plead ſtrongly that he was a ſubreptitious Child of the *Blood Royall*.

Certaine it is, that he lived not long in the Tower; and that after his Deceaſe, Sir *Thomas Perrot*, his Sonne, then of no meane Eſteeme with the Queene, having before married my Lord of *Eſſex* his Siſter, ſince Counteſſe of *Northumberland*, had Reſtitution of his Land, though after his Death alſo (which immediately followed) the *Crowne* reſumed the Eſtate, and tooke Advantage of the former Attainder; and to ſay the Truth, the Prieſt's forged Letter was at his Arraignement thought but as a Fiction of Envy, and was ſoone after exploded by the Prieſt's owne Confeſſion; but that which moſt exaſperated the Queene, and gave Advantage to his Enemies, was, as Sir *Walter Rawleigh* takes into Obſervation, Words of Diſdaine; for the Queene by ſharpe and reprehenſive Letters had netled him; and thereupon ſending others of Approbation, commending his Service, and intimating an Invaſion from *Spaine*; which was no ſooner propoſed, but he ſayd publiquely, in the great *Chamber* at *Dublin*, Loe now ſhe is ready to bepiſſe her ſelf, for Feare of the *Spaniards*, I am againe one of her white Boyes: which are ſubject to a various Conſtruction, and tended to ſome Diſreputation of his Soveraigne; and ſuch as may ſerve for Inſtruction to Perſons in Places of Honour and Command, to beware of the Violences of Nature, and eſpecially the Exorbitance of the Tongue. And ſo I conclude him with this double Obſervation; the one of the Innocency of his Intentions exempt and cleare from the Guilt of Treaſon and Diſloyaltie, therefore of the Greatneſſe of his Heart, for at his Arraignement he was ſo little dejected with what might be alledged, that rather he grew troubled with Choller, and in a Kind of Exaſpiration, he deſpiſed his Jury, though of the Order of Knighthood, and of the ſpeciall Gentry, claiming the Priviledge of Tryall by the Peeres, and Barronnage of the Realme; ſo prevalent was that of his native Genious and Hautineſſe of Spirit, which accompanied him to his laſt, and till without any Diminution of Change therein, it brake in Peeces the Cords of his Magnanimitie, for he died ſuddainely in the Tower, and when it was thought the Queene did intend his Enlargement, with the Reſtitution of his Poſſeſſions, which were then very great, and comparable to moſt of the Nobilitie.

HATTON.

SIR *Christopher Hatton* came to the Court as his Oppoſite: Sir *John Perrot* was wont to ſay by the Galliard, for he came thither as a private Gentleman of the Innes of Court, in a Maſke; and for his Activity, and Perſon, which was tall and proportionable, taken into her Favor: He was firſt made Vice Chamberlain; and ſhortly after, advanced to the Place of Lord Chancellor: A Gentleman that, beſides the Graces of his Perſon and Dancing, had alſo the Endowment of a ſtrong and ſubtile Capacitie, and that could ſoone learne the Diſcipline and Garbe, both of the Times and Court, and the Truth is, hee had a large Proportion of Guifts and Endowments, but too much of the Seaſon of Envy, and he was a meere Vegetable of the Court, that ſprung up at Night and ſunke againe at his Noone.

Flos non mentorum, ſed ſex fuit illa virorum.

EFFINGHAM.

MY Lord of *Effingham*, though a Courtier betimes, yet I find not that the Sunſhine of his Favor brake out upon him, untill ſhe tooke him into the Ship, and made him *High Admirall* of *England*; for his Extract it might ſuffice, that he was the Sonne of a *Howard*, and of a Duke of *Norfolke*.

And for his Perſon as goodly a Gentleman as the Times had any, if Nature had not been more intentive to compleat his Perſon, than Fortune to make him rich; for the Times conſidered, which were then active, and a long Time after lucrative, he dyed not wealthy, yet the honeſter Man, though it ſeemes the Queene's Purpoſe was to tender the Occaſion of his Advancement, and to make him capable of more Honour, at his Returne from *Cadiz* Voyage, and Action ſhe conferred it upon him, creating him Earle of *Nottingham*, to the great Diſcontent of his Colleague my Lord of *Eſſex*, who then grew exceſſive in the Appetite of her Favor; and the Truth is ſo exorbitant in the Limitation of the Soveraigne Aſpect, that it much allienated the Queene's Grace from him, and drew others together with the *Admirall* into a Combination, to conſpire his Ruine; and though as I have heard it from that Party (I meane the old *Admirall*'s Factions) that it lay not in his proper Power to hurt my Lord of *Eſſex*, yet he had more Fellowes, and ſuch as were well ſkilled in the ſetting of the Trayne: but I leave this to thoſe of another Age; it is out of Doubt, that the *Admirall* was a good, honeſt, and brave Man, and a faithfull Servant to his Miſtreſs, and ſuch a one as the Queene out of her own princely Judgement knew to be a fit Inſtrument for her Service, for ſhe was a Proficient in the reading of Men aſwell as Bookes, and as ſundry Expeditions as that aforementioned, and 88, do better expreſſe his Worth, and manifeſt the Queene's Truſt, and the Opinion ſhe had of his Fidelitie, and Conduct.

Moreover,

Moreover, the *Howards* were of the Queene's Alliance, and Conſanguinitie by her Mother, which ſwayed her Affections, and bent it towards this great Houſe; and it was a Part of her naturall Propention, to grace and ſupport ancient Nobilitie, where it did not intrench, neither invade her Intereſt, from ſuch Treſpaſſes ſhe was quicke and tender, and would not ſpare any whatſoever, as we may obſerve in the Caſe of the Duke, and my Lord of *Hartford*, whom ſhe much favoured, and countenanced, till they attempted the forbidden Fruit; the Fault of the laſt being, in the ſevereſt Interpretation, but a Treſpaſſe of Incroachment, but in the firſt it was taken as a Ryot againſt the Crowne, and her owne ſoveraigne Power; and, as I have ever thought, the Cauſe of her Averſion againſt the reſt of that Houſe, and the Duke's great Father-in-Law, *Fitz Allen*, Earle of *Arundell*, a Perſon in the firſt Ranke of her Affections, before theſe and ſome others Jelouſies, made a Separation betweene them.

This noble Lord and Lord *Thomas Howard*, ſince Earle of *Suffolk*, ſtanding alone in her Grace, and the reſt in her Umbrage.

PACKINGTON.

SIR *John Packington* was a Gentleman of no meane Family, and of Forme and Feature no Waies diſabled, for he was a brave Gentleman, and a very fine Courtier, and for the Time which he ſtayed there, which was not laſting, very high in her Grace; but he came in, and went out, through Diſaſſiduitie, drew the Curtaine betweene himſelfe, and the Light of her Grace, and then Death overwhelmed the Remnant, and utterly deprived him of Recovery; and they ſay of him, that had he brought leſſe to her Court than he did, he might have carried away more than he brought, for he had a Time on it, but an ill Huſband of Opportunitie.

HUNSDOWNE.

MY Lord of *Hunſdowne* was of the Queene's neareſt Kindred, and on the Deceaſe of *Suſſex*, both he and his Sonne ſucceſſively tooke the Place of Lord Chamberlaine: He was a faſt Man to his Prince, and firme to his Friend, and Servants, and though he might ſpeake big, and therein would be borne out, yet was he the more dreadfull, but leſſe harmfull, and far from the Practiſe of the Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Inſtructions, for he was downe-right; and I have heard thoſe that both knew him well, and had Intereſt in him, ſay meerely of him, that his *Lattine*, and Diſſimulation, were alike, and that his Cuſtome of Swearing, and Obſcoenitie, in ſpeaking, made him ſeeme a worſe Chriſtian than he was, and a better Knight of her Carpet than he could be: as he lived in a roughling Time, ſo he loved Sword and Buckler Men, and ſuch as our Fathers were wont to call Men of their Hands, of which Sort he had many brave Gentlemen that followed him, yet not taken for a popular and dangerous Perſon; and this is one that ſtood amongſt the *Togati*, of an honeſt ſtout Heart, and ſuch a one that upon Occaſion

would have fought for his Prince and Country, for he had the Charge of the Queene's Perſon both in the Court, and in the Camp at *Tilbury*.

RAWLEIGH.

SIR *Walter Rawleigh*, was one that it ſeemes Fortune had picked out of Purpoſe, of whom to make an Example, and to uſe as her Tennis-Ball, thereby to ſhew what ſhe could do, for ſhe toſſed him up of nothing, and to and fro to Greatneſſe, and from thence downe to little more than that wherein ſhe found him a bare Gentleman, and not that he was leſſe, for he was well deſcended, and of good Alliance; but poore in his Beginnings: and for my Lord of *Oxford*'s Jeſts of him for the Jacks and Upſtarts, we all know it favored more of Emulation, and his Honour, than of Truth; and it is a certaine Note of the Times, that the Queene in her Choyce never tooke in her Favor a meere vew'd Man, or a Mechanicke; as *Comines* obſerves of *Lewis* XI. who did ſerve himſelfe with Perſons of unknowne Parents, ſuch as were *Oliver* the *Barber*, whom he created Earle of *Dunoyes*, and made him *ex ſecretis conſiliis*, and alone in his Favour, and Familiarity.

His Approaches to the Univerſity, and Innes of Court, were the Groundes of his Improvement; but they were rather Extruſions than Sieges, or Settings downe, for he ſtayd not long in a Place; and being the youngeſt Brother, and the Houſe diminiſhed in his Patrimony, he foreſaw his Deſtiny, that he was firſt to roule through Want and Diſabillitie, to ſubſiſt otherwiſe, before he came to a Repoſe, and as the Stone doth by long lying gather Moſſe: He was the firſt that expoſed himſelfe into the Land Service of *Ireland*, a Militia which did not then yeild him Food and Rayment, for it was ever very poore; nor dared he to ſtay long there, though ſhortly after he came thither againe, under the Command of my Lord *Gray*, but with his owne Colours flying in the Field, having in the Interim caſt a meere Chance both in the *Low-Countries*, and in the Voyage to Sea; and if ever Man drew Vertue out of Neceſſity, it was he, and therewith was he the great Example of Induſtry; and though he might then have taken that of the Merchant to himſelfe, *Per Mare per Terras currit Mercator ad Indos*; he might alſo have ſaid, and truly with the Philoſopher, *Omnia mea mecum porto*, for it was a long Time before he could bragg of more than he carried at his Backe; and when he got on the winning Side, it was his Commendations that he tooke Paines for it, and underwent many various Adventures for his After-Perfection, and before he came into the publique Noate of the World: and that may appeare how he came up *per ardua*; *per varios caſus per tot diſcrimina rerum*; not pulled up by Chance, nor by any great Admittance: I will onely deſcribe his Nature and Parts, and theſe of his owne Acquiring.

He had in the outward Man a good Preſence, in a handſome and well compacted Perſon, a ſtrong naturall Wit, and a better Judgement, with a bould and plauſible Tongue, whereby he could ſet out his Parts to the beſt Advantage, and theſe he had by the Adjuncts of ſome generall Learning, which by Diligence, he enforced to a great Augmentation, and Perfection, for

for he was an indefalliable Reader, where by Sea and Land, and none of the beſt Obſervors, both of Men and of the Times, and I am ſomewhat confident, that among the ſecond Cauſes of his Grouth, that there was Variance betweene him and my Lord Generall *Gray*, in his ſecond Deſcent into *Ireland*, was principall for it, drew them both over to the Counſell Table, there to pleade their owne Cauſes, where what Advantage he had in the Caſe, in Controverſie I know not, but hee had much the better in the Manner of telling his Tale, inſomuch as the Queene and the Lords tooke no ſlight Marke of the Man, and his Parts, for from thence he came to be knowne, and to have Acceſſe to the Lords, and then we are not to doubt how ſuch a Man would comply to Progreſſion, and whether or no, my Lord of *Leiceſter* had then caſt a good Word for him to the Queene, which would have done him no harme, I doe not determine, but true it is, he had gotten the Queene's Eare in a Trice, and ſhe began to be taken with his Election, and loved to heare his Reaſons to her Demands, and the Truth is, ſhe tooke him for a kind of Oracle, which netled them all, yea thoſe that he relyed on, began to take this his ſoddaine Favor for an Allarum, and to be ſenſible of their owne Supplantation, and to project his, which made him ſhortly after ſing, *Fortune my Foe, why doſt thou frowne*; ſo that finding his Favor declining, and falling into a Receſſe, he undertooke a new Perigrination to leave that *terra infirma*, of the Court, for that of the Waves, and by declining himſelfe, and by Abſence to expell his and the Paſſion of his Enemies, which in Court was a ſtrange Deviſe of Recovery, but that he then knew there was ſome ill Office done him, yet he durſt not attempt to amend it, otherwiſe than by going aſide thereby, to teach Envy a new Way of Forgetfulneſſe, and not ſo much as thinke of him; howſoever he had it alwaies in Mind, never to forget himſelfe, and his Deviſe tooke ſo well, and in his Returne he came in as Rams do, by going backward with the greater Strength, and ſo continued to the laſt, great in her Favor, and Captaine of her Guard, where I muſt leave him, but with this Obſervation, though he gained much at the Court, he tooke it not out of the Exchequor, or meerely out of the Queene's Purſe, but by his Wit, and by the Helpe of the Prerogative, for the Queene was never profuſe in delivering out of her Treaſure, but payd moſt, and many of her Servants, part in Money, and the reſt with Grace, which as the Caſe ſtood, was then taken for good Payment, leaving the Arrerres of Recompence due for their Merrit, to her great Succeſſor, which payd them all with Advantage.

GREVILE.

SIR *Foulke Grevile*, ſince Lord *Brooke*, had no meane Place in her Favor, neither did he hold it for any ſhort Time, or Term, for if I be not deceived, he had the longeſt Leaſe, the ſmootheſt Time without Rubs of any of her Favorites, he came to the Court in his Youth and Prime, as that is the Time, or never; he was a brave Gentleman, and hopefully deſcended from *Willoughby*, Lord *Brooke*, and Admirall to *H.* VII. neither illiterate, for he

he was, as he would often profeſſe, a Friend to Sir *Philip Sidney*, and thereof is now extant ſome Fragments of his Penne, and of the Times, which do intereſt him in the Muſes, and which ſhewes him the Queene's Election had ever a noble Conduct, and it motions more of Vertue and Judgment, than of Fancy.

I finde that he neither ſought for, nor obtained any great Place, or Preferment in Court, during all his Time of Attendance, neither did he need it, for he came thither backt with plentifull Fortune, which as himſelfe was wont to ſay, was then better held together by a ſingle Life; wherein he lived, and dyed, a conſtant Courtier of the Ladies.

ESSEX.

MY Lord of *Eſſex*, as Sir *Henry Wotton* notes him, a Gentleman of great Parts, and partly of his Times, and retaine, had his Introduction by my Lord of *Leiceſter*, who had married his Mother, a Tye of Affinitie, which beſides a more urgent Obligation, might have invited his Care to advance him, his Fortunes being then through his Father's Infelicitie growne low; but that the Sonne of a Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartly*, Viſcount *Hartford*, and Earle of *Eſſex*, who was of the ancient Nobility, and formerly in the Queene's good Grace, could not have roome in her Favor, without the Aſſiſtance of *Leiceſter*, was beyond the Rule of her Nature, which as I have elſwhere taken into Obſervation, was ever inclinable to favour the Nobility, ſure it is, that he no ſooner appeared in Court, but he tooke with the Queene and the Countries, and I beleeve they all could not chuſe but looke through the Sacrifice of the Father, on his living Sonne, whoſe Image by the Remembrance of former Paſſages, was a freſh Leeke, the bleeding of Men murdered, repreſented to the Court, and offered up as ſubject of Compaſſion to all the Kingdome.

There was in this young Lord, together with a goodly Perſon a Kinde of Urbanity innovate Curteſie, which both won the Queene, and too much tooke up the People to gaze on the new adopted Sonne of her Favour; and as I goe along, it will not be amiſſe to take into Obſervation, two noteable Quotations; the firſt was a violent Indulgence of the Queene's, which is incident to old Age, where it incounters with a pleaſing and ſuitable Object towards this great Lord, which argued a Non-perpetuity; the ſecond was a Fault in the Object of her Grace; my Lord himſelfe, who drew in too faſt like a Child ſucking on an over uberous Nurſe, and had there beene a more decent Decorum obſerved in both, or either of theſe, without doubt the Unity of their Affections had beene more permanent, and not ſo in and out as they were, like an Inſtrument well tuned, and lapſing to Diſcord.

The greater Error of the two, though unwilling, I am conſtrained to impoſe on my Lord of *Eſſex*, and rather on his Youth; and none of the leaſt of the Blame on thoſe that ſtood Sentinell about him, who might have adviſed better, but that like Men intoxicated with Hopes, they likewiſe had ſucked in with the moſt of their Lord's Receipts, and ſo like *Cæſars*, would have

have all or none: a Rule quite contrary to Nature, and the moſt indulgent Parents, who they may expreſſe more Affection to one in the Abundance of Bequeathes, yet cannot forget ſome Legacyes, and Diſtributives, and Dividents to others of their begetting, and how hurtfull Partiality is, and proves, every Dayes Experience tells us, out of which common Conſideration, might have framed to their Hands a Maxime of more Diſcretion, for the Conduct, and Managment of their new graved Lord and Maſter.

But to omit that of Infuſion, and to do Right to Truth, my Lord of *Eſſex*, even of thoſe that truely loved and honoured him, was noted for too bold an Ingroſſer, both of Fame and Favor, and of this without Offence to the Living, or treading on the ſacred Grave of the Dead, I ſhall preſent the Truth of a Paſſage yet in Memory.

My Lord of *Mountjoy*, who was another Child of her Favour, being newly come, and then but Sir *Charles Blunt*, (for my Lord *William* his elder Brother was then living) had the good Fortune to run one Day very well at Tilt, and the Queene was therewith ſo well pleaſed, that ſhe ſent him in Token of her Favor, a Queene at *Cheſſe* in hold, richly enamelled, which his Servants had the next Day faſtened unto his Arme, with a crymſon Ribband; which my Lord of *Eſſex*, as he paſſed through the *Privy Chamber*, eſpying with his Cloake caſt under his Arme, the better to command it to the View, enquired what it was, and for what Cauſe there fixed? Sir *Foulk Grevile* tould him it was the Queene's Favour, which the Day before, and next after the Tilting, ſhe had ſent him: whereat my Lord of *Eſſex*, in a Kind of Emulation, and as though he would have limitted her Favour, ſaid, Now I perceive every Foole muſt have a Favor. This bitter and publique Affront came to Sir *Charles Blunt*'s Eare, at which he ſent him the Challenge, which was aceepted by my Lord, and they met neare *Marybone Parke*, where my Lord was hurt in the Thigh, and diſarmed: The Queene, miſſing of the Men, was very curious to learne the Truth, but at laſt it was whiſpered out, ſhe ſware by *God's Death* it was fit that ſome one or other ſhould take him downe, and teach him better Manners, otherwiſe there would be no Rule with him; and here I note the Iminition of my Lord's Friendſhip with *Mountjoy*, which the Queene her ſelfe did then conjure.

Now for his Fame we need not goe far, for my Lord of *Eſſex* having borne a Grudge to Generall *Norris*, who had unwittingly offered to undertake the Action of *Brittaine*, with fewer Men than my Lord had before demanded on his Returne with Victory, and a glorious Report of his Valour, he was then thought the onely Man for the *Iriſh* Wars, wherein my Lord of *Eſſex* ſo wrought by diſpiſing the Number and Qualitie of the Rebells, that *Norris* was ſent over with a ſcanted Force, joyned with the Reliques of the uttered Troopes of *Brittaine*, of ſet Purpoſe, and as it fell out to ruine *Norris*; and the Lord *Barrowes*, by my Lord's Procurement, ſent at his Heeles, and to command in Chiefe, and to convay *Norris* onely to his Government at *Mounſter*, which the great Heart of the Generall to ſee himſelfe undervalued, and undermined, by my Lord and *Burrowes*, which was as the Proverb ſpeakes, *juvenes docere ſenes*.

Now

Now my Lord *Burrowes* in the Beginning of his Profecution dyed, whereupon the Queene was fully bent to ſend over my Lord *Mountjoy*, which my Lord of *Eſſex* utterly miſliked, and oppoſed with many Reaſons, and by Arguments of Contempt towards *Mountjoy*, (his then profeſſed Friend, and Familiar) ſo predominate was his Deſire to reape the whole Honour of cloſeing up that War, and all other; now the Way being paved, and opned, by his owne Work-man-ſhip, and ſo handled, that none durſt appeare to ſtand in the Place; at laſt, and with much adoe, he obtained his owne Ends, and therewith his fatall Deſtruction, leaving the Queene and the Court, where he ſtood impregnable, and firme in her Grace, to Men that long had fought, and wayted their Times to give him the Trip, and could never find any Oppertunity but this of his Abſence, and of his owne Creation, and thoſe are true Obſervations of his Appetite, and Inclinations, which were not of any true Proportion, but hurried, and tranſported, with an over Deſire, and Thirſtineſſe after Fame, and that deceiptfull Fame of Popularity, and to helpe on his Cataſtrope, I obſerve likewiſe two Sorts of People that had a Hand in his Fall: Firſt was the Souldary, which all flock unto him, as it were foretelling a Mortality, and are commonly of blunt, and too rough Councells, and many Times diſſonant from the Time of the Court and State: the other Sort were of his Family, his Servants, and his owne Creatures, ſuch as were bound by Safety and Obligations of Fidelity, to have looked better to the ſteereing of that Boate, wherein they themſelves were carryed, and not to have ſuffered it to fleet and run on Ground with thoſe empty Sales of Tumor, of Popularity, and Applauſe: me thinks one honeſt Man or other, which had but the bruſhing of his Cloathes, might have whiſpered in his Eare, My Lord looke to it, this Multitude that followes you, will either devoure you, or undoe you, do not ſtrive to over-rule all, for it will coſt hot-water, and it will procure Envy, and if needs your Genius muſt have it ſo, let the Court and the Queene's Preſence be your Station, for your Abſence muſt undoe you; but as I have ſayd, they have ſuckt too much of their Lords Milke, and inſtead of withdrawing, they drew the Coales of his Ambition, and infuſed into him too much of the Spirit of Glory, yea, and mixed the Goodneſſe of his Nature, with a Touch of Revenge, which is ever-more accompanied with the Deſtinie of the ſame Fate of this Number, there were ſome of inſufferable Natures about him, that towards his laſt gave deſperate Adviſe, ſuch as his Integritie abhorred, and his Fidelitie forbad, amongſt whom Sir *Henry Wotton* notes without Injury, his Secretary *Cuffe*, as a vile Man, and of a perverſe Nature: I could alſo name others, that when he was in the right Courſe of Recovery, ſettling to Moderation, would not ſuffer a Receaſe in him, but ſtirred up the Dregs of thoſe rude Humors, which by Times, and his Affections out of his owne Judgement, he thought to repoſe, and give them all a Vomit. And thus I conclude this noble Lord, as a Mixture betweene Proſperity, and Adverſity, once a Child of his great Miſtreſſe's Favour, but a Sonne of *Bellona*.

BUCKHURST.

BUCKHURST.

MY Lord of *Buckhurſt* was of the noble Houſe of *Sackviles*, and of the Queene's Conſanguinity; or as the People then called him Fill-Sacks, by reaſon of his great Wealth, and the vaſt Patrimony left to his Sonne, whereof in his Youth he ſpent the beſt Part, untill the Queene, by her frequent Admonitions, diverted the Torrent of his Profuſion: He was a very fine Gentleman, of Perſon and Endowments, both of Art and Nature, but without Meaſure magnificent, till on the Torne of his Honour, and the Allay that his yearely good Counſell had wrought upon thoſe immoderate Courſes of his Youth, and that Height of Spirit inherent to his Houſe; and then did the Queene as a moſt judicious, indulgent Princeſſe, who when ſhe ſaw the Man growne ſetled, and ſtayd, gave him an Aſſiſtance, and advanced him to the Treaſurer-ſhip, where he made Amends to his Houſe for his miſ-ſpent Time, both in the Increaſement of his Eſtate and Honour which the Queene conferred upon him, together with the Opportunity to remake himſelfe, and thereby to ſhew that this was a Child that ſhould have a Share in her Grace.

They much commend his Elocution, but more the Excellency of his Pen, for he was a Scholler, and a Perſon of a quick Diſpatch, Faculties that yet run in the Blood; and they ſay of him, that his Secretaries did little for him, by the Way of Indictment, wherein they could ſeldome pleaſe him, he was ſo facete and choyce in his Phraſes, and Style; and for his Diſpatches, and for the Content he gave to Suitors, he had a Decorum ſeldome put in Practiſe, for he had of his Attendance that tooke into a Role, the Names of all Suitors, with the Date of their firſt Addreſſes, ſo that a freſh Man could not leape over his Head, that was of a more ancient Edition, excepting the urgent Affayres of the State.

I finde not, that he was any Way inſnared in the Factions of the Court, which were all his Time ſtrong; and in every Man's Note, the *Howards* and *Cecills* of the one Part, and my Lord of *Eſſex*, &c. on the other, for he held the Staffe of the Treaſury faſt in his Hand, which made them once in a Yeare to be beholding to him; and the Truth is, as he was a wiſe Man, and a ſtout, he had no Reaſon to be a Partaker, for he ſtood ſure in Blood, and in Grace, and was wholly intentive to the Queene's Service: and ſuch were his Abilities, that ſhe received aſſiduous Proofes of his Sufficiency; and it hath been thought ſhe might have more cunning Inſtruments, but none of a more ſtrong Judgment, and Confidence in his Wayes, which are Symptomes of Magnanimitie; whereunto methinks his Motto hath ſome Kind of Reference, *Aut nunquam tentes, aut perfice*; as though he would have charactered in a Word the Genius of his Houſe, or expreſſe ſomewhat of a higher Inclination that lay within his Compaſſe, that he was a Courtier is apparent, for he ſtood alwaies in her Eye, and in her Favour.

MOUNTJOY.

MY Lord *Mountjoy* was of the ancient Nobility, but utterly decayed in the Support thereof; (Patrimony through his Grandfather's Exceſſe) his Father's Vanitie in Search of the *Philoſopher's Stone*, and his Brother's untimely Prodigallity; all which ſeemed by a joynt Conſpiracie to ruinate the Houſe, and altogether to annihilate it: As he came from *Oxford* he tooke the *Inner Temple* in the Way to Court; whither he no ſooner came, but he had a pretty kind of Admiſſion, which I have heard from a diſcreet Man of his owne, and much more of the Secrets of thoſe Times; he was then much about twenty Yeares of Age, browne haired, of a ſweet Face, and of a moſt neate Compoſure, tall in his Perſon; the Queene was then at *Whitehall*, and at Dinner, whither he came to ſee the Faſhion of the Court, and the Queene had ſoone found him out, and, with a Kind of an affected Favour, aſked her Carver what he was? he anſwered he knew him not; inſomuch an Enquiry was made one from another, who he might be, till at length it was told the Queene, he was Brother to the Lord *William Mountjoy*; thus Enquirie with the Eye of her Majeſty fixed upon him, as ſhe was wont to doe, and to daun Men ſhe knew not, ſtirred the Blood of the young Gentleman, inſomuch as his Colour went and came; which the Queene obſerving, called unto him, and gave him her Hand to kiſſe, encouraging him with gracious Words, and new Lookes; and ſo diverting her Speech to the Lords, and Ladyes, ſhe ſayd, that ſhe no ſooner obſerved him, but ſhe knew there was in him ſome Noble Blood, with ſome other Expreſſions of Pitty towards his Houſe; and then againe demanding his Name, ſhe ſayd, faile you not to come to the Court, and I will bethinke my ſelfe, how to do you good; and this was his Inlet, and the Beginning of his Grace; where it falls into Conſideration, that though he wanted not Wit, and Courage, for he had very fine Attractives, as being a good Peece of a Scholler, yet were thoſe accompanied with the Retractives of Baſhfulneſſe, and naturall Modeſty, which as the Wave of the Houſe of his Fortune then ſtood, might have hindred his Progreſſion, had they not been reinforced by the Infuſion of ſoveraigne Favour, and the Queene's gracious Invitation; and that it may appeare how he was, and how much that heritique Neceſſity, will worke in the Directions of good Spirits, I can deliver it with Aſſurance, that his Exhibition was very ſcant, untill his Brother died, which was ſhortly after his Admiſſion to the Court, and then was it no more but a thouſand Markes *per Annum*, wherewith he lived plentifully, and in a fine Garbe, and without any great Suſtentation of the Queene, during all her Times.

And as there was in Nature, a kind of Backwardneſſe, which did not befriend him, nor ſuite with the Motion of the Court, ſo there was in him an Inclination to Armes, with an Humor of travelling, and gadding Abroade, which had not ſome wiſe Man about him, laboured to remove, and the Queene layd in her Command, he would out of his owne native Propenſity marred his owne Market, for as he was growne by reading, whereunto he

was

was much addicted to the Theory of a Souldier, ſo was he ſtrongly invited by his Genius, to the Acquaintance of the Practiſe of the War, which were the Cauſes of his Excurſions, for he had a Company in the *Low Countries*, from whom he came over with a noble Acceptance of the Queene, but ſomewhat reſtles in honourable Thoughts, he expoſed himſelfe again, and againe, and would preſſe the Queene with the Pretences of viſiting of his Company ſo often, till at length he had a flat Denyall, yet he ſtroke over with Sir *John Norris* into the Action of *Brittaine*, which was then a hot, and active War, whom he would alwaies call his Father, honouring him above all Men, and ever bewailing his End, ſo contrary he was in his Eſteeme, and Valuation of this great Commander, to that of his Friend, my Lord of *Eſſex*, till at laſt the Queene began to take his Degreſſions for Contempt, and confined his Reſidence to the Court, and her owne Preſence, and upon my Lord of *Eſſex* Fall, ſo confident ſhe was in her owne princely Judgment, and the Opinion ſhe had conceived of his Worth, and Conduct, that ſhe would have this noble Gentleman, and none other, to bring in the *Iriſh* Wars. to a propitious End, for it was a propheticall Speech of her owne, that it would be his Fortune, and his Honour, to cut the Thred of that fatall Rebellion, and to bring her in Peace to the Grave, wherein ſhe was not deceived, for he atchieved it, but with much Paines and Carefulneſſe, and without the Forces, and many Jealouſies of the Court and Times, wherewith the Queene's Age, and the Malignitie of her ſetling Times, were repleate; and ſo I come to his deare Friend in Court, Secretary *Cecill*, whom in his long Abſence he adored as his Saint, and counted him his only *Mecenas*, both before and after his Departure from Court, and during all the Time of his Command in *Ireland*; well knowing that it lay in his Power, and by a Word of his Mouth, to make or marr him.

Robert Cecill.

SIR *Robert Cecill*, ſince Earle of *Saliſbury*, was the Sonne of the Lord *Burleigh*, and by degrees Succeſſor of his Places and Favors, though not of his Lands, for he had Sir *Thomas Cecill*, his elder Brother, ſince created Earle of *Exeter:* He was firſt Secretary of State, then Maſter of the Court of Wards, and in the laſt of her Raigne came to be Lord Treaſurer; all which were the Steps of his Father's Greatneſſe, and of the Honour he left to his Houſe: for his Perſon he was not much beholding to Nature, though ſomewhat for his Face, which was the beſt Part of his Outſide: for his Inſide it may be ſaid, and without Offence, that he was his Father's owne Sonne, and a pregnant Preſident in all his Diſcipline of State: he was a Courtier from his Cradle, which might have made him betimes, but he was at the Age of twenty and upwards, and was far ſhort of his after Proofe, but expoſed, and by Change of Clymat he ſoon made ſhew what he was and would be.

He lived in thoſe Times wherein the Queene had moſt Need and Uſe of Men of Waight, and amongſt many able Ones, this was Chiefe, as having taken his Sufficiency from his Inſtruction, which begat him the Tutorſhip of

the Times and Court, which were then Academyes of Art and Cunning, for ſuch was the Queene's Condition from the Tenth or Twelfth of her Raigne, that ſhe had the Happineſſe to ſtand up, whereof there is a former Intimation, environed with many and more Enemies, and aſſaulted with more dangerous Practiſes, than any Prince of her Times, and of many Ages before, where we muſt not in this her Preſervation, attribute too much to human Policies, for that in his owne omnipotent Providence, he ordained thoſe ſecondary Meanes, as Inſtruments of the Worke, by an evident Manifeſtation of the ſame Worke which ſhe acted, and it was a well pleaſing Worke of his owne, out of a peculiar Care he had decreed the Protection of the Work-Miſtris, and thereunto added his abundant Bleſſing upon all, and whatſoever ſhe undertooke, which is an Obſervation of Satisfaction to my ſelfe, that ſhe was in the Right, though to others now breathing under the ſame Forme and Frame of her Government, it may not ſeeme an Animadverſion of their Worth, but I leave them to the Perill of their owne Folly, and ſo come againe to this great Miniſter of State, and the Staffe of the Queene's declining Age, who though his little crooked Perſon could not promiſe any great Supportation, yet it carried thereon a Head, and a Head-peece of a vaſt Content; and therein it ſeemes Nature was ſo diligent to compleat one, and the beſt Part about him, as the Perfection of his Memory and Intellectuals: ſhe tooke Care alſo of his Sences, and to put him in *Linceos oculos*; or to pleaſure him the more, borrowed of *Argos* ſo, to give unto him a proſpective Sight, and for the reſt of his ſenſitive Vertues, his Predeceſſor *Walſingham*, had left him a Receipt to ſmell out what was done in the Conclave.

And his good old Father, ſo well ſeene in Mathematicks, as that he could tell you throughout *Spaine*, every Part, every Port, every Ship with their Burthens, whither bound, what Preparations, what Impediments for Diverſion of Enterpriſes, Counſel and Reſolution: and that we may ſee, as in a little Mappe, how docible this little Man was, I will preſent a Taſt of his Abillities.

My Lord of *Devonſhire* upon Certainty that the *Spaniard* would invade *Ireland* with a ſtrong Army, had written very earneſtly to the Queene, and to the Councell, for ſuch Supplies to be timely ſent over, that might enable him both to march up to the *Spaniard*, if he did land and follow on his Proſecution, without diverting his Intentions againſt the Rebells, Sir *Robert Cecill*, beſides the generall Diſpatch of the Counſell (as he often did) writ thus in private, for theſe two then began to love dearely.

My Lord, *out of the Abundance of my Affection, and the Care I have of your well-doing, I muſt in private put you out of Doubt of Feare, for I know you cannot be ſenſible, otherwiſe than in the Way of Honour, that the* Spaniards *will not come unto you this Yeare, for I have it from my owne, what his Preparations are in all his Parts, and what he can do; for be confident, he beareth up a Reputation, by ſeeming to imbrace more than he can gripe, but the next Yeare be aſſured he will caſt over to you ſome forlorne Troopes, which how they may be reinforced beyond his preſent Abilitie, and his firſt Intention, I cannot as*

yet

yet make any certaine Judgment, but I beleeve out of my Intelligence, that you may expect the Landing in Munſter, *and the more to diſtract you in ſeverall Places, as at* Kings-ſale, Beerehaven, *and* Baltimore; *where you may be ſure coming from Sea, they will firſt fortifie, and learne the Strength of the Rebells, before they dare take the Field: howſoever, as I know you will not leſſon your Care, neither your Defences, and whatſoever lies in my Power to do you, and the publique Service: reſt thereof aſſured.*

And to this I could add much more, but it may (as it is) ſuffice to preſent much of his Abilities, in the Penn, that he was his Crafts Maſter in forraigne Intelligence, and for domeſtique Affaires, as he was one of thoſe that ſate at the Helme to the laſt of the Queene, ſo was he none of the leaſt in Skill, and in the true Uſe of the Compaſſe, and ſo I ſhall onely vindicate the Scandall of his Death, and conclude him, for he departed at Saint *Margarets*, neare *Marleborough*, at his Returne from *Bathe*, as my Lord Vice Chamberlane, my Lord *Clifford*, and my ſelfe, his Sonne, and Sonne in Law, and many more can witneſſe, but that the Day before he ſounded on the Way, and was taken out of his Litter, and layd into his Coach, was a Truth out of which that Falſehood concerning the Manner of his Death, had its Derivation, though nothing to the Purpoſe, or to the Prejudice of his Worth.

VERE.

SIR *Francis Vere* was of that ancient, and of the moſt noble Extract of the Earles of *Oxford*; and it may be a Queſtion, whether the Nobility of his Houſe, or the Honour of his Atchivements, might moſt commend him; but that we have an authentique Rule:

Nam genus, & proavos, & quæ nos non fecimus ipſi; vix ea noſtra voco.

For though he was an honourable Slip of that ancient Tree of Nobilitie, which was no Diſadvantage to his Vertue; yet he brought more Glory to the Name of *Vere*, than he tooke of Blood from the Family.

He was amongſt all the Queene's Sword-men inferrior to none, but ſuperior to many; of whom it may be ſayd, to ſpeake much of him were the Way to leave out ſomewhat that might add to his Praiſe, and to forget more that would make to his Honour.

I finde not that he came much to the Court, for he lived almoſt perpetually in the Campe; but when he died, no Man had more of the Queene's Favour, and none leſſe envied, for he ſeldome troubled it with the Noyſe and Allarums of Supplications, his Way was another Sort of undermining.

They report that the Queene, as ſhe loved marſhall Men, would court this Gentleman as ſoone as he appeared in her Preſence; and ſurely he was a Souldier of great Worth and Command, 30 Yeares in the Service of the States, and 20 Yeares over the *Engliſh* in Chiefe, as the Queene's Generall: And he that had ſeene the Battaile of *Newport*, might there beſt have taken him, and his noble Brother the Lord of *Tilbury*, to the Life.

WORCESTER.

MY Lord of *Worceſter* I have here put laſt, but not leaſt in the Queene's Favour; he was of the ancient and noble Blood of the *Beaufords*, and of Her Grandfather's Kin, by the Mother, which the Queene could never forget, eſpecially where there was an Incurrence of old Blood with Fidelity, a Mixture which ever ſorted with the Queene's Nature; and though there might hap ſomewhat in this Houſe, which might invert her Grace, though not to ſpeak of my Lord himſelfe but in due Reverence and Honour, I meane Contrariety or Suſpition in Religion, yet the Queene ever reſpected his Houſe, and principally this noble Blood, whom ſhe firſt made Maſter of her Horſe, and then admitted him of her Councell of State.

In his Youth, part whereof he ſpent before he came to reſide at Court, he was a very fine Gentleman, and the beſt Horſeman and Tilter of the Times, which were then the manlike and noble Recreations of the Court, and ſuch as tooke up the Applauſe of Men, aſwell as the Prayſe and Commendation of Ladyes, and when Yeares had abated thoſe Exerciſes of Honour, he grew then to be a faithfull and profound Counſellor; and as I have placed him laſt, ſo was he the laſt Liver of all her Servants of her Favour, and had the Honour to ſee his renowned Miſtreſſe, and all of them layd in the Places of their Reſts; and for himſelfe, after a Life of very noble and remarkable Reputation, and in a peaceable old Age, a Fate that I make the laſt, and none of my ſlighteſt Obſervations, which befell not many of the reſt, for they expired like unto a Light blowne out with the Snuffe, ſtinking, not commendably extinguiſhed, and with an Offence to the Standers by. And thus I have delivered up my poore Eſſay, or little Draught, of this great Princeſſe and her Times, with the Servants of her State, and Favour: I cannot ſay I have finiſhed it, for I know how defective and imperfect it is, as limbed onely in the originall Nature, not without the active Bleſſings, and ſo left it as a Talke fitter for remoter Times, and the Sallies of ſome bolder Pencill to correct that which is amiſſe, and draw the reſt up to Life: As for me to have endeavoured it, I tooke it into Conſideration how eaſily I might have daſhed into it much of the Staine of Pollution, and thereby have defaced that little which is done; for I profeſſe I have taken Care to maſter my Pen, that I might not erre *animo*, or of ſet Purpoſe diſcolour each or any of the Parts thereof, otherwiſe than in Concealment: happily they are, ſome which will not approve of this Modeſty, but will cenſure it for Puſillanimitie, and with the cunning Artiſt, attempt to draw their Line further out at Length, and upon this of mine which Way (ſomewhat more Eaſe) it may be effected, for that the Frame is ready made to their Hands, and then happily I could draw one in the midſt of theirs, but that Modeſty in me forbids the Defacements in Men departed, their Poſterity yet remaining, enjoying the Merit of their Vertues, and do ſtill live in their Honour. And I had rather incur the Cenſure of Abruption, than to be conſcious and taken in the Manner, ſinning by Eruption, or trampling on the Graves of Perſons at Reſt, which living

we

we durſt not looke in the Face, nor make our Addreſſes unto them, otherwiſe than with due Regard to their Honours, and Reverence to their *Vertues.*

A Letter written upon Occaſion from the *Low-Countries*, concerning the Prince of ORANGE, and the STATES, ſhewing upon what Occaſion it grew. Whereunto is added, Aviſo's from ſeverall Places, of the Taking of the Iland of *Providence*, by the *Spaniard*, from the *Engliſh.* 1641.

Hague, March the 20. *Stilo Novo.*

The Copie of a Letter written from CHARLES DE LA FIN, Page unto the young Prince of *ORANGE*, unto JAMES DE LA FIN his Brother, Secretary unto the Duke of *VALLETTE*, reſiding now in *Covent-Garden*, touching the Proceedings of the Prince of *Orange.*

Written from the Hague *in* Italian, *and tranſlated by* WILLIAM UMFREVILE, *Gent.* March 14. 1641.

Brother,

AS I am acquainted from you with the State of Things in *England*, ſo let me impart unto you ſome Alterations here, that more near touch us: Grave HENRY our Prince, and Maſter, by ſome Information, from *Martin Van Trumpe*, the States Admirall, is fallen into ſome more than Diſtruſt with the States, in Matter of his Proceedings in the Army, their Jealouſies brake forth into open Diſcontent, upon Occaſion of a Meeting of a great Crue of his Commanders, at a Supper in *Fluſhing*, upon the Arrivall of the Queene of *Great Britaine*, where his Health being drunke before the Lords Generall, the Bourgemaſters of the Towne, took great Exceptions at it, giving out that the Prince of *Orange* was but their Servant, and tooke pay of them, as well as the meaneſt Souldier in the Army; that it was diſorderly done, to drinke his Health before his Betters: to whom replyed *Mounſier de Varracaville*, a *French* Captaine of Horſe; that he truſted the Prince his Maſter ſo well underſtood himſelfe, that having married his Sonne to the eldeſt Daughter of the King of *Great Brittaine*, he would ſcorne to be counted, much more to bee termed, the Servants of Brewers and Bakers, and Felt-makers: hereupon the Bourgemaſters ſurlily, and ſaucily replyed, that taking their Allowance, he was either a true Servant, or a falſe Traytor.

Varracaville was riſing to let fly at him: and ſome others were as ready as he; but Noiſe and Tumult ariſing, the Governour of the Towne came in, and

and commanded all to be quiet, great muttering was in the Towne, the next two Dayes about it: on the third, the Prince was ſummoned to the *Hague* to make his Appearance before the States Generall, to make Anſwer unto ſuch Things, as ſhould by *Martin Van Trumpe*, *John Van Eſſerdort*, be laid againſt him. His Highneſſe tooke ſuch homely Dealing bad, and his Servants worſe, his Army worſt of all; who, ſummoning a Counſell of Warre to his Highneſſe's Lodging, plainely told him, that except he would, he ſhould not goe; and that they ſhould know, that if they had Money, they had Swords; and that they having Command of the one, would not be long without the other, and that ſhould ſhortly appeare; hereupon we all, as well Servants as Commanders, tooke an Oath to his Highneſſe, and his Sonne, to ſerve them towards all, and againſt all; which taken upon mature Deliberation, it was ordered by his Highneſſe himſelfe, becauſe of the Queene of *Great Brittaine's* Preſence, to goe to the *Hague*, but not to take Notice of any Summons, and with ſuch a Company with him, that he ſhould not greatly need to fear them; and here we are in that Poſture, not caring for thoſe that looke ſo big upon us: I truſt the Army is wholly made for his Highneſſe; not being deſired of their Service, but freely offering it: We his Servants, and thoſe of my young Maſter's, are reſolved to ſee our End ſhortly accompliſhed, or to die every Man of us: I truſt there are no falſe Parties in the Armie, then before *May* Day I hope we ſhall ſee an Alteration; and thoſe that hold themſelves our Maſters, ſhall be glad to give us all fitting Reſpect: the King of *Denmarke* is aſſuredly for it, and hath promiſed both Coine, Men, and Shipping: *France* hearkens to it, and *Spaine*, upon ſome Conditions, will yeeld Aſſiſtance: it is more honourable for a Prince to be tyed in ſome ceremonious Concernments unto a Monarch, than to any other, either by Democraſticall, or Ariſtocraticall Government. More pleaſant Tydings I hope to write to you, at the Queene's Returne, if not before; for this muſt not be long in doing, and it is here thought, that ſhe will not ſtay long here, by Reaſon that theſe Atchievements cannot long remaine without a Period, nor without ſome bickering, we hold it not fit, ſhee ſhould be Eye Witneſſe of it: His Highneſſe, although he is counſelled to ſend away ſpeedily his young Sonne, and our Hope, into *France*, yet he will not, but is reſolved, that he ſhall partake of his Fortune, what ever it be; I hope we ſhall ſhortly cry, *Vivez Oraneye*; and in this Expectation, wiſhing Heaven to ſay Amen unto it.

I reſt from the *Hague*, your ever affectionate Brother,

This preſent *March* 20. *New Stile.* CHARLES DE LA FIN.

Aviſoes from ſeverall Places.

THE 20. of *Decemb. Stilo Novo*, arrived at St. *Lucar*, the Admiral of the *Nova Spania's* Fleet, in Company of another ſmall Ship, they came in 92 Dayes from the *Havana*, and were parted by a Storm from the reſt

reſt of the Fleet 12 Days after their ſetting forth. I ſuppoſe they may be arrived at *Porto Rico*, for they had moſt of them ſpent their Maſts. The ſaid Admiral was caſt away in the going into St. *Lucar*, of Four Millions, which he brought, about One Million and an half loſt; the whole Fleet worth 10 or 11 Millions, the richeſt that ever was knowne; in the ſaid Admirall was loſt 500 Cheſts of Cuchinill, and a 1000 Cheſts of Indigo, with a great Quantity of other Goods. I have Letters by an Aviſo from *Cartagena*, dated the 14. of *September*, wherein they adviſe that the Gallions were ready laden with the Silver, and would depart thence the 6. of *October*. The General of the Gallions, named *Franciſco Dias Pimienta*, had beene formerly in the Moneth of *July*, with above 3000 Men, and the leaſt of his Ships in the Iland of *Santa Catalina*, which he had taken and carried away all the *Engliſh*, and raſed the Forts, wherein they found 600 Negres, much Gold and Indigo, ſo that the Prize is eſteemed, worth above halfe a Million.

This unexpected, and undeſerved Act of the *Spaniard*, in ſupplanting our Nation, will I hope ere long be requited, when as in coole Blood the *Spaniard* ſhall doe us a Miſchiefe, in demoliſhing, and ruining that which another hath built, and is not able, or will not make Uſe of it himſelfe, ſupplanting our more induſtrious People, which endeavoured to doe good, both to the Bodyes and Soules of Men, and only to ſhew his Greatneſſe, with his Multitude to deſtroy a Handfull, and to account that a Victory, which is rather a credilous Treachery: but let him triumph that wins at laſt.

Some Obſervations by Way of Parallell of ROBERT DEVEREUX, Earle of ESSEX, and GEORGE VILLIERS, Duke of BUCKINGHAM, in the Time of their Eſtates of Favour.

Written by Sir HENRY WOTTON, Knight, *&c.* 1641.

AMongſt thoſe Hiſtoricall Imployments, whereunto I have devoted my later Yeares, (for I read, that old Men live more by Memorie than by Hope) we thoght it would be a little Time not ill ſpent, to confer the Fortunes and the Natures of theſe two great Perſonages of ſo late Knowledge, wherein I intend to doe them right with the Truth thereof, and my ſelfe with the Freedome.

The Beginning of the Earle of *Eſſex*, I muſt attribute wholly, or in great Part, to my Lord of *Leiceſter*: but yet as an Introducer or Supporter, not as a Teacher: for as I goe along, it will eaſily appeare, that he neither lived nor dyed by his Diſcipline. Alwaies certaine it is, that he drew him firſt into the fatall Circle from a Kinde of reſolved Privatenes at his Houſe at *Lampſie*, in *South-Wales*, where after the Academicall Life, he had taken

ſuch a Taſte of the Rurall, as I have heard him ſay, (and not upon any Flaſhes or Fumes of Melancholy, or Traverſes of Diſcontent, but in a ſerene and quiet Mood) that he could well have bent his Mind to a retyred Courſe. About which Time, the ſayd Earl of *Leiceſter* bewrayed a Meaning to plant him in the Queen's Favour; which was diverſly interpreted by ſuch as thought that great Artizan of Court to doe nothing by Chance, nor much by Affection. Some therefore were of Opinion, that feeling more and more in himſelfe the Weight of Time, and being almoſt tyred (if there be a Satietie in Power) with that aſſiduous Attendance, and intenſive Circumſpection, which a long indulgent Fortune did require, he was grown not unwilling for his owne Eaſe, to beſtow handſomely upon another ſome Part of the Pains, and perhaps of the Envy.

Others conceived rather, that having before for the ſame Ends brought in, or let in Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and having found him ſuch an Apprentize as knew well enough how to ſet up for himſelfe, he now meant to allie him with this young Earle, who had yet taken no ſtrong Impreſſions: ſo though the ſaid Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was a little before this, whereof I now ſpeake by Occaſion, much fallen from his former Splendor in Court; yet he ſtill continued in ſome Luſtre of a favoured Man, like Billowes that ſinke by Degrees, even when the Winde is downe that firſt ſtirre them.

Thus runnes the Diſcourſe of that Time at Pleaſure; yet I am not ignorant, that there was ſome good while a verie ſtiffe Averſation in my Lord of *Eſſex*, from applying himſelfe to the Earle of *Leiceſter*, for what ſecret Conceite I know not; but howſoever that Honour was mollified by Time, and by his Mother, and to the Court, he came under his Lord.

The Duke of *Buckingham* had another Kinde of Germination; and ſurely had he beene a Plant, he would have beene reckoned amongſt the *Sponte Naſcentes*, for he ſprung without any Help, by a Kind of congeniall Compoſure (as we may terme it) to the Likeneſſe of our late Soveraigne and Maſter of ever bleſſed Memorie, who taking him into his Regard, taught him more and more to pleaſe himſelfe, and moulded him, (as it were) Platonically to his owne *Idea*, delighting firſt in the Choyſe of the Materialls; becauſe he found him ſuſceptible of good Forme) and afterwards by Degrees as great Architects uſe to doe in the Workmanſhip of his regall Hand, nor ſtaying here, after hee had hardned and poliſhed him about ten Yeares in the Schoole of Obſervance, (for ſo a Court is) and in the Furnace of Tryall about himſelfe, (for he was a King, could peruſe Men as well as Bookes) he made him the aſſociate of his Heire apparant, together with the now Lord *Cottington*, (as an Adjunct of ſingular Experience and Truſt) in forraine Travailes, and in a Buſineſſe of Love, and of no equall Hazzard (if the Tenderneſſe of our Zeale did not then deceive us) enough (the World muſt confeſſe) to kindle Affection even betwixt the diſtanteſt Conditions; ſo as by the various and inward Converſation abroad (beſides that before and after at home) with the moſt conſtant and beſt natured Prince, *Bona ſi ſua Norint*, as ever *England* enjoyed. This Duke becomes now ſecondly ſeized of Favour, as it were by Diſcent (though the Condition of that Eſtate be no more than a Tenancie at Will,

Will, or at moſt for the Life of the firſt Lord) and rarely tranſmitted, which I have briefely ſet downe, without looking beyond the Vaile of the Temple, I meane into the Secret of high Inclinations, ſince even Satyricall Poets, (who are otherwiſe of ſo licentious Fancie) are in this Poynt modeſt enough to confeſſe their Ignorance.

Neſcio quid certe eſt quod me tibi temperet Aſtrum.

And theſe were both their Springings and Imprimings as I may call them.

In the Profluence or Proceedings of their Fortunes, I obſerve likewiſe not onely much Difference between them: but in the Earle not a little from himſelf; Firſt, all his Hopes of Advancement had like to be ſtrangled almoſt in the very Cradle, by throwing himſelfe into the *Portugal* Voyage without the Queene's Conſent, or ſo much as her Knowledge; wherby he left his Friends and Dependants neere ſixe Moneths in deſperate Suſpenſe, what would become of him. And to ſpeake Truth, not without good Reaſon: For firſt they might well conſider, that he was himſelfe not well plumed in Favour for ſuch a Flight: Beſides, that now he wanted a Lord of *Leiceſter* at home (for he was dead the Year before) to ſmooth his Abſence, and to quench the Practiſes at Court. But above all, it lay open to every Man's Diſcourſe, that though the bare Offence to his Soveraigne and Miſtris was too great Adventure, yet much more when ſhee might (as in this Caſe) have fairely diſcharged her Diſpleaſure upon her Lawes. Notwithſtanding, a noble Report comming home before him.

At his Returne all was cleere, and this Excurſion was eſteemed but a Sally of Youth: Nay, he grew every Day more and more in her gracious Conceit: whether ſuch Intermiſſions as theſe do ſometimes foment Affection, or that having committed a Fault, he became the more obſequious and plyant to redeeme it: Or that ſhee had not received into her royall Breſt any Shadows of his Popularity.

There was another Time long after, when Sir *Fulke Grevill* (late Lord *Brooke*) a Man in Appearance intrinſecal with him, or at the leaſt admitted to his melancholly Houres, eyther belike eſpying ſome Wearineſſe in the Queene, or perhaps with little Change of the Word, though more in the dangerſome Markes towards him, and working upon the preſent Matter (as ſhe was dexterous and cloſe) had almoſt ſuperinduced into Favour the Earle of *Southampton*; which yet being timely diſcovered, my Lord of *Eſſex* choſe to evaporate his Thoughts in a Sonnet (being his common Way) to be ſung before the Queene, (as it was) by one *Hales*, in whoſe Voyce ſhee tooke ſome Pleaſure; whereof the Complot methinkes, had aſmuch of the Hermit as of the Poet.

And if thou ſhould'ſt by Her be now forſaken,
She made thy Heart too ſtrong for to be ſhaken.

As if he had beene caſting one Eye backe at the leaſt to his former Retiredneſſe. But all this likewiſe quickly vaniſhed, and there was a good while after faire Weather over-head. Yet ſtill I know not how, like a ga-

thering of Clouds, till towards his latter Time, when his Humours grew tart, as being now in the Lees of Favour; it brake forth into certayne ſuddaine Receſſes; ſometimes from the Court to *Wanſteed*, other whiles unto *Greenewich*, often to his owne Chamber, Doores ſhut, Viſits forbidden, and which was worſe, divers Conteſtations (betweene) with the Queene her ſelfe (all Preambles of Ruine) wherewith though now and then he did wring out of her Majeſty ſome petty Contentments, (as a Man would preſſe ſower Grapes) yet in the meane Time was forgotten the Counſell of a wiſe, and then a propheticall Friend, who told him that ſuch Courſes as thoſe, were like hot Waters, who helpe at a Pang, but if they be too often uſed, will ſpoyle the Stomacke.

On the Dukes Part, wee have no ſuch abrupt Straynes and Precipees as theſe, but a faire, fluent, and uniforme Courſe under both Kings: And ſurely as there was in his naturall Conſtitution a marvailous Equality, whereof I ſhall ſpeake more afterwards; ſo there was an Image of it in his Fortune running (if I may borrow an ancient Compariſon) as ſmoothly as a numerous Verſe, till it met with certayne Rubs in Parliament, whereof I am induced by the very Subject which I handle, to ſay ſomewhat, ſo farre as ſhall concerne the Difference betweene their Times.

When my Lord of *Eſſex* ſtood in Favour, the Parliaments were calme: Nay, I finde it a true Obſervation, that there was no Impeachment of any Nobleman by the Commons, from the Raigne of King *Henry* the Sixth, untill the Eighteenth of King *James*, nor any intervenient Preſident of that Nature, not that ſomething or other could be wanting to be ſayed, while Men are Men: For not to goe higher, wee are taught eaſily ſo much, by the very Ballads and Libells of *Leiceſtrian* Time.

But about the aforeſayd Yeare, many young Ones being choſen into the Houſe of Commons, more than had beene uſuall in great Councells (who though of the weakeſt Wings, are the higheſt Flyers) there aroſe a certayne unfortunate and unfruitfull Spirit in ſome Places; not ſowing, but picking at every Stone in the Field, rather than tending to the generall Harveſt. And thus farre the Conſideration of the Nature of the Time hath tranſported me, and the Occaſion of the Subject.

Now on the other Side, I muſt with the like Liberty obſerve two weighty and watchfull Solicitudes (as I may call them) which kept the Earle in extream and continuall Caution, like a Bow ſtill bent, whereof the Duke's Thoughts were abſolutely free.

Firſt, he was to wreſtle with a Queene's declyning, or rather with her very ſetling Age (as wee may terme it) which, beſides other Reſpects, is commonly even of it ſelfe the more umbratious and apprehenſive, as for the moſt Part all Horizons are charged with certayn Vapours towards their Evening.

1. *The other was a Matter of more Circumſtance, ſtanding thus, viz.*

All Princes, eſpecially thoſe whom God hath not bleſſed with naturall Iſſue, are (by Wiſedome of State) ſomewhat ſhye of their Succeſſors, and to ſpeake

ſpeake with due Reverence, there may be reaſonably ſuppoſed in Queene's Regnant, a little Proportion of Tendernes that Way, more than in Kings. Now there were in Court two Names of Power, and almoſt of Affection, the *Eſſexian* and the *Cecilian* with their Adherents, both well enough enjoying the preſent, and yet both looking to the future, and therefore both holding Correſpondency with ſome of the principall in *Scotland*, and hath received Advertiſements and Inſtructions, eyther from them, or immediatly from the King, as induciat Heire of this imperiall Crowne.

But leaſt they might detect one another; this was myſteriouſly carried by ſeverall Inſtruments and Conducts, and on the *Eſſextian* Side, in Truth with infinite Hazard, for Sir *Robert Cecill* who (as Secretary of State) did diſpoſe the publicke Addreſſes, had prompter and ſafer Conveyance; whereupon I cannot but relate a memorable Paſſage on eyther Part, as the Story following ſhall declare.

The Earle of *Eſſex* had accommodated Maſter *Anthony Bacon* in a Partition of his Houſe, and had aſſigned him a noble Entertaynement: This was a Gentleman of impotent Feete, but of a nimble Head, and through his Hand runne all the Intelligences with *Scotland*; who being of a provident Nature (contrary to his Brother the Lord Viſcount Saint *Albans)* and well knowing the Advantage of a dangerous Secret, would many Times cunningly let fall ſome Words, as if he could amend his Fortunes under the *Cecilians* (to whom he was neere in Alliance and in Blood alſo) and who had made (as he was not unwilling ſhould be beleeved) ſome great Profers to winne him away; which once or twice he preſſed ſo farre, and with ſuch Tokens and Signes of apparent Diſcontent to my Lord *Henry Howard*, afterwards Earle of *Northampton*, (who was of the Party, and ſtood himſelfe in much Umbrage with the Queene) that he flyes preſently to my Lord of *Eſſex*; (with whom he was commonly *primæ admiſſionis*, by his Bed-ſide in the Morning) and tells him that unleſſe that Gentleman were preſently ſatisfied with ſome round Summe, all would be vented.

This tooke the Earle at that Time ill provided (as indeed oftentimes his Coffers were low) whereupon he was faine ſuddainely to give him *Eſſex*-Houſe; which the good old Lady of *Walſingham* did afterwards diſ-ingage out of her owne Store with 2500 Pound; and before he had diſtilled 1500 Pound at another Time by the ſame Skill; ſo as wee rate this one Secret, as it was finely carried at 4000 Pounds in preſent Mony, beſides at the leaſt 1000 Pound of annuall Penſion to a private and bed-rid Gentleman; what would he have gotten if he could have gone about his owne Buſineſſe?

There was another Accident of the ſame Nature on the *Cicilian* Side, much more pleaſant, but leſſe chargeable, for it coſt nothing but Wit. The Queene having for a good while not heard any Thing from *Scotland*, and being thirſty of Newes, it fell out that her Majeſty going to take the Ayre towards the Heath (the Court being then at *Greenewich)* and Maſter Secretary *Cicill* then attending her: A Poſt came croſſing by, and blew his Horne. The Queene out of Curioſity aſked him from whence the Diſpatch came; and being anſwered from *Scotland*; and he ſtoppes her Coach, and calleth

calleth for the Packet. The Secretary though he knew there were some Letters in it from his Correspondents; which to discover, were as many Serpents; yet made more Shewe of Diligence, than of Doubt to obey; and askes some that stood by (forsooth in great Hast) for a Knife to cut up the Packet (for otherwise he might perhaps awaked a little Apprehension) but in the meane Time approaching with the Packet in his Hand, at a pretty Distance from the Queene; he telleth her it looked and smelt ill-favouredly comming out of a filthy Budget, and that it should be fit first to open and ayre it, because he knew she was averse from ill Sents.

And so being dismissed Home, he got Leisure by this seasonable Shift, to sever what he would not have seene.

These two Accidents precisely true, and knowne to few, I have reported as not altogether extravagant from my Purpose, to shew how the Earle stood in certaine Perplexities wherewith the Duke's Dayes were not distracted. And this hath beene the Historicall Part (as it were) touching the Difference betweene them in the rising and flowing of their Fortunes.

I will now consider their severall Endowments both of *Person* and *Mind*, and then a little of their *Actions* and *Ends*.

The Earle was a pretty deale the taller, and much the stronger, and of the abler Body: But the Duke had the neater Limbes and freer Delivery; he was also the uprighter, and of the more comely Motions, for the Earle did bend a little in the Neck, though rather forwards than downewards, and he was so far from being a good Dancer, that he was no gracefull Goer. If we touch Particulars, the Duke exceeded in the Daintinesse of his Leg and Foote, and the Earle in the incomparable Faireneſſe and fine Shape of his Hands; which (though it be but a feminine Praise he tooke from his Father) for the generall Ayre, the Earle had the closer and more reserved Countenance, being by Nature somewhat more cogitative, and (which was strange) never more than at Meales when others are least: Insomuch as he was wont to make this Observation of himselfe, that to solve any knottie Businesse which cumbred his Minde, his ablest Houres was when he had checked his first Appetite with two or three Morsells, after which he sate usually for a good while silent, yet he would play well and willingly at some Games of greatest Attention, which shewed that when he lifted he could licence his Thoughts.

The Duke on the other Side, even in the midst of so many Diversions, had continually a very pleasant and vacant Face (as I may well call it) proceeding no Doubt from a singular Assurance in his Temper. And yet I must here give him a rarer Elogie, which the maligneſt Eye cannot deny him. That certainely never Man in his Place and Power, did entertaine Greatnesse more familiarly, nor whose Lookes were lesse tainted with his Felicitie, wherein I insist the rather because this in my Judgement was one of his greatest Vertues and Victories of himselfe.

But to proceed, in the Attyring and Ornament of their Bodyes, the Duke a fine and unaffected Politeneſſe, and upon Occasion costlie, as in his Legations.

The

The Earle as he grew more and more attentive to Buſineſſe and Matter, ſo leſſe and leſſe curious of Cloathing: Inſomuch, as I doe remember thoſe about him had a Conceit that poſſibly ſometimes when he went up to the Queene, he might ſcant know what he had on, for this was his Manner, his Chamber being commonly ſtived with Friends or Suitors of one Kinde or other, when he gave his Legges, Armes, and Breſt to his ordinary Servants to button and dreſſe him with little Heede, his Head and Face to his Barbour, his Eyes to his Letters, and Eares to Petitioners, and many Times all at once, then the Gentleman of his Robes throwing a Cloak over his Shoulders, he would make a Step into his Cloſet, and after a ſhort Prayer, he was gone: onely in his Baths, he was ſomewhat delicate, for Point of Dyet and Luxurie. They were both very inordinate in their Appetites, eſpecially the Earle, who was by Nature of ſo different a Taſte, that I muſt tell a rare Thing of him (though it be but a homely Note) that he would ſtop in the middeſt of any phyſicall Potion, and after he had licked his Lips, he would drinke off the reſt, but I am weary of ſuch ſlight Animadverſions.

To come therefore to the inward Furniture of their Mindes, I will thus much declare.

The Earle was of good Erudition having been placed at Study in *Cambridge* very young by the Lord *Burleigh*, his Guardian, with affectionate and deliberate Care, under the Overſight of Doctor *Whitgift* then Maſter of *Trinitie Colledge*, and after Archbiſhop of *Canterbury:* A Man by the Way ſurely of a moſt reverend and ſacred Memory, and (as I may well ſay) even of the primitive Temper, when the Church in Lowlyneſſe of Temper, did flouriſh in high Examples, which I have inſerted as a due Recordation of his Vertues, having been much obliged to him, for many Favours in my younger Time.

About ſixteen Years of his Age (for thither he came at twelve) he tooke the Formality of Maſter of Arts, and kept his publique Acts, and heere I muſt not ſmother what I have received by conſtant Information, that his owne Father dyed with a very cold Conceit of him, ſome ſay through the Affection to his ſecond Sonne *Walter Devereux*, who was indeed a Dyamond of the Time, and both of an hardy and delicate Temper and Mixture: But it ſeems this Earl like certaine Vegetables, did bud and open ſlowly: Nature ſometimes delighting to play an After-game as well as Fortune, which had both their Turnes and Tides in Courſe.

The Duke was illiterate, yet had learned at Court, firſt to ſift and queſtion well, and to ſupply his owne Defects by the drawing or flowing unto him of the beſt Inſtruments of Experience and Knowledge, from whom he had a ſweet and attractive Manner, to ſuck what might be for the publike or his own proper Uſe, ſo as the leſſe he was favoured by the Muſes, he was the more by the Graces.

To conſider them in their pure Naturalls, I conceive the Earle's intellectuall Faculties to have been his ſtrongeſt Part, and in the Duke his practicall.

Yet

Yet all know that he likewiſe at the firſt was much under the Expectation of his after Proof: ſuch a ſodain Influence therein had the ſoveraign Aſpect, for their Abilities of Diſcourſe or Pen, the Earle was a very acute and ſound Speaker when he would intend it, and for his Writings, they are beyond Example, eſpecially in his familiar Letters and Things of Delight at Court when he would admit his ſerious Habits, as may be yet ſeen in his Impreſſes and Inventions of Entertainment, and above all in his darling Piece of Love, and Selfe-Love, his Stile was an elegant Perſpicuity, rich of Praiſe, but ſeldome any bold Metaphors, and ſo farre from Tumor that it rather wanted a little Elevation.

The Duke's Delivery of his Minde, I conceive not to be ſo ſharpe as ſolid and grave, not ſo ſolid and deepe as pertinent, and appoſite to the Times and Occaſions.

The Earl I account the more liberall, and the Duke the more magnificent, for I doe not remember that my Lord of *Eſſex*, in all his Life-time, did build or adorn any Houſe, the Queen perchance ſpending his Time, and himſelfe his Meanes, or otherwiſe more inclyning to popular Wayes, for wee knowe the People are apter to applaud Houſe-keepers than Houſe-raiſers, they were both great Cheriſhers of Schollers and Divines, but it ſeemes the Earle had obteyned of himſelfe one ſingular Point, that he could depart his Affection betweene two Extreames, for though he bare alwayes a Kinde of filiall Reverence towards Doctor *Whitguift*, both before and after he was Archbiſhop, yet on the other Side, he did not a little love and tender Maſter *Cartwright*, though I think truely with large Diſtinction between the Perſons and the Cauſes, howſoever he was taxed with other Ends, in reſpecting that Partie.

They were both faire ſpoken Gentlemen, not prone and eager to detract openly from any Man, and in this the Earle hath been moſt falſely blemiſhed in our vulgar Story: Onely againſt one Man, he had forſworne all Patience, namely *Henry* Lord *Cobham*, and would call him *(per Excellentiam)* the Sycophant (as if it had been an Embleme of his Name) even to the Queene her ſelfe, though of no ſmall Inſinuation with her and one Lady likewiſe (that I may civillie ſpare to nominate for her Sex ſake) whom he uſed to terme the Spyder of the Court, yet generally in the ſenſitive Part of their Natures the Earle was the worſe Philoſopher, being a great Reſenter and a weak Diſſembler of the leaſt Diſgrace: And herein likewiſe as in the reſt, no good Pupill to my Lord of *Leiceſter*, who was wont to put all his Paſſions in his Pockquet.

In the Growth of their Fortunes, the Duke was a little the ſwifter, and much the greater, for from a younger Brother's mean Eſtate he roſe to the higheſt Degree whereof a Subject was capable either in Title or Truſt; therein I muſt confeſſe much more conformable to *Charles Brandon* under *Henry* the Eighth, who was equall to him in both.

For Matter of Donative and Addition of Subſtance, I do not beleeve that the Duke did much exceed him, all conſidered under both Kings.

For

For that which the Earle of *Eſſex* had received from her Majeſty, beſides the Fees of his Offices, and the Diſpoſition of great Summes of Money in her Armies, was about the Time of his Arraignement, when Faults uſe to be aggravated with precedent Benefits, valued at three hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling in pure Gift for his onely Uſe, to the Earle of *Dorſet* then Lord Treaſurer; who was a wiſe Man, and a ſtrict Computiſt, and not ill affected towards him. And yet it is worthy of Note in the Margent of both Times, that the one was proſecuted with Silence, and the other with Murmure, ſo undoing a Meaſure is popular Judgement.

I cannot heere omit betweene them a great Difference in eſtabliſhing of both their Fortunes and Fames.

For the firſt, the Duke had a Care to introduce into neere Place at the Court divers of his confident Servants, and into high Places very ſound and grave Perſonages; whereas except a Penſioner or two, wee cannot ſcant name any one Man advanced of the Earle's breeding, but Sir *Thomas Smith* having beene his Secretary, who yet came never further (though married into a noble Houſe) than to the Clearke of the Councell, and Regiſter of the Parliament; not that the Earle meant to ſtand alone like a Subſtantive (for he was not ſo ill a *Grammarian* in Court) but the Trueth is, in this Poynt the *Cecilians* kept him backe, as very well knowing that upon every little Abſence or Diſſaduity, he ſhould be ſubject to take cold at his Backe.

For the other, in the Managing of their Fames, I note betweene them a direct contrary Wiſedome; for the Earle proceeded by Way of Apology which he wrote and diſperſed with his owne Hands at large, though till his going to *Ireland* they were but airey Objections. But of the Duke this I know, that one having offered for his Caſe to doe him that Kinde of Service; he refuſed it with a pretty Kinde of thankfull Scorne (ſaying) that he would truſt his owne good Intentions which God knew, and leave to him the pardoning of his Errours; and that he ſaw no Fruite of Apologies but the Multiplying of Diſcourſe, which ſurely was a well ſetled Maxime. And for my owne Particular (though I am not obnoxious to his Memory) in the Expreſſion of *Tacitus*, *Neque injuria, neque beneficia*, ſaving that he ſhewed me an ordinary good Countenance. And if I were, yet I would diſtinguiſh betweene Gratitude and Truth, I muſt beare him this Teſtimony: That in a Commiſſion layed upon me by ſoveraigne Commaund to examine a Lady about a certayne filthy Accuſation grounded upon nothing but a few ſingle Names taken up by a Foote-man in a Kennell, and ſtreight baptized: A Liſt of ſuch as the Duke had appoynted to be empoyſoned at home, himſelf being then in *Spaine:* I found it to be the moſt malicious and franticke Surmize, and the moſt contrary to his Nature that I thinke had ever beene brewed from the Beginning of the World, howſoever countenanced by a lybellous Pamphelet of a fugitive Phyſition even in Print; and yet of this would the Duke not ſuffer any Anſwer to be made on his Behalfe, ſo conſtant he was to his owne Principles.

In their military Services the Characters of the Earle's Imployments were theſe, viz.

His forwardeſt was that of *Portugall* before mentioned.

The ſaddeſt, that of *Roan* where he loſt his brave Brother.

His fortunateſt Peece I eſteeme, the taking of *Cadiz Malez*, and no leſſe modeſt, for there he wrote with his owne Hands, a Cenſure of his Omiſſions.

His jealouſeſt Employment was to the Reliefe of *Callais*, beſieged by the Cardinall Arch-duke: about which, there paſſed then betweene the Queene and the *French* King, much Arte.

His Voiage to the *Azores* was the beſt, for the Diſcovery of the *Spaniſh* Weakneſſe, and otherwiſe almoſt a ſaving Voyage.

His blackeſt was that to *Ireland*, ordayned to be the Sepulcher of his Father, and the Gulph of his owne Fortunes.

But the firſt in 88. at *Tilbury* Campe, was in my Judgement, the very Poyſon of all that followed, for there whileſt the Queene ſtood in ſome Doubt of a *Spaniſh* Invaſion, (though it proved but a Morrice Dance upon our Waves) ſhe made him in Field Commaunder of the Cavalry (as he was before in Court) and much graced him openly in View of the Souldiers and People, even above my Lord of *Leiceſter*, the Trueth is from thence forth he fed too faſt.

The Duke's Employment abroad in this Nature, was onely in the Action of the Ile of *Reez*, of which I muſt note ſomewhat for the Honour of our Country, and of her Majeſty's Times, and of them that periſhed and ſurvived, and to redeeme it generally from Miſunderſtanding. Therefore after Enquiry amongſt the wiſeſt and moſt indifferent Men; of that Action I dare pronounce, that all Circumſtances pondered, a tumultuary branding on our Part, with about one thouſand in the whole on theirs ready to receive us with two hundred Horſe, with neere two thouſand Foote, and watching their beſt Time of Advantage, none of their Foote diſcovered by us before, nor ſo much as ſuſpected, and only ſome of their Horſe deſcried ſtragling, but not in any Bulke or Body: their Cavalry not a Troop of *Biſcoigners* mounted in Haſt, but the greater Part Gentlemen of Family, and of pickt Reſolution, and ſuch as charged Home both in Front and on both Flankes into the very Sea about ſixeſcore of their two hundred Horſe ſtrewed upon the Sand, and none of them but one killed with great Shot, and after this their Foot likewiſe comming on to charge, till not liking the Buſineſſe, they fell to flinging of Stones, and ſo walked away.

I ſay theſe Things conſidered and laid together, we have great Reaſon to repute it a great Impreſſion upon an unknown Place, and a noble Argument that upon Occaſion we have not loſt our auncient Vigor. Only I could wiſh that the Duke, who then in the animating of the Souldiers, ſhewed them very eminent Aſſurance of his Valour, had afterwards remembred that Rule of *Apelles*, *Manum de Tabula*. But he was greedy of Honour, and hot upon the publique Ends, and too confident in the Proſperity of Beginnings, as ſomewhere *Polybius* that great Critique of War obſerveth of young Leaders whom

whom Fortune hath not before deceived. In this their military Care and Diſpenſation of Reward and Puniſhment, there was very few remarkable Occaſions under the Duke, ſaving his continuall Vigilancie and voluntary Hazard of his Perſon and Kindneſſes to the Souldiers, both from his own Table and Purſe, for there could be few Diſorders within an Iland where the Troops had no Scope to diſband, and the inferiour Commanders were ſtill in the Sight.

In the Earle wee have two Examples of his Severity, the one in the Iſland Voyage, where he threw a Souldier with his owne Hands out of a Ship, the other in *Ireland*, where he decimated certaine Troops that ran away, renewing a Peece of the Roman Diſcipline.

On the other Side wee have many of his Lenitie, and one of his Facilitie, when he did connive at the bolde Treſpaſſe of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who, before his owne Arrivall at *Fyall*, had banded there againſt his preciſe Commandement, at which Time he let fall a noble Word, being preſſed by one (whoſe Name I need not remember) that at the leaſt he would put him upon a Martiall Court. That I would doe (ſayd he) if he were not my Friend.

And now I am drawing towards the laſt Act, which was written in the Book of Neceſſity.

At the Earle's End I was Abroade, but when I came Home (though little was left for Writers to gleane after Judges) yet, I ſpent ſome Curioſity to ſearch what it might be that could precipitate him into ſuch a prodigious Cataſtrophe, and I muſt according to my profeſſed Freedome, deliver a Circumſtance or two of ſome Weight in the Truth of that Story, which was neither diſcovered at his Arraignment nor after in any of his private Confeſſions.

There was amongſt his neareſt Attendants one *Henry Cuffe*, a Man of ſecret ambitious Ends of his owne, and of proportionate Counſells ſmothered under the Habit of a Scholler, and ſlubbered over with a certayne rude and clowniſh Faſhion, that had the Semblance of Integrity.

This Perſon not above five or ſixe Weekes before my Lord's fatall Irruption into the City, was by the Earle's ſpeciall Commaund ſuddainely diſcharged from all further Attendance, or Acceſſe unto him, out of an inward Diſpleaſure then taken againſt his ſharpe and importune Infuſions, and out of a glimmering Over-ſight, that he would prove the very Inſtrument of his Ruine.

I muſt adde hereunto, that about the ſame Time my Lord had received from the Counteſſe of *Warwicke* (a Lady powerfull in the Court) and indeed a vertuous Uſer of her Power, the beſt Adviſe that, I thinke, was ever given from eyther Sex. That when he was free from Reſtraint, he ſhould cloſely take any Out-lodging at *Greenewich*, and ſometimes when the Queen went Abroad in a good Humour, (whereof ſhe would give him Notice) he ſhould come forth, and humble himſelfe before her in the Field.

This Counſell ſunke much into him, and for ſome Dayes he reſolved it: but in the meane Time through the Interceſſion of the Earle of *Southampton*,

whom *Cuffe* had gained, he was reſtored to my Lord's Eare, and ſo working Advantage upon his Diſgraces, and upon the vaine Foundation of vulgar Breath, which hurts many good Men, ſpun out the finall Deſtruction of his Maſter and himſelfe, and almoſt of his Reſtorer, if his Pardon had not been wonne by Inches.

True it is, that the Earle in *Weſtminſter-hall* did in generall diſcloſe the evill Perſwaſions of this Man; but the Particulars which I have related of his Diſmiſſion and Reſtitution, he buried in his owne Breaſt for ſome Reaſons apparent enough. Indeede (as I conjecture) not to exaſperate the Caſe of my Lord of *Southampton*, though he might therewith a little peradventure have mollified his owne. The whole and true Report I had by infallible Meanes from the Perſon himſelfe, that both brought the Advice from the aforeſayd excellent Lady, and carried the Diſcharge to *Cuffe*, who in a private Chamber was ſtrucken therewith into a Sound almoſt dead to the Earth, as if he had fallen from ſome high Steeple, ſuch Turrets of Hope he had built in his owne Fancy.

Touching the Duke's ſuddaine Period, how others have repreſented it unto their Fancies, I cannot determine; for my Part, I muſt confeſſe from my Soule, that I never recall it to Minde without a deepe and double Aſtoniſhment of my Diſcourſe and Reaſon.

Firſt of the very Horrour and Attrocity of the Fact, in a Chriſtian Court, under ſo moderate a Governement, but much more at the Impudency of the Pretence, whereby a deſperate diſcontented Aſſaſſinate would, after the Perpetration, have honeſted a meere private Revenge (as by precedent Circumſtances is evident enough) with I know not what publique Reſpects, and would faine have given it a parliamentary Cover howſoever. Thus theſe two great Peeres were diſ-roabed of their Glory, the one by Judgement, and the other by Violence, which was the finall Diſtinction.

Now after this ſhort Contemplation of their Diverſities, for much more might have beene ſpoken, but that I was fitter for Rapſody than Commentary, I am laſtly deſirous to take a ſummarie Viewe of their Conformities, which I verily beleeve will be found as many, though perchance heeded by few as are extent in any of the ancient Parallell.

They both ſlept long in the Armes of Fortune: They were both of ancient Blood, and of forraigne Extraction: They were both of ſtraight and goodly Stature, and of able and active Bodies: They were both induſtrious and aſſiduous, and intentive to their Ends: They were both early Privy Councellors, and imployed at Home in the ſecreteſt and weightieſt Affaires in Court and State: They were both likewiſe Commaunders Abroade in Chiefe, as well by Sea as by Land; both Maſters of the Horſe at Home; both choſen Chancellours of the ſame Univerſity, namely, *Cambridge*. They were indubitable, ſtrong, and high minded Men; yet of ſweet and accoſtable Nature, almoſt equally delighting in the Preſſe and Affluence of Dependants and Suitors, which are alwayes the Burres, and ſometimes the Briers of Favourits. They were both married to very vertuous Ladies, and ſole Heires, and left Iſſue of eyther Sex, and both their Wives converted to contrary

contrary Religions. They were both in themſelves rare and excellent Examples of Temperance and Sobriety, but neyther of them of Continency.

Laſtly, after they had beene both ſubject (as all Greatneſſe and Splendor is) to certayne Obloquies of their Actions; they both concluded their earthly Felicity in unnaturall Ends, and with no great Diſtance of Time in the Space eyther of Life or Favour.

And ſo having diſcharged this poore Exerciſe of my Pen according to my Knowledge and Reality, let us commit thoſe two noble Peeres to their eternall Reſt, with their memorable Abilities remayning in few, and their compaſſionate Infirmities common to all.

A Letter from MERCURIUS CIVICUS to MERCURIUS RUSTICUS: Or LONDON's Confeſſion, but not Repentance. Shewing, That the Beginning and the obſtinate Purſuance of this accurſed horrid Rebellion, is principally to be aſcribed to that rebellious City.

By SAMUEL BUTLER. 1643.

——— *En quò diſcordia Cives?*
Perduxit miſeros. VIRG. *Eclog.* 1.

Good Brother RUSTICUS,

THOUGH there have been ſome unkinde Jars between my Brother *Aulicus* and me, yet my earneſt Deſire is to keep a good Underſtanding between your ſelf and me: I cannot but congratulate your Happineſſe that breathe in ſo free an Ayre, wherein it is lawfull to heare and ſpeak *Truth:* O *Truth*, ſacred *Truth*, whither art thou fled? If you at *Oxford* did not give her Entertainment, I know not where ſhe would find a Place of Aboad, for here at *London* we fortifie againſt her to keep her out: Nay, with us in the City, it is come to that paſſe, that *it is almoſt as dangerous to ſpeak Truth, as love the King:* You know how famous we have been here for publiſhing and printing Lyes; he that will not lye to Advantage, the great Cauſe in Hand, is not amongſt us thought fit to have Acceſſe either to the Pulpit or the Preſſe. And therefore when I was firſt ſet on work to communicate Intelligence to the Kingdom, to indear my ſelf to them that imployed me, I played my Part reaſonably well, I lyed my Share; but at laſt admoniſhed by our Brother *Aulicus*, and to confeſſe to you, touched a little in Conſcience, I began by Degrees to take off my ſelf from that unwarrantable Courſe, and did here and there ſprinkle a little Truth, yet very ſparingly, leſt I ſhould be thought to be turned *Malignant* or *Cavaleer:* but as little

as

as it was, it was diſtaſtfull: for hereupon Mr. *Pim*, and the Remainder of the *five Members*, aſſiſted by Mr. *Martyn*, illiterate Serjeant *Wild*, *Peard*, (that hath leſſe Law if it be poſſible than the Serjeant) and ſome others that have ſworn never to indure Truth again, ſince they have thriven ſo well by Lies, moved at the Cloſe Committee to have me ſilenced: Yet to blind the World, as if their Ayme were not at me alone, they involve others in the ſame Doome, and for Intelligencers, by an Order they bung up all our Mouths at once: yet knowing how much it concerned them that the old Trade went on, though ſince they have permitted another to make Uſe of my Name, yet at firſt they gave Authority to one Man onely to lye for all the reſt: him they call the *Parliament Scout*, not *Bulmore* the Scout that was ſlain at *Whetley* Bridge neer you at *Oxford*, I meane not him, yet if you look into his weekly Pamphlets, you would ſweare that he had no more Braines in his Head than *Bulmore* had when they were ſhot out.

This Man indeed tells you ſome Truths, but ſuch antiquated ones, that they were ſtale Newes above a thouſand Yeares ſince; as that on the Borders of *Scotland* there dwelt a People whom they called *Picts*, that there was a Wall built between *England* and *Scotland*, and the like: while he keeps at this Diſtance, and comes no nearer, he never needs feare that the Heeles of the Times may chance to daſh out his Teeth: he may write on! but if once he come to publiſh any moderne Truths, as that his Excellency durſt come no nearer *Oxford* than *Thame*, that *Fairfax* is beaten in the North, and *Waller* and *Warwick* in the Weſt, or the like, he were beſt looke to himſelfe, he may read his Fate in us: Theſe new Reformers will never brooke it.

Since therefore we are here inſlaved either to Lies or Silence, that the World may not for ever be kept hoodwinkt, goe on (I pray) as you have begun, to let her ſee the Miſeries under which ſhe dayly ſuffers. But me thinks it would be a Work well worthy your Endeavour, to let the Country ſee not only their Miſeries, but to point them out the Fountain and Source from whence they flow: This Diſcovery hath beene within me as *Wine that hath no Vent, ready to burſt like new Bottles*; yet as full as I am, I dare not vent my Thoughts concerning this *here*, but have choſe rather to whiſper them to you: for it is in vaine to diſſemble it, your ſad Stories of the Ruine and Devaſtation of the Countrey are ecchoed in our Streets, and though we beare it out in a vaunting Way, as if theſe Things concerned not us, yet I aſſure you there are many Soules that mourne in private, (for in publique we muſt be as mad as the reſt, or elſe we ſuffer as *Malignants*) as knowing how juſtly we ſtand charged with all thoſe Calamities, which the Sword of Rebellion hath wrought upon you: I never heare that of the *Prophet* read, *Woe to the bloody City, it is full of Lies and Robbery*; but I cannot chooſe but think of *London*.

It is too manifeſt, nor can it be denied, but that all your Sufferings have been derived from us: when Common-Prayer was in Uſe amongſt us, I remember ſuch a Query in one of the *Prophets*, *Is there any Evill in the City, and the Lord hath not done it?* But you may aſke, Is there any Evill in the *Countrey*, and the *City* hath not done it? You have made us rich and

populous, and we in foule Ingratitude have prodigally powred out both our Wealth and Strength to make you and our ſelves miſerable.

Well might the Incendiaries of this preſent Rebellion (ſo I dare call it to you, though I dare not ſpeak ſo plain here) bring violent Affections, eager Endeavours to ſet this flouriſhing *Church*, and *Kingdom* in Combuſtion, but alas! all this had ſignified little or nothing, had they not gained our Conſent, and we reſigned up our Perſons and Eſtates to their Diſpoſall to be made the baſe Inſtruments to compaſſe their moſt trayterous Deſignes: Could *Say* or *Pim*, and their beggerly Confederates have found Money to levie an Army againſt their Liege Lord, that had not Money to pay their own Debts, had not we furniſhed them? If we ſhall without Partiality conſider the ſeverall Helps which this City hath contributed to this Rebellion, we muſt confeſſe *that both the Beginning and Continuance of this unnaturall Warre may be aſcribed to us:* So that in all *England* there is but one *Rebell*, and that is *London*. To reflect a little and look back on thoſe Times when this Rebellion was but an *Embrio*, or elſe did begin to creepe into the World, (for we may not think that this Monſter was a Brat of a ſuddain Birth) though it were conceived (ſome *Say*) neere *Banbury*, and ſhaped in *Grays-Inne-Lane*, where the Undertakers for the Iſle of *Providence* did meet and plot it, yet you know it was put out to nurſe to *London*.

For *firſt* you may well remember when the *Puritans* here did as much abominate the *Military Yard* or *Artillery-Garden*, as *Paris-Garden* it ſelf: they would not mingle with the prophane: but at laſt when it was inſtill'd into them, that the bleſſed Reformation intended could not be effected but by the Sword, theſe Places were inſtantly filled with few or none but Men of that Faction: We were wont you know to make very merry at their Training, ſome of them in two Yeares Practice could not be brought to diſcharge a Muſket without winking; we did little imagine then, that they were ever likely to grow formidable to the State, or advance to that Strength, as to be able to give the King Battle, but after a while they began to affect, yea and compaſſe the chief Officers of Command, ſo that when any prime Commanders dyed, new Men were elected, wholy devoted to that Faction; and it became a generall Emulation amongſt them who ſhould buy the moſt, and the beſt Armes.

Secondly, That they might fill all Places of Authority with ſuch as ſhould advance the Deſigne, all Care is taken to fill the Bench of Aldermen, and the Common-Councel, with Men diſaffected to the Government, both Eccleſiaſticall and Civill. To this Purpoſe, if *London* did not afford Men bad enough, they would call them from other Corporations, as Alderman *Atkins* from *Norwich*, and the like: but if he had ſeen *Amſterdam*, or had been an Adventurer to *New England*, or been the Hoſt of the *ſilenced Miniſters*, he was a Jewell: Nay ſome will tell you, and I am much of their Opinion, that the Faction have had ſo great a Care of this, that they have choſen ſome Men to Places of the beſt Eſteem in the City, whoſe Eſtates were not able to defray the Charges, but have been ſupported by a common Purſe, and if you have not forgotten it, there was a Motion you know made, that

honeſt

honeſt Men, ſo they call themſelves, might beare the *Magiſtracy*, and the City beare the *Expence:* ſome Men thought that this Propoſall had eſpeciall Relation to thoſe two beggerly Captaines, *Ven* and *Manuring*, who having nothing either within or without them to render them fit for Government, yet in this rebellious City, were thought *moſt fit*, becauſe *moſt averſe* from what was by Law eſtabliſhed.

Thirdly, Becauſe all this could not compaſſe the End they aymed at, unleſſe the *Clergy* did conſpire with them and contribute their Help, and becauſe they found very few of the *ſetled Clergy* here in the Citty, (except Dr. *Gough*, M. *Jackſon*, *Votier*, *Simons*, *Walker*, and a very few more) compliant with their Indeavours, they laboured by all Meanes poſſible, to introduce that *Gibbus* or *Excreſcency* of the Clergy called *Lecturers* over their *Parochiall Miniſters* Heads, whoſe Maintenance being dependent (yet a Portion by double Leaſes, and other ſacralegious Devices ſtolne from their owne Parſons, ſo that the barren Mountaines of *Wales* afford not ſo many poore, and as Sir *Benjamin Rudyer* was wont to call them, ſcandalous Livings together, as are to be found within the Walls of *London)* muſt preach ſuch Doctrine as may foment Diſloyalty, and inſtill ſuch Principles into their Auditors, as may firſt diſpoſe them *to*, and after engage them *in* Rebellion, when Things were ripe, or elſe they ſhall want Bread to put into their Heads: The Truth is, Brother *Ruſticus*, theſe military Preparations had effected little, had not the Fire been given from the Pulpit.

And becauſe they ſaw how ſucceſſefull this Courſe was, and what ſtrange Effects it wrought in our City, a *Fourth* Deſign was, to place ſome of their Emiſſaries in all *Corporations* (thoſe Nurſeries of Schiſme and Rebellion) and in the moſt eminent Parts of the Kingdom; for this Purpoſe a moſt ſpecious and pious Pretence is held out to the World, the buying in of *Impropriations: Feoffees* are appointed, Men of publique Callings, as *Clergymen*, *Lawyers*, and *Cittizens*, whoſe Imployments muſt needs render them knowne to many, and Men of noted *Zeale* in the Opinion of the World, (ſuch as it was) thereby to gaine the Reputation of Religion to the Undertaking: the Lecturers (and others too) deceived by the Outſide of this Project) ſtirre up the Rich and Well-affected to contribute liberally to this ſo religious an Act, of Redeeming the Lord's Portion out of Lay-hands, and amongſt the laſt Counſells given to the Dying (and then commonly they make deepeſt Impreſſion) This was never forgotten: by this Meanes great Summes were advanced, and the World ſtood at gaze to ſee the great Returne which would be made to the Church of *that* which Sacraledge had made a *Lay-Fee:* after any were redeemed how long the Revenues were held in the *Feoffees* Hands, what Pittances were allowed to the Incumbents, how they *robb'd Peter to pay Paul*, and eſtabliſhed a Lecture perhaps in *Cornwall*, with the Tithe of a Parſonage in *Yorkeſhire*, or the like, appertains not to my preſent Purpoſe.

The Thing that I ſhall obſerve unto you is, the great Care and Art uſed in fitting Men for their Service, and then diſpoſing and ſecuring them in their Employment from any Moleſtation of Eccleſiaſticall Cenſures. To this End,

End, *First*, they account it neceſſary to plant two *Seminaries*, the *firſt* an *Initiary Seminary*, to this Purpoſe they project the buying of an Headſhip in one of the *Univerſities* for ſome eminent Man of their own Party, under whoſe Influence their *Novices* might be trained up in their *Myſteries:* though ſome Houſes in both Univerſities were notorious enough in this Kind before, and might have ſaved them this Labour, as *Magdalen-Hall* and *New-Inne* in *Oxford*, and *Emanuell Colledge* and *Katherine Hall* in *Cambridge*.

The *ſecond* was a *Practique Seminary*, and that was at St. *Antholines* here in *London*, and did in *Spiritualibus* anſwer to the *Artillery Garden*, being a Place to traine up their young *Emiſſaries*, where they might take an Eſſay of their Affections and Abilities, and by the Bewitchments of *Gaine* and *popular Applauſe* deeply ingage them in their Faction: and from this *Seminary* were moſt of their new bought Impropriations fill'd. And as they had their Salary *from*, ſo they were ſubordinate *to* a *Claſſis* or *Clero-laicall Conſiſtory*, who had Power to tranſplant their moſt hopeful Imps either into their purchaſed Impropriations, or elſe into a Lecture in ſome of the moſt populous Places of the Kingdom, maintained by a borrowed Portion from an Impropriation elſwhere: yet this *Conſiſtory*, did not in their Choice, ſtrictly tye themſelves to the Plants of their own Nurſeries, but if any Man had been a *Pſeudo-martyr* for their Cauſe, or had been ſentenced by the high Commiſſion for Non-Conformity, or by ſome notorious Undertaking had evidenced and declared himſelfe, and irrevocably without apparant Note of Infamy and Levity (if he retracted) ingaged himſelfe to their Party: or had Letters Teſtimoniall from *Patriarch White* of *Dorcheſter*, Mr. *Cotton* of *Boſton*, or the like, (for *Calamy* and *Marſhall* were not, as it is ſaid of *Dathan* and *Abiram*, as yet *famous in the Congregation.*) This Man was a choyce Plant and fit for their Soyle.

Secondly, Being planted abroad, their ſecond Care was, that whatſoever they preached, though never ſo derogatory to the Government either *Eccleſiaſticall* or *Civill*, yet they might be free from Moleſtation, and preach on, without Danger of looſing their Maintenance by Eccleſiaſticall Cenſure. To this Purpoſe they attempt the buying a Commiſſaries Place *there*, *where* they intended to make any ſpeciall Plantation; who being after their own Hearts, might winke at their Irregularities; and though the Church-wardens ſhould by chance be ſo honeſt to regard their Oathes, and preſent them, yet by the purchaſed or bribed Commiſſary they may ſecure them from the Danger of the Court.

Laſtly, For feare leaſt any of their Creatures ſhould fall from them, and deſert the Cauſe, as ſome had done, when they had got what they looked for; wiſely they provide, that their Maintenance ſhall be dependent, on the Pleaſure of their good Maſters the Feoffees, alterable by Addition, or Subſtraction, according to their Merits, or Demerits, and their Perſons ſubject to be caſheered, if they preach not to the Advancement of their holy Cauſe, and according to the Directions ſent unto them from the Conclave of their Elders at *London:* That ſo as much as humane Policy could invent, they might

(to uſe Mr. *Foxlie*'s own Words, ſpeaking in this Argument) *Eſtabliſh the Goſpel by a perpetuall Decree.*

When all Things were now ready, their *Emiſſaries* having prepared the Hearts of the People to Rebellion, firſt alienating them, by frequent ſlandering the Footſteps of God's Anoynted, decrying the Government both of Church and State, fomenting the cauſeleſſe Diſcontents, and aggravating the Neceſſities of State, with the odious Names of *Tyranny*, *Arbitrary Power*, *Violation* of the Subjects *Liberty* and *Property*, and likewiſe poſſeſſed the credulous Multitude, that the conformable *Clergy* had made a Revolt from the *Proteſtant Religion*, and had an earneſt Intention to introduce *Popery*: At laſt was fulfilled that Prophecy of judicious Mr. *Hooker*, towards the End of the Preface to that incomparable Work of *Eccleſiaſticall Policy*, that *after the Puritans have firſt reſolved that Attempts for Diſcipline are lawfull, it will follow in the next Place to be diſputed, what may be attempted againſt Superiors who will not have the Scepter of that Diſcipline to rule over them?* Which *Prophecy* we ſee exactly fulfilled in our Dayes; for the *Puritans* having firſt rebelled by a *Proxy*, they then thought it ſeaſonable to take an Eſſay what an Entertainment the Doctrine *for taking up Armes againſt the King* would find amongſt their Diſciples.

To this Purpoſe Doctor *Downing*, a Man fitted for any baſe Employment, and one that (whatever he counterfeited) ever looked awry on the Church, in which (being ſetled and in Peace) he could never hope to advance farther than *Vicar* of *Hackney*, was to feele the Pulſe of the City: while therefore Diſcontents runne high in the *North*, the *Scots* having in a hoſtile Manner entered the Kingdome, the People every where, eſpecially in *London*, ſtirr'd up by ſome Agents to petition the King for this Parliament, Dr. *Downing*, preaching to the Brotherhood of the *Artillery Garden*, poſitively affirmed, *that for Defence of Religion and Reformation of the Church, it was lawfull to take up Armes againſt the King.*

He having thus kindled the Fire in the City, for feare of being queſtioned (for as yet it was not lawfull to preach Treaſon) retired privately to the Earle of *Warwicke*'s Houſe in *Eſſex*, the common Rendevouz of all ſchyſmaticall Preachers, this Sermon in every Place adminiſtring Matter of Diſcourſe, People cenſured it, as they ſtood affected, which gave Occaſion to the Ringleaders of this Faction to enter upon a ſerious Examination and Study of this Caſe of Conſcience: And it ſeems, conſulting the Jeſuites on the one ſide, and the rigid Puritans on the other, or indeed, becauſe without admitting this Doctrine, all their former Endeavours would vaniſh into Smoak, they ſtood doubtfull no longer, but cloſed with theſe two contrary Factions, yet ſhaking Hands in this Poynt of Rebellion, and ſubſcribed to Dr. *Downing*'s Doctrine, as an Evangelicall Truth.

And that in this I may not be thought to ſpeak as if I were a Parliament Intelligencer *ſtill*, for the Truth of this, I appeale to Mr. *Stephen Marſhall* himſelfe, who being preſſed by Mr. *Simons*, that heretofore he was of another Opinion, ingenuouſly confeſſed it, but withall affirmed, that on Dr. *Downing*'s Sermon,

Sermon, having a Hint given them, the Brethren did enter upon an Examination of the Doctrine, and upon Examination found it true: Though the Truth is, they whiſpered this Doctrine long before in their Conventicles, but never durſt proclaime it in their Pulpits, before they ſaw an Army in the Bowells of the Kingdom to make it good by the Sword, and a Faction in a Parliament comeing on, that would authorize Rebellion under this Pretence, by their Votes and Ordinances.

After it was once owned as a Truth, and a Truth, firſt ſcann'd, and then avowed by *Marſhall*, *Calamy*, *Downing*, and Colonell *Cornelius Burges*, and the reſt of their Elders, *That for the Cauſe of Religion it was lawfull for the Subject to take up Armes againſt his lawfull Soveraigne*, good God! how violently did the People of *London* ruſh into Rebellion? how plyable did the Faction in Parliament find them to raiſe Tumults? make Outcries for Juſtice? call for innocent Blood? ſubſcribe and preferre Petitions againſt the holy Lyturgy? and the Hierarchy, Root and Branch, if Doctor *Burges* did but hold up his Finger to his *Mermidons?* or Captain *Ven* ſend his Summons by his Wife, to aſſemble the *Zelots* of the City?

But becauſe all other Attempts had been to little Purpoſe, while the Power of the Sword remained in his Hands, into which *God* hath put it, the Heads of this Rebellion conſider, that it was more feazable by ſecret Practiſes, to render the King unable to withſtand them, than for them openly to oppoſe the King; therefore their main Indeavour is to wreſt the Power of the *Militia* out of the King's Hands by Degrees, and to put it *there*, *where* they might place the greateſt Confidence.

But this was a Work not eaſily affected, great Changes could not be uſhered in but by great Preparations to make Way for them; hereupon the Faction in Parliament make it their firſt Work to make this City wholly *theirs*, that one Soule as it were might animate both *repreſentive Bodies*, that of the *Kingdome*, and this of the *City:* knowing that it was in vaine for the Faction in Parliament to *contrive* unleſſe the Faction in the Common-Councell in *London* would *execute:* for though there were ſome Flouriſhes made from *Buckingham-ſhire* in the Behalfe of Mr. *Hampden*, and from *Leiceſter-ſhire* in the Behalfe of Sir *Arther Haſlerigge*; and the like, yet the ſtanding Guard, and Power of the Faction in Parliament, on which they relied, to affront the King, and ſave themſelves from the Juſtice of the Laws, was that fixed here in *London*.

And becauſe where Feare doth poſſeſſe the Multitude, it makes them work not like Agents, but like Inſtruments, and moulds them to a Temper, fit to receive Impreſſions, from thoſe, in whoſe Wiſdoms or Loves they repoſe themſelves, making them pliable to all Directions and Counſells, which ſhall be given by *them*, *whom* they eſteeme *Patriots* of the Common-wealth, and *Aſſertors* of the *Liberties*, and *Safety of the People*, all poſſible Art was uſed to poſſeſſe the Kingdome, but eſpecially the City with ſtrange *Jealouſies* and *Feares*, and therefore beſides the often inculcating the fained Intention of introducing Popery, great Preparations in *France*, and *Denmarke* to invade the Kingdome, to inable the King to governe Arbitrarily, to the Subverſion

of the fundamentall *Lowes* of the Kingdome, together with the *Liberty* and *Property* of the Subject: (Theames that did continually poſſeſſe both the *Pulpit* and the *Preſſe*, which how true, though moſt impudently affirmed, the World now ſees:) each Day did produce a Diſcovery of ſome new Treaſon, and to indeare the City the more, it muſt be ſo contrived, that in theſe monſtrous Fictions you ſhall continually find the *Parliament* and *City* fained to be involved in the ſame Danger.

To poſſeſſe the Kingdom how mortally the *Parliament* ,and *City* (the two vitall Parts of the Kingdome as *Pym* calls them) were threatned; in the Time of the *Receſſe* they take Opportunity of the Petition delivered by the Troopers from the North, and by an Order from the Committee, they appoynt ſtrong Watches to be kept in all High-Wayes, Villages, and Townes within twenty Miles of *London*, that Travellers into all Parts of the Kingdome, paſſing through theſe Guards, might report when they came Home, in how much Danger the *Parliament* and *City* were for their Sakes.

And that the credulous People might not think but that this was done on good Grounds, a Letter is written from the Parliament Commiſſioners in *Scotland*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Fiennes*, and the reſt to Mr. *Pym* and the *cloſe Committee* here, to inform them of a ſtrange Conſpiracy diſcovered in *Edenburgh*, to ſeize on the Perſons of the Marqueſſe *Hamilton*, and the Earles of *Argyle*, and *Lavericke:* the Committee wiſely conſidering that it was no ſtrange Thing for Treaſon to make a Step out of *Scotland* into *England*, inſtantly provided againſt it, (at leaſt ſo they would be thought) by publiſhing an Order, commanding the Juſtices of Peace of *Middleſex*, *Surrey*, and *Southwarke*, to ſecure the City, and the Places adjoyning, from all Danger, by ſtrong Guards, well armed, and give this Reaſon for their Order, *Becauſe the miſchievous Deſignes and Conſpiracies lately diſcovered in* Scotland *againſt ſome principall and great Men there, by ſome of the Popiſh Faction, gives juſt Occaſion to ſuſpect, that they may maintain Correſpondency here and practiſe the like Miſchiefe.*

Preſently upon the Neck of this Mr. *Pym*'s Life (to the great Detriment of the Kingdom and Nation) is endangered by a contagious Plaiſter of Plague Sore, wrapt up in a Letter, and directed to him: but GOD be thanked, the Infection did not take, though throwing away the Plaiſter only, he put the Letter in his Pocket; he being reſerved for another Manner of Death (we hope) than to dye privately in his Bed, with a few Spectators to bear Witneſſe of his End.

Then comes a Taylor out of a Ditch in *Finſbury* Fields, having miraculouſly eſcaped, being runne *nine Times* beſides the Body, (for like a wiſe Taylor, whereſoever he made Ilot-holes, he would be ſure to make none in his own Skinne, though to gain Credit to the Relation:) and he tells a ſtrange Diſcovery of a Treaſon, which he overheard two Men talking of, a Conſpiracy againſt the Life of the Lord *Say*, and ſome of the chief Members of both Houſes: A Thing ſo improbable, indeed ſo ridiculous, that had they not thought that the World ſtood prepared to receive any thing for Truth which came from them, 'twas a Wonder how they durſt own it. And now I have named

named a Taylor, it puts me in Mind of *Perkins*, my Lotd *Say*'s Taylor, who at a Common-Councell produced a Copy of a Letter from an I know not what *Iriſh* Lord in *Paris*, to ſuch another *Iriſh* Lord in *London*, intimating ſome ſtrange Deſigne againſt the City, which took as paſſionately with the People, as if it had been certified from Mr. *Strickeland* his Worſhip himſelfe, Embaſſador for the two Houſes unto the *States-Generall* of the *United Provinces*. But the moſt monſtrous of all the reſt, and that which if the People had not been accurſed to believe Lies, was the inviſible Army quartered under Ground at *Ragland Caſtle*, diſcovered by *John Davis*, Servant to Miſtris *Lewis* an Inne keeper at *Roſſe*, to Alderman *Acton*'s Coachman: except the blowing up the *Thames* with Gunpowder to drowne the City, one of the moſt dangerous Plots that ever affrighted *London*.

And as by their own Fictions they endeavoured to poſſeſſe the People with Jealouſies, ſo whatſoever the King did never wanted a ſiniſter Interpretation, gloſſed to the Multitude, to traduce His Actions, as if in them there were ever ſome Evill intended to the City and Parliament. When the King removed *Belfore* from the Lieutenancy of the Tower, and placed Sir *Thomas Lunsford* in that Charge, the Citizens and their Wives could not ſleep quietly in their Beds, for Feare of having their Houſes beaten down about their Eares. To ſatisfy their Clamours, though nothing was objected againſt him, the King re-aſſumes the Truſt, and preſently depoſites it with Sir *John Byron*: the Faction were as ill ſatisfied in him, yet it was not eaſy what to object againſt him: nay, it was a Query that did not a little trouble them in what to quarrell him: at laſt Lieutenant *Hooker* the *Aquavite* Man, and *Nicholſon* the *Chandler*, complaine in the Common-Councell, that ſince Sir *John Byron* came to be Lieutenant of the Tower, the Mint (to the great Prejudice and Diſhonour of the Kingdome) ſtood ſtill. Thoſe that knew what Trade theſe Men drove, by the poore Retaile of Broomes, Candles, and Muſtard, their chief Merchandize, to improve braſſe Farthings into Groats and Sixpences, accounted the Objection as inconſiderable as the Authors that alleadged it, yet as meane and falſe as it was, it ſerved ſome Men's Turnes to ſlander the King to his People, and raiſe a Clamour. The King out of the abundant Goodneſſe of his Nature, hoping to winne them by ſome Condeſcendments, (which now the World ſees is impoſſible: Puritans being of another Manner of Temper than to be overcome with Kindneſſe) removes Sir *John Byron*, and confers this great Truſt on Sir *John Coniers*, a Man of whom the Faction it ſeems conceived better Hopes, and indeed hitherto, if you conſider his Exaction upon the King's Friends in his Cuſtody, or retaining the Name of Lieutenant, but reſigning the Power contrary to his expreſſe Oath, and that on his own Petition to the Train-bands of the City, he hath not given them any Occaſion to repent them of their Acquieſcence in him.

It were endleſſe, *Brother Ruſticus*, to relate all the Meanes uſed to heighten the Fears of this miſerable City, and by conſequence of the Kingdome; eſpecially after the Faction in Parliament had ſhewen them the Way, by publiſhing

ing that great Buggbeare to affright the People, *the Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdome.*

1641. At laſt, to make Experiment what good Effect all theſe Arts had produced, the maine Engineers reſolve on Twelfe-Night to ſee what Party they had in the City, and what Aſſiſtance they might expect (if Occaſion ſerved) by giving a falſe Allarme. To this Purpoſe, in the Night, a Rumour is divulged, and ſuddenly diſperſed through the City, That the King and *Cavaleers*, with fifteene hundred Horſe, were coming to ſurprize the City: You would wonder to conſider how this Report prevailed, inſomuch that in an Inſtant *London* was in Armes, no leſſe than 50000 or 60000 Men, ready provided to encounter they knew not what; the Women (who as Mr. *Peters* did inſtruct them in the Pulpit, have hugg'd their Huſbands into this Rebellion) provide hot Water (beſides what they ſprinkled for Feare) to throw on the *Cavaleers:* Joynt ſtooles, Foormes, and empty Tubbes are throwne into the Streets, to intercept the Horſe. Had you been at the Lord Mayor's that Night, as I was, you might upon the Aldermens coming to him, to conſult againſt the common Danger, eaſily perceive which of the Aldermen were privy to this Deſigne, and who were not thought fit to be truſted with ſo great a Myſterie: ſome of them (and when Time ſerves I can tell you their Names) came ſo neat, as if they had ſpent the whole Day to be trimme at Midnight, their Beards put into a Feaſting Poſture, not a Haire awry, a clear Demnnſtration that they had not conſulted their Pillows that Night; their Ruffes ſet as compleatly, as if they had beene to dine with the Maſters of their Companies, or were prepared to beare a Part in my Lord Mayor's Shew: but the reſt, that ſlept in the Simplicity of their Hearts, and went to Bed, ſo farre from miſconceiving their gracious Soveraigne to have any evill Intention againſt the City, that they thought themſelves ſafe under his Protection, theſe came in a farre different Garbe; one came in his Night-Cap and forgot his Hat, another had his Hat, but did not remember to take his Ruffe, one trots along in his Slippers, another for Haſte not ſtaying to garter his Stockings, had loſt them had not his Shooes been on; ſo that it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh who were *Confiding Aldermen*, as they call them, and who *Malignants.*

And as by Degrees they wrought the People to this Height of Jealouſie, ſo by Degrees too, proportionable to their Jealouſies, did they diſarme the King, and arme themſelves. At firſt they did only wreſt the Sword out of the King's Hand, but as their Party grew ſtronger, they turned the Point upon him. When their Feares were but young, the Faction of the City deſired no more, but a ſtrong Guard of the Train-Bands, and this they called *The Safety of the City*; when their Feares grew ſtronger, then in a Common-Councell they move for *The Poſture of Defence*; which was the *Egge* of which afterwards was hatched that *Cockatrice* of the *Militia.*

But becauſe it was impoſſible to diſarme the *King*, as long as the *Lord Mayor* ſtood firme in his Loyalty, and inveſted in his Power; their maine Work therefore was, firſt, to pack a Common-Councell of Men of their own Faction, and then by advancing the Power of their Common-Councell (by the

the Assistance of the *House of Commons*) above the *Lord Mayors*, to draw the Voting of all Queryes, and the Resolution of all Doubts, or Matters under Debate, under the Decision of a *major Part*; and if any Obstacle lay in their Way to these Ends, which was not in their Power to remove, presently at a dead Lift, *Penington*, or *Ven*, or *Vassels* bring an Order from the *House* of *Commons*, which never failed to determine all Things, for their own Creatures. And because the Practices of these Men deserve not to be buried in Silence, I shall give you a short Account, how the Power of the *Militia* of the City, came to be taken out of the *Lord Mayor*, and *Court of Aldermen's* Hands, and seated in a *major Part* of the *Commons*; in which you shall see how a Faction in the *City* conspired with a Faction in the *Parliament*, and this Faction in the *Parliament* with that in the *City*, untill between both, the King was inforced, for Fear of their Tumults, and Insolencies, to withdraw himself into the Country.

The Time of Election of Common-Councell Men comming on, at St. *Thomas's* Day 1641. when these Feares and Jealousies had distracted the City, it was no difficult Matter, for this active Faction, to instill into their fellow Citizens how much it concerned them to make Choyce of *godly Men* (so they miscall themselves) and such as would oppose the *Popish Party*, under which Notion, they comprehend all such as stand well affected to the Government established, whether *Ecclesiasticall*, or *Civill*. They accuse the old Common-Councell-Men, as Men not zelous for Religion, ready to comply with the Court for Loanes of Monies, and which was worse, many had not only set their Hands *to*, but were active *in* promoting the intended Petition, for *Episcopacy*, and the Booke of *Common Prayer*. These Objections, (which duly considered, had been so many convincing Arguments for them) so prevailed with these silly Men, (who thought all to be in Danger, unlesse the Government were put into new Hands) that in most Wards, the old Common-Councel-Men were turned out, and new chosen in, wholy devoted to the *Puritan Faction*; especially in those Wards, where their *Aldermen* inclined that Way: amongst these, the most remarkable were *Atkins*, *Wollastone*, *George Garrat* the Draper, *Wardner*, and *Towse*. Now outgoe all the grave, discreet, well-affected Citizens, as Sir *George Benyon*, Mr. *Drake*, Mr. *Roger Clarke*, Mr. *Roger Gardner*, *Deputy Withers*, Mr. *Cartwright*, and others, and in their Stead are chosen *Fowke* the Traytor, *Ryley* the squeeking Bodyes-maker, *Perkins* the Taylor, *Norminton* the Cutler, young beardlesse *Coulson* the Dyer, *Gill* the Wine-Cooper, and *Jupe* the Laten-man in *Crooked-Lane*, *Beadle* of the Ward, in the Place of *Deputy Withers*. So that a Man would swear, they meant to fulfill what a wise *Lord Keeper* once spake to a Recorder of *London*, dyning with him, upon Occasion of a *Wood-Cock-Pye* brought to the Table, with the Heads looking out of the Lid, Mr. *Recorder*, *you are welcome to a Common-Councell.*

These new Men, though chosen on St. *Thomas's* Day, are never returned by the constant Custome of the City, before the *Munday* after *Twelfe-day*: nor have Power to sit in the Common-Councell, or concurre in doing any Act, before the Indentures of their Election be returned from the Wardmote Inquest

Inqueſt to the Town-Clark, and a Warrant is ſued forth from the *Lord Mayor*, to the Serjeant of the Chamber to ſummon them. Yet in the Yeare 1641. the ſmall Space of Time betweene St. *Thomas's* Day, and the Day of this Returne, was a very *active* Time: and that which laid the Groundwork, of that Revolt of this City, from their Loyalty to Rebellion, which preſently followed. Therefore impatient to ſtay the Time of their ordinary Calling, and knowing the Neceſſity of their Preſence for the Advancement of the Work in Hand, when the King, gave Order to the *Lord Mayor*, for calling that Common-Councell held *December* 31, 1641. when the Lord *Newburge* was ſent from the *King*, to give the City Notice of the late Tumults at *Weſtminſter*, and *Whitehall*, and to recommend unto them the Care of preventing the like Diſorders, for the Time to come. To this Common-Councell, comes *Fowks*, and with him, all the Tribe of this new Choice, and mingle with the old; which being an Intruſion without Preſident, was earneſtly oppoſed by *them*, that loved the ancient Order, and Honour of the City; and foreſaw the Inundation breaking in upon them, yet out of Reſpect to the *King's* Meſſage, and that *Lord* that brought it, the Controverſie for the preſent was huſhed up, and generally, they applied themſelves to give Diſpatch to the Anſwer, which they were to returne to the *King*, which was accordingly done, and the Anſwer preſently after publiſhed in Print.

So, on the 5th of *January*, being the Day after the *King* went to the Houſe of Commons to demand the *Five Members*, a Common-Councell being called by the King's Direction to the *Lord Mayor*, to which himſelfe in Perſon came, to impart unto them, the Reaſons that induced him to goe to the Houſe the Day before, and to admoniſh them, not to harbour, or protect theſe Men in the City. Thither came *Fowke* and his new elected, but not admitted Brethren. *Fowke* having prepared a ſaucy, inſolent Speech, to make unto the *King*, concerning *Feares*, and *Jealouſies*, touching the *Members* accuſed, The *Priviledges of Parliament*, and that they might not be tried but in a *Parliamentary* Way; The *King* heard him with admired Patience, and whereas ſo diſloyall Expreſſions, juſtly deſerved his royall Indignation, to have ſent him to *Newgate*, or *Bridewell* (ſpecially interpoſing in that repreſentative Body of which, as yet, he was no Member.) The *King* only returned this ſhort gracious Anſwer, bidding him and the reſt, *to aſſure themſelves, That they ſhould have a juſt Tryall, according to the Lawes of the Land*; adding, *That they were dangerous Men, and that neither he, nor they, could be in Safety, as long as theſe Men were permitted to go on in their Way.*

It was obſerved by ſome very wiſe Men there preſent, that the King at his Comming to the Common-Councell, was received with Joy and Acclamations; not much inferiour to thoſe, at his Entrance into the City, on his Returne from *Scotland*. But after the Reaſon of his Comming was knowne, and the *Puritan Party* had inſtill'd into the People's Heads, that the great *Patriots* of the Kingdome were in Danger, to be called to a legall Triall, for Treaſon, at his Returne, there was a new Face on the Multitude, and inſtead

ſtead of *God ſave the King*, there was nothing ecchoed in his Eares but *Priviledges of Parliament*, *Priviledges of Parliament! Great is Diana of the Epheſians* was never roared louder. The King dined that Day at Sheriffe *Garrets*, and the Faction of the Sectaries, Browniſts, and Anabaptiſts having Time to aſſemble, after Dinner, the Houſe was beſet, and the Streets leading unto it thronged with People, Thouſands of them flocking from all Parts of the City; and the Clamour ſtill was *Priviledges of Parliament:* which *Cry* firſt taken up that Day, and *that* with ſo good Succeſſe, never failed to be objected to the *King*, and inculcated to the *People*, even unto this Day, in all their Appeales unto them.

This Tumult ſwell'd to that Height, that the King in his Returne was in great Danger, the People in a moſt undutifull Manner preſſing upon, looking into, and laying hold on his Coach; nay, in Defiance of His ſacred Perſon and Authority, that ſeditious Pamphlet of *Walker*'s, *To your Tents, O Iſrael*, was throwne either into, or very near his Coach: Inſomuch, that thoſe few Friends, which the *King* had in the City, were heartily glad when they heard that the *King* was ſafely arrived at *White-Hall:* for I aſſure you, His faſt Friends here in the City, as the never enough honoured Sir *Richard Gurney*, and Sir *Thomas Gardner* the *Recorder*, were in great Danger, being purſued with Outcryes, as *Remember the Proteſtation*; others calling them *halfe Proteſters:* nay the *Lord Mayor* had his Chaine torne from his Neck by a zealous Sifter.

This very Day, the two Houſes (the Leaders in both) thinking themſelves unſafe at *Weſtminſter*, affrighted with their own Guilt, reſolve to take Sanctuary in *London*, knowing, that whatever they had done, or ever ſhould doe, though never ſo derogatory to the King, never ſo contrary to Law, yet the Puritan Faction in the City would afford them not only Protection, but Power and Aſſiſtance. Both Houſes therefore adjourn untill the *Tueſday* following, and caſt themſelves into a Committee, to meet at *Guild-Hall*, or *Grocers-Hall*.

To the Committee at *Grocers Hall*, come the *Five Members* in great Triumph, guarded and attended by the Train-Bands, and a ſtrong Guard ſet to ſecure the Place of their Sitting. Now, if ever, was the fatall Conſpiration of *Time* and *Place*, for Coyning new unheard-of *Priviledges* of *Parliament*, not only to the ſecuring the Perſons of Traitors, but juſtifying Treaſon itſelfe: For here was (before this Day) the unheard-of Priviledge of Parliament declared, *That no Member of Parliament ought to be arreſted by any Warrant whatſoever, without Conſent of that Houſe, whereof he is a Member:* And by the ſame Ordinance it was declared, *That they that ſhall arreſt thoſe Members are Enemies to the State; with free Liberty granted for all Perſons to harbour or converſe with them:* In all which it is evident, that the Power and Strength of *London* were made the firſt Obſtruction of the free Courſe of Juſtice, and the City made the Aſylum and Sanctuary of thoſe, whom the King had juſtly declared Traytors.

And now, having undoubted Experience of the Affection of the City, all Eyes being turned from *Whitehall*, to *Grocers Hall*, where the *Darlings* of the

People were pompouſly feaſted, and fawningly courted: on *Saturday* the 8th of *January*, 1641. the Committee conſult, how the accuſed Members might come to *Weſtminſter*; the *Tueſday* following, and without any long Debate, it was reſolved upon the Queſtion, That *the Sheriffes of* London *ſhould, and might raiſe a Guard of the Traine-bands, for the Defence of the King and Parliament; and that they might warrantablely march out of their Liberties*, and that you may ſee that the Scene was right layd, there were ſome ready at that Inſtant to make a Tender of the Aſſiſtance of the *Seamen* and *Mariners*, whoſe Power ſhould guard them by Water, as the Train-Bands by Land. Next Day, being *Sunday*, every Pulpit that was at their Devotion, ſounded nothing but the Praiſe of *Kimbolton* and the *Five Members*; inciting the People to ſtand up in the Defence of theſe *Worthies:* elſe if they permitted the King to take away theſe To-day, he might goe on to ſeize on as many more To-morrow, untill he had left the Parliament naked of all *good Patriots*, and *zealous Aſſertors* of Religion, the Lawes, and Liberties of the Kingdom.

On *Monday* the Tenth of *January* 1641. the King hearing of theſe great Preparations, an Army by Land, and a Navy by Sea, which was to caſt Anchor againſt *White-Hall*, ſuddenly, (and certainly guided by an immediate Providence, which in a peculiar Manner watched over Kings) reſolved with his ever glorious Queene, the Prince, and the Duke of *York*, to withdraw to *Hampton-Court*, which accordingly He did; not leaving (though well he might) his *Curſe* behind him upon *London*, as *Henry* the Third of *France* did on *Paris*, fowly provoked in the like Manner; who flying from the *City* and the *Holy League*, the Parallell of this Treaſon here, at *Chaliot*, turning towards it, ſaid, * *I give thee my Curſe, diſloyall and ingratefull City; a City which I have alwayes honoured with my continuall Aboad, a City which I have inriched more than any of my Predeceſſors, I ſhall never enter within the Compaſſe of thy Walls, but by the Ruine of a great and memorable Breach.*

The King, now, no better than fled from *London*, and the apparent Dangers there, the whole Strength of the City remained at the Diſpoſall of a Faction of Puritans in the *Parliament*, and a Faction of Puritans in the *City*. That very *Monday*, on which the King for his Safety from theſe Tumults, withdrew himſelfe (and 'tis a Wonder that any Man ſhould be ſo frontleſſe to deny, (that for that Reaſon, and that Reaſon only, he withdrew himſelfe) was the Returne made of the Indentures of the Election of the Common-Councell-Men, and if any Election was queſtioned, as ſome were, and that moſt juſtly, 'twas truely obſerved, that the Deciſion, never failed to goe on their Side, who were laſt elected, whether it were right or wrong: for whereas formerly all Controverſies of this Nature were ſubmitted to the Determination of the *Lord Mayor* and *Court of Aldermen* only, now by the Impetuouſneſſe and Clamour of *Fowke*, and his Adherents, it muſt be referred to a *Committee* of the Common-Councell; the ſame *Committee* which was for *the Safety*, the *firſt* Step which the *Puritans* made towards the *Militia*.

* The *French* Hiſt. *p.* 805.

Having

Having thus put the King to Flight, and by moſt indirect unwarrantable Practices, turned moſt of the diſcreet able Men of the City out of the Common-Councell, they beginne to put the City into a *true Poſture of Rebellion*, which they called the *Poſture of Defence*, and was the *ſecond* Step to the *Militia*: and for the Committee of this *Poſture of Defence*, they nominate *Six Aldermen*, and *twelve Commoners*, moſt of them being of this laſt Election. And to have a Leader for the intended Rebellion, upon *Ven*'s Recommendation; *Skippon*, for his Councell and Advice, is added as an *Appendix* to the *Committee*. And though a great Debt lay on the Chamber of *London*, which was often complained of, but never paid, yet *Serjeant Major General Skippon*, (ſo many are the Syllables of his new Honours) is ordered by Act of Common-Councell, to have 300 *l.* a Yeare out of the Treaſury for Orphans, during his Life, if he ſhould ſo long continue in the City Service.

A ſtrong Party being thus made, they beginne to make all manner of warlike Preparations, and provide Ammunition of all Sorts: they increaſe the Number of the Train-Bands from ſixe to eight Thouſand, and appoint over them ſixe *Aldermen* to be Colonells, each Colonell to have his Captains, Officers, Colours, and Regiment, to be aſſigned him by the Committee for the *Poſture of Defence:* and yet, as if all this had been to no Purpoſe, unleſſe they can make the *Lord Mayor* (a ſhrewd Rubbe in the Way) a meer Cypher, and reduce their *Governour* to ſo mean a Condition, as to be only their *Inſtrument*, they intrench upon his Power, and invade it many Wayes.

Firſt, therefore, whereas the Power of ſummoning Common-Councells, reſided only in the *Lord Mayor*, who, with the Advice of ſome Aldermen, was to judge of the Reaſons inducing him to aſſemble this Repreſentative Body; now by Orders from the Houſe of *Commons*, at the Inſtance of *Pennington*, *Ven*, and *Vaſſells*, the *Lord Mayor* is not left to his own Judgement, when to call or not to call a Common-Councell, but muſt doe it as oft as the Men of this Faction ſhall command him: which uſurp'd Power, both *Ven* and *Fowkes* have uſed with that Inſolency, that when they have required Sir *Richard Gurney* to call a Common-Councell, and he hath demanded a Reaſon, they have vouchſafed him no other Anſwer, than this ſaucy one, *that when he came thither he ſhould know.*

Secondly, as the Power of calling Common-Councels was truſted, by their *Charter and Long Preſcription*, with the *Lord Mayor*; ſo the Power of *diſſolving* them, was put into the ſame Hands, he might riſe in the midſt of a Debate, and diſmiſſe the Aſſembly, and yet was not bound to give them an Account, why he did ſo; but now, partly by Violence, and partly by pretended Orders from the *Commons*, he is faſtned to his Seat, there he muſt ſit, untill *Ven* and *Fowkes* and the reſt have no farther Uſe of him.

Thirdly, heretofore, when a Common-Councell was called, nothing could be put to the Queſtion, or propoſed as the Subject of their Deliberation, but what the *Lord Mayor* by the *Recorder* did offer unto them; but now, when they could not prevaile with the *Mayor* to command the *Recorder*, nor with the *Recorder* without the *Lord Mayor*'s Conſent, to propoſe what the Faction pleaſed, by the Omnipotency of an Order, from the Houſe of Commons,

they make the *Dumb to ſpeak*, what *Ven* and the reſt will have them; or elſe the *Lord Mayor* and the *Recorder* muſt anſwer it at a Committee.

Laſtly, whereas the *Lord Mayor* and *Aldermen* ſit apart, from the Commons, and are *covered*, when the others are *bareheaded*, and have a *Negative Voice*, the Itch of incorporating two in one, hath been as great in the *City*, as ever it was at *Weſtminſter*, and with better Succeſſe; for the Faction *here* (upon the Point) have caſt all into a common Huddle, blending the *Court of Aldermen* with the *Commons: Upper*, and *Lower*, ſound as harſhly *here*, as *Weſtward:* And though in outward Appearance, they remain two diſtinct Members, of one Body, yet, in Power, they have made both *levell*, involving the Votes of the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, in the major Part of the Commons.

The *Puritan Faction*, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Houſe of Commons*, having thus gotten the *Power to call* Common-Councells, *Power to continue* them, *Power to put to the Queſtion* what they pleaſe, and *Power to determine* all by a *major Part*, my *Lord Mayor* having no more Sway than *Perkins* the Taylor, *Rily* the Bodyes-maker, or *Nicholſon* the Chandler, they may diſpoſe of the Wealth and Power of the City as they pleaſe: now the two Factions openly communicate Counſills, walk Hand in Hand, that 'twas a Queſtion, which was the Parliament, that at *Weſtminſter*, or this at *Guild-hall*.

Towards the End of *January* 1641. the Commons Houſe petition'd the King touching the *Tower*, the *Forts*, and the *Militia*, and as two Strings ſet to the ſame Tune, though on two ſeverall *Violls*, at a convenient Diſtance, if you touch one, the other by Conſent renders the ſame Sound, ſo, the *Houſe* of *Commons*, and the *Common-Councell* of this City, were now grown to ſuch a Sympathy, that the Motions, and Endeavours of one, were the Work of both: that you would ſweare, *Fowkes* was as much a Parliament Man *here*, as *Ven* at *Weſtminſter:* for before *February* was tenne Dayes old, there was a Common-Councell held, in which many Things were debated: the Court was continued long, untill one of the Clock: at laſt, tired out with long ſitting, and willing to riſe, *Ven*, taking Advantage of the preſent Indiſpoſition of the Court, to ſit longer, ready to admit Propoſalls, without any ſtrict ſcanning, (eſpecially ſince whatſoever paſſed that Common-Councell, was to undergoe a ſecond Conſideration at the next, as their conſtant Cuſtome is) produceth an Order from the Houſe of *Commons*, by which, they were deſired to returne ſuch Men's Names, with whom the City thought fit to intruſt the Militia of *London*.

The Court, ſurprized with ſo unexpected a Meſſage for the preſent, not piercing into the Reaſon of it, nor underſtanding that the Houſes were in ſo great Forwardneſſe to ſettle the Militia, as afterwards they found they were, nor imagining that the Men, whoſe Names they returned, ſhould have abſolute Power to execute any Thing of themſelves, but only as a Committee to conſult, and prepare, and report to the Common-Councell, as the limited Power of all Committees is, and, conſidering that the *Poſture of Defence*, and the new *Militia*, though two Names, were in Effect but one and the ſame Thing; Ordered, that the Names of the *Committee* for the *Poſture of Defence*, ſhould

ſhould be ſent to the Houſe in Returne to their Order. The Intention of the Houſe, (as ſome thinke) in this Meſſage, (though for my Part, if I were put to my Oath I dare not ſweare it) was, to indeare the City, and to lay an Obligation upon them by giving them Power to nominate their owne Men: But *Ven* (inſtructed by ſome, that had more Wit, but as little Honeſty as himſelfe) his Purpoſe in the Carriage of this Buſineſſe was, to make the Lord *Mayor*, the *Sheriffes*, and *Court of Aldermen*, by their owne voluntary, but inconſiderate Act, to renounce (as it were) their owne Intereſt, and ſo, to place this great Power of the *Militia* on the *Committee* for the *Poſture of Defence*, whereof the major Part, if not all, were of his owne Faction.

Many Dayes had not paſſed, before it was generally knowne, to the great Regret of all loyall diſcreet Men, that the *Militia* of *London*, was put in the Hands of the *Committee* for the *Poſture of Defence*. Not long after, a Common-Councell was called, at which, when the Orders made the laſt Meeting, (as the Cuſtome is) were read: At this, many Men ſeeing the Snare, into which unwittingly they had caſt themſelves, beganne to retract, and ſpeake againſt that Order, whereby the *Committee* for the *Poſture of Defence*, were inveſted with the Power of the *Militia:* nay, ſome of the *Aldermen*, whoſe Names were returned, for the new *Militia*, utterly proteſted againſt it; affirming, that when they paſſed that Order, they had not the leaſt Intention, to exclude the Lord *Mayor*, from having Power over the *Militia*, nor had any Thought, to place ſo abſolute Power in their *Committee*, as (they found) the two Houſes had done: and hereupon, by ſome that ſtood well-affected, to the *Honour*, and *Peace* of the *City*, it was earneſtly moved, that the Houſes might be petitioned to reverſe their Order, but all in vaine: the Faction in the Common-Councell being inſtructed by their Leaders, at what Advantage they had the City, were reſolved not to loſe it, by giving Way to ſuch a Motion: but on the contrary, to make all ſure, *Ven* produceth another Order from the *Houſe* of *Commons*, that *Skippon*, whom the Committee for the *Poſture of Defence*, had aſſociated to *them* for his Advice, and Aſſiſtance, ſhould, by their Aſſent, be added to the ſame Committee for the *Militia:* which was no ſooner moved, than aſſented unto, the major Part of the Common-Councell (who now *rule the Roſt*) will have it ſo.

The Court of Aldermen finding (but too too late) that this Settlement of the *Militia*, would be no ſmall Derogation to the *Mayrolty* in *particular*, and the *Government* of the City *in generall*; and being out of all Hope to find the Commons ready to joyne with them, in ſuch a Petition, reſolve (without them) to petition, that this Order of ſo dangerous Conſequence might be recall'd, and the *Mayor* and *Sheriffes* be nominated of the Committee. To this End Petitions are framed, and delivered, but to no Purpoſe; the Lord *Mayor*'s *Loyalty*, was too well knowne, to be admitted, to have any Share in *that* Power *which* was intended to be imployed againſt the *King*.

Notwithſtanding this Repulſe, divers Citizens, very conſiderable for their *Numbers*, but more conſiderable for their *Quality* and *Abilities*, out of a Sence of that great Contempt, and Prejudice, which this would bring upon that ancient Government, under which their City had ſo long flouriſhed,

joyne

joyne in a Petition in their owne Names, to the two Houſes, to the ſame Effect, but with worſe Succeſſe; for the Houſe of Commons, having Information what was in Agitation in the City, ſend *Wat. Long* to ſeize on the Petition, and the Subſcriptions; by which Meanes, the Names of the Subſcribers being knowne, there wanted not Arts to make them retract their owne voluntary Act: ſome by Perſwaſions, and private Solicitations, others intimidated by Threats, and Menaces, are compell'd to recant, and becauſe it was a Note of Levity, if not worſe, ſo ſuddenly to proteſt againſt their owne voluntary Act, therefore the *Decoy* to bring on the reſt, to ſo baſe, ſo unworthy a Revolt, was *Lenthall* the *Speaker's* Brother, which Example (he having broke the Ice) was followed by many, that loved an ignoble Quietneſſe, before Freedome with Trouble.

This laſt Petition was that which they call *Benyon's Petition*, and indeed Sir *George Benyon* was (and he needs not be aſhamed of it) a Framer, and a chiefe Promoter of that moſt reaſonable, moſt equitable Petition: which notwithſtanding was made that *great Crime*, that afterwards drew on his Impeachment, and heavy Cenſure in Parliament. In which *Sentence*, the World may ſee what groſſe Injuſtice and Partiality was uſed by them, that would be angry, not to be thought the moſt upright, unblemiſhed *Juſtitiaries* in the World. The *Chriſtmas* before (which wee now muſt call *Nativity Tide)* the Lord Mayor, and the Recorder, were convened before a Committee for obſtructing the Apprentices Petition, againſt Epiſcopacy; and learned *Peard* (who hath no more Law than what was made this Parliament) ſitting in the Chayre, told them, that *it was againſt the Freedome and Liberty of the Subject, not to permit them (without any Let or Interruption) to preſent their Grievances in Paper to the Parliament*, nay, for Feare they ſhould want Worke, there was an Order publiſhed in Print by the *Houſe of Commons* to that very Purpoſe; yet Sir *George* for making Uſe of the ſame *Liberty*, which themſelves had proclaimed, is ſentenced thus: Firſt, fined in three thouſand Pounds. Secondly, disfranchized, utterly deprived of the Priviledges of the City. Thirdly, never to beare any Office in the Kingdome. Fourthly, to be committed Priſoner to *Colcheſter* Gaole for two Yeares, and laſtly, at the Expiration of that Tearm to give Security for the *good Behaviour*, ſuch, as the Parliament (if they then ſate) ſhould then thinke fitting, and in Caſe the Parliament were diſſolved, ſuch as the *Lord Keeper* for the Time being ſhould approve of. How will this *Sentence*, for ever juſtifie the ſevereſt, that were ever given, either in the *Star Chamber*, or *High Commiſſion?* That did doome a Man to ruine, for no other Fault, than what themſelves had authorized, and judged it againſt the Liberty of the Subject, to oppoſe it even by their owne Order.

The *Committee* for the *Poſture of Defence*, being by theſe diſhoneſt Practices made *Lords of the Militia*, and being armed with as much Power as Will, to ſerve the moſt deſperate, treaſonable Deſignes, which either *Say* or *Pym* ſhould ſuggeſt, they now goe on without Checke or Controule, and beate downe all before them that ſtand in their Way. On triviall Pretences, or for neceſſary Obedience to the King's juſt Commands, they remove honeſt

Sir *Richard Gurney* (whoſe Name in after Chronicles will outſhine famous *Walworth*'s, and upbraid this Rebellious City to all Poſterity) from the Governement of the City, and in his Place ſubſtitute *Little Iſaac*, rejecting the *Olive*, and advancing that *Bramble*, out of which I feare will come that *Fire*, which will conſume this ſeditious City. Now the People are authorized by Ordinance of both Houſes, and encouraged and preſſed even in Point of Conſcience by their Boutefeau Lecturers, to liſt Horſes in *Mooreſields*, ſend in Money and Plate to *Guild hall* for the Service of the King and Parliament; and becauſe they would be ſure to have an Orator in every Pulpit to quicken the People, to poure out their Wealth liberally, to further the Rebellion intended, they cauſe the very Dregs and Scum of every Pariſh to petition againſt the Orthodox Clergy; who being impriſoned, or fled, they ſequeſter their Livings, for the Uſe of their owne *Levites:* ſo that at this Day, there is not a true *Orthodox* Miniſter left, freely ſpeaking his Conſcience, and exerciſing his Miniſtery in the whole City: ſo that whatſoever they pretend, that they take up Armes for the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, if they meane the Proteſtant Religion, as it is by Act of Parliament eſtabliſhed in the *Church* of *England*, I aſſure you, *Brother*, were you here, you could no more ſee a Face of the Church of *England*, than you can at *Amſterdam*.

They have not onely baniſhed all *Decency* and *Order*, together with the eſtabliſhed *Liturgy* out of our Churches, but inſtead of the Goſpel, our new Preachers entertaine their Auditories with Newes, which upon Examination prove but Fictions and Lyes to blind the People, or elſe with bitter Invectives againſt the King and his Governement: and as for *Faith*, *Charity*, and *Repentance*, they are laid aſide as impertinent Arguments: all their Exhortations now, are to *Treaſon* and *Rebellion:* So that, as in the *Holy League of* France, as my Author ſpeakes, *our Pulpits are made the Chaires of Juglers*, nay, the very Sacraments eſcape not their Blaſphemy and Prophanation to theſe vile Purpoſes: I doubt not but you have heard of Mr. *Caſe* his Invitation of the Congregation to the Lord's Table, who, inſtead of *You that do truly and earneſtly repent you of your Sinnes, and be in Love and Charity with your Neighbours, and intend to lead a new Life, &c.* beſpake them thus: *You that have freely and liberally contributed to the* Parliament, *for the Defence of God's Cauſe and the Goſpels, draw neere:* To the reſt he threatned Damnation, as comming unworthily to the holy Sacrament; it were endleſſe to write unto you, (it deſerves ſome Man's Labour in particular) to acquaint you, and the Kingdome, with the *Blaſphemies*, *Prophanations*, and *Abſurdities*, which he and his *Brethren* in *Evill*, vent every Day in their extemporary Prayers and Sermons.

Yet were all this Treaſon ſet out mix'd with *Wit*, or did they preach Rebellion advantag'd by the alluring Helpes of *Art* and *Eloquence*, it might perſwade ſome amongſt us not to turne Recuſants from their Aſſemblies; but they are the *dryeſt*, and the *dulleſt* Beaſts that ever peep'd over a *Pulpit:* while theſe remaine in the City, *Rotheram* the *Lecturer* never needs feare to be heard in his Deprecation, that we might never ſee ſuch a Famine here in *London*, as was once in *Samaria*, where *an Aſſe's Head was ſold for fourſcore Pieces*

Pieces of Silver. Thankes to him and the reſt, wee have great Plenty here, and while we have ſo many, there is no Feare that they will ever riſe to ſo high a Price.

But when People are diſpoſed unto a Rebellion, ſmall Helpes will ſerve their Turne; a *Ram's-Horne* is as good as *Shebah*'s *Trumpet:* yet they have one Art (and I may not forget it, becauſe it takes much with the People) and it is this, you ſhall have one, and the ſame Argument poſſeſſe moſt of our Pulpits on the ſame Day, the ſame Matter is the Subject, either of their rayling Invectives, or rebellious Exhortations. The undiſcerning Multitude, not piercing into this Impoſture, fondly are perſwaded, that this is no leſſe than the *Inſpiration* of the *Holy Ghoſt*, when, GOD knowes, this is no more than an Intimation given them from the Heads of the *Faction*, to *Calamy*, and the *Junto* that meet at his Houſe, from whom their *Emiſſaries* receive Directions, what concernes the preſent Opportunity, and is neceſſary to be preached unto the People.

By theſe and the like Arts, 'tis a Wonder to ſee what Forces have been raiſed, what Summes have beene advanced, and poured out, to further this Rebellion: It is the Opinion of very wiſe Men amongſt us here, that have obſerved the ſeverall Helpes, which the City of *London* hath contributed to this preſent unnaturall Warre, that they have ſupplyed the Treaſury of the Rebells with no leſſe than *Three Millions* of Money, and their Army with *Threeſcore Thouſand Men*, firſt raiſing, then recruiting their mangled, beaten Regiments; *at ſo great Expence both of Treaſure and Blood hath this proud unthankfull City been, to dethrone the King, and ruine the Kingdom.*

And that they might not want Supplies of Men, to keepe this Rebellion on Foot, they have cancelled, or diſpenſed with all the *Obligations* and *Tyes* of *Religion*, *Nature* and *Lawes:* They have given the *Sonne* Power not only *without*, but *contrary* to the *Parents* Commands, to liſt himſelfe, and take Entertainment in their Army; the ſame Liberty they have given to *Apprentices*, and *Servants*, to take Armes, not only *without*, but *contrary* to the *Command* of their *Maſters* and *Miſtreſſes.* How many poore Parents, how many poore Tradeſmen, nay, how many poor Widdowes, and their diſtreſſed Orphans, be here in this City, that had no other *Subſiſtence* but what was hardly earned, by their *Children* or *Apprentices* Induſtry and Labour, are now all like to ſtarve, or are neceſſitated to fly to the Almes of the Pariſh (though the Poore's Stock it ſelfe be invaded and ſpent in this Warre) while thoſe that fed them are left in this unnaturall Rebellion? Nay, how many diſconſolate Parents have you in the Country, that ſent their Children hither to this *City*, and gave great Summes with them, to bind them *Apprentices* to Trades and Manufactures, hoping that hereafter they might live like Men, nay, perhaps ſome of their Mothers out of an overweaning Opinion, might fancy to themſelves Hopes, that they might live to ſee their Sonnes Lord Mayors of *London*, (and why not?) that now ſit mourning, and wringing their Hands, and curſe the Day not onely in which they ſent them hither, but in which they were borne, not becauſe they have loſt a Legge or an Arme, or returned maimed, ſo that all they can hope for is to have Entertainment

tainment in an Hoſpitall, and that no longer neither, than till the King's maimed Souldiers ſhall come, and tell them that that Charity was never provided for Men diſabled fighting againſt their King, but becauſe they have loſt their *Lives*, and not onely their *Lives* but their *pretious Soules* too, dying in a grievous Sinne, in the very Act of Rebellion: methinks you in the Country (if there be any Bowels of Compaſſion yearning over the Fruit of your Bodies, if there be any *Senſe* of that *eternall Condition* that doth attend them after this Life, if there be any Hope of the *Joyes* of Heaven, or Feare of the *Torments* of Hell) ſhould be very ſenſible of this.

And though God hath manifeſtly fought *againſt* them, *for* the *King*, giving him Victory in many Battailes, when all humane Helpes and Advantages were on the Rebells Side; *though* God hath miraculouſly, and beyond the Hope of Man reſtored unto Him, the *Hearts* of the People, (which the Heads of this Rebellion, by Slanders had ſtolne from Him:) *though* from ſmall, and contemptible Beginnings in the Eyes of his Enemies (few or none ſtanding for Him but God, and the Juſtice of His Cauſe) God hath proſpered Him into many mighty Armies, which render Him formidable to the proudeſt, and ſtouteſt of the Rebells; *though* every Victory hath beene ſeconded by a Tender of *Peace*, and with an Overture of *Pacification*, ſo that as himſelf ſpeakes in that Declaration publiſhed *July* 30, 1643. *He could not probably fall under the ſcandalous Imputation which hath uſually attended His Meſſages of Peace, that they proceed from the Weakneſſe of His Power, not Love of His People.* Laſtly, *though* like an indulgent Father of rebellious Children, He hath *courted* this *City* and *wooed* it, by many Pardons, many and often repeated Acts of Grace and Favour, to recall us to our former Loyalty, (if ever we were loyall) yet, inconſiderate, unthankfull Wretches as we are, we overlooke or ſleight all theſe Invitations; for inſtead of returning, we have added this, as the Complement of our other Rebellions, that (whether more unthankfully or undutifully I cannot tell) we have caſt Dirt in our Soveraigne's Face, and *ſlandered the Footſteps of God's Anoynted*, as if he were guilty of all thoſe Miſeries, which at this Time threaten the Subverſion of this Nation: we will no longer wrong our King ſecretly, through the Sides of His evill *Counſellors*, or *Cavaliers*, but charge him *directly*, and *poynt blanke*, as in that moſt ſeditious Declaration, or whatever you will call it, preſented by Sir *David Watkins*, and that broken Citizen, out at Elbowes, called *Satten Shute*, to the Common-Councell, and by them to the Remainder of the *Lower-Houſe*, if it be not Breach of Priviledge to call it ſo.

How willing have we obeyed every Commandement, except God's, and the Kings? *How forward* have we beene, to imploy the large Revenues of our ſeverall Companies, and Brotherhoods, (as heretofore to Exceſſe and Gluttony, ſo now) to ſupport this Rebellion? *How ready*, even beyond our Abilities, have we been to ſubmit to every *Tax*, and *illegall Impoſition*, even to the Bondage, and Slavery of *Exciſe*, by which we are not ſo much *Proprietaries* of our owne, as *Stewards*, or *Caſhierers* to the Heads of the Rebellion: and all this to no other End but to keepe up the Rebellion: wee have not only protected, and ſupported the King's *Mortall Enemies*, but as much

much as in us lay, have perſecuted all His *Friends*, or, if but ſuſpected to ſtand well-affected to Him, and the Juſtice of his Cauſe, not ſparing the Effuſion of *innocent Blood*, as that of Mr. *Tomkins*, and Mr. *Chaloner*, which like the Blood of *Abel*, calls loud to Heaven for Vengeance, on this bloody City, and queſtionleſſe will in Time be heard; for not content to buy theſe Men's Bloods with great Summes of Monies which could not be advanced but on this Condition, that Mr. *Tomkins*, and Mr. *Chaloner*, be delivered up to their Pleaſure, and murthered for a ſtrange *Conſpiracy* called *Obedience* to the *King:* but being dead, in an unheard-of Barbarouſneſſe they preſſe into the Houſes, where their dead Bodies lay, before their Funeralls, and thinking they could never be *ſure* enough, of ſo great a *Guilt*, they will not beleeve that they are dead, unleſſe they force the Houſes to ſee the Bodies of them whom themſelves had murthered; inſomuch, that to avoyd further Violence and Rage of the Citizens, they were faine to ſet open the Doores where their Bodies lay, and expoſe them to the View of all, that ſo they might glut themſelves with beholding that ſad Spectacle which themſelves had made.

That the King's gracious Offers of Peace have been ſleighted and rejected with Scorne and Contempt, and his Meſſengers that brought them (contrary to the Lawes of Armes, and Nations) Impriſoned; *That* thoſe miſerable Diſtractions, which have rent and torne this flouriſhing Kingdome, are ſo farre from being cloſed, that they are rather made wider; *That* the Sword of Warre, ſo long devouring, is not yet ſheathed, except in one anothers Bowells; *That* this Kingdome is ſtill made the Scene of Murthers, Rapines, Oppreſſion and Plunderings, and whereon all the horrid Acts of Rage and Injuſtice are every Day acted, and the Nation put almoſt out of Hope, ever to injoy her former Peace, and Plenty, is *our* Fault and *ours* wholly: Had not the Heads of this Rebellion beene animated by this City, and incouraged by Promiſes of more Supplies of Men, and Monies, they had long before this layd downe their Armes, and come with Halters about their Necks, and caſt themſelves at the King's Feet, ſubmiſſively begging thoſe Pardons, which they have preſumptuouſly rejected: Time was, when the *two Houſes* gave a Law to the *City*, now it is come to that Paſſe, that the *City* preſcribes to the *Reliques* of the two Houſes; they muſt not conclude of *Warre* or *Peace*, without conſulting the *City*; if they doe, they reckon without their Hoſte.

Nay, though *Fairfax* be utterly routed in the *North*, and *William*, once ſirnamed *Conqueror*, be totally defeated in the *Weſt*, yet they can neither be *perſwaded*, nor *beaten* into Thoughts of Peace. On the 20. of *July* laſt, no longer agoe, many Thouſands (as the printed Paper tells you) preferred a Petition to the Houſe of Commons, preſented by Mr. *Norbury* of the Curſitors Office, and *John Hat* an Atturney of *Guild hall*, both pernicious Men; which as it evidently ſhewes their obſtinate Averſion from Peace, ſo it is the moſt deſperate divelliſh Slander, that ever yet durſt looke the World in the Face; for firſt they tell the Houſe of Commons, and in them the World, *That the King, without any Touch of Conſcience, and in Defiance of God, hath raiſed an Army of Papiſts, Out-lawes, and Traitors, for the Robbing, Burning,*

Murthering, and Deſtroying of His religious, honeſt, and well-meaning People, and then knowing not only their *Intereſt in*, but their *Power over* the Houſe of Commons, they doe not ſo much *petition*, as *command* them to accept of their Aſſiſtance, for the Rayſing a new Army, and in expreſſe Termes preſcribe unto them, and limit them to a *Committee* of their owne *Nomination*, for the ſeizing and receiving of ſuch Summes, as the *willing* ſhall thinke fit to offer, or they ſhall think fit to extort from the *unwilling* for this Service: And that you may judge of the whole Bunch by ſome, they name *Pennington* the pretended Lord Mayor, *Strode*, one of the five Members, *Harry Martin* Plunder-maſter Generall, and *Dennis Bond* Burgeſſe of *Dorcheſter*, and *Patriarch White*'s owne Diſciple, a Man of a double Capacity to be a Rebell, and finding themſelves more *alone* in theſe Undertakings than they did imagine, like deſperate Traitors, they call on the whole Kingdome, as one Man, according to the Intent of the late Covenant, to joyne with them in this Rebellion. And having thus taken a Courſe to raiſe new Forces, on *Saturday* the 29. of *July*, at a *Common Hall*, they voted Sir *William Waller*, Generall of their new intended Army, whom to indeare the more, they intereſt him in the Governement of the City, hoping that being as mad as his Lady, he will hold up the Rebellion, as long as he can, and then be one of the laſt to runne away: I meane not from *Battell*, for in that he ſhewed himſelfe as forward as the foremoſt, but from *Juſtice*, and the due Reward of his Diſloyalty. By all which it is moſt evident, that this *Languiſhing Rebellion* had before this Day gaſp'd its laſt, and given up the Ghoſt, had not this *rebellious City* by its *Wealth*, and *Multitudes*, fomented it, and given it Life.

If therefore Poſterity ſhall aſke, who broke downe the Bounds, to thoſe Streames of Blood, that have ſtained this Earth; if they aſke, who made Liberty captive, Truth criminall, Rapine juſt, Tyranny and Oppreſſion lawfull: who blanched Rebellion, with the ſpecious Pretence of Defence of Lawes, and Liberties, Warre with the Deſire of an eſtabliſhed Peace, Sacriledge and Prophanation, with the Shew of Zeale, and Reformation: Laſtly, if they aſke who would have pulled the Crown from the *King*'s Head, taken the Governement off the Hinges, diſſolved Monarchy, inſlaved the *Lawes*, and ruined their Countrey; ſay, 'Twas the *proud, unthankefull, ſchiſmaticall, rebellious, bloody City of* London, ſo that what they wanted of devouring this Kingdome by *cheating* and *couzening*, they meane to finiſh by the Sword.

That therefore theſe dangerous *Defluxions*, and continuall, not ſmall *Diſtillations*, but *Floods* of Men, Money, Ammunition, and Armes deſcending from the *Head City*, and *Metropolis* of the Kingdome, may not for ever diſſolve the Nerves, and *luxate* the Sinewes of this admirably compoſed Government: it will highly concerne this Nation to looke about them, to undeceive themſelves, and to conſult their owne Peace and Safety, by joyning with their gracious Soveraigne, in *chaſtizing* theſe rebellious Inſolences, and reducing this *ſtubborne City* either to *Obedience* or *Aſhes*.

Yet that the World may not thinke, that this Inundation of Wickedneſſe wherein the *Divels* of *Rebellion* rage in the *Children of Diſobedience*, hath involved all of us in the ſame Diſloyalty, let not (*good Brother*) the Name

Ruſticus neither deterre you, (as if it were a *Soleciſme*, to tell the *Murthers*, *Robberies*, *Plunderings*, and other *Outrages*, committed in the *City*, nor deprive us (a Handfull of faithfull Subjects in Compariſon of the Rebells, the *Puritans*, *Browniſts*, and *Anabaptiſts*) of ſo great an Opportunity, to juſtifie our *Innocence*. Let the *Country* know, that we have been at the Charges, to undoe, not onely them, but our ſelves too, the *Colloſſe* which we have built, is fallen on the *Builders*, the Fire which we have kindled, devours the *Bellowes* which firſt *blowed* it up; ſome of us repent of our fond *Credulity* to be deceived, and fooled by the empty Name of a *Parliament*, God grant it be not too late; yet however, let *Poſterity* know this too, that the *King* hath his *Martyrs* in *London*, all are not in the Country; and to make this good, ſecretly (as much as the cloſe Obſtructions of the Wayes of Conveyance will permit) you ſhall not faile of Intelligence from

Your affectionate Brother

London,
Aug. 5. 1643. MERCURIUS CIVICUS.

A ſhort Treatiſe of the Lawes of *ENGLAND*: With the Juriſdiction of the High Court of Parliament, with the Liberties and Freedomes of the Subjects.

Written and collected by WALTER MANTELL, Eſq; *Anno Dom.* 1644.

THE Thing that is ever amongſt Men, in every Country moſt had in Reputation, and eſteemed moſt worthy, is the publique Commonweale of their Country: And he that indeavoreth himſelfe for the Augmentation of the ſame, is ever to be commended; to the increaſing whereof, every Man naturally hath a Love and Zeale. But wherein the Common-weale ſtandeth, and what Thing it ſhould be, there is and hath beene ever amongſt the Philoſophers, and other learned Men, great Debate and Argument, ſome affirming the Common-weale to conſiſt in great Abundance of Riches, as they that multiply the Riches of their Country, greatly to preferre their Common-weale; *Quod reſpublica non uſque adeo reſplendeſcat pompa divitiarum aut viribus, aut honoris faſtigio, ſed ex bonis legibus ſummum perfectionis gradum ſola conſequatur:* Some others eſteeme and judge that the Common-weale conſiſteth not in Riches onely, in Power onely, nor Honour onely, but in them all intermixed. The *Romans*, the great Conquerers of the World, gathered not their Riches in Abundance onely for the Riches, but becauſe they would thereby achieve to more Honour, and with their Riches to make themſelves more mightie and ſtrong; for Proofe whereof, the great mightie People the *Romans*, could never have wonne to themſelves the

the great Riches of the Country of *Perſia* and *Carthage*, if they had not thereby impoveriſhed the *Perſians* and *Carthaginenſes:* nor the mighty ſtrong *Greekes* could never have augmented their Power and Strength as they did againſt the *Trojans*, except the *Trojans* by them had beene vanquiſhed, and the Citie deſtroyed, and ſo made more feeble and weake; nor alſo the mightie ſtrong *Alexander*, famous for his Conqueſts, could never have obtained to ſo great Honour and Glory, except he had ſubdued other great mightie Kings, as *Darius* of *Perſia*, and *Porus* of *India*, and ſo brought them to Captivitie, the which they eſteemed Shame and Reproofe. Then ſith a Man cannot well exerciſe himſelfe in increaſing of his great Riches, in augmenting his Power, nor inhaunſing of his Honour, without cauſing Povertie, Feebleneſſe, or Shame, which of themſelves be evill Things, it followeth well that Riches, Power, nor Honour be very perfect good Things onely of themſelves, becauſe they cannot be obtained without cauſing of Evill to other Perſons; and then if that Riches, Power, Honour be not of themſelves onely good Things, and the Common-weale is that Thing that of it ſelfe is meerely good, it muſt neede enſue that the Common-weale can neither ſtand onely in Riches, Power nor in Honour, but in the increaſing of good Manners; then it is needfull to ſearch wherein the Common-weale ſhould ſtand, which under Correction, and after mine Opinion, reſteth neither in increaſing of Riches, Power, nor in Honour, but in increaſing of good Manners, and Conditions of Men, wherein they may be reduced to know God, to honour God, to love God, and to live in continuall Love and Tranquillitie with their Neighbours, for the obtaining of which it is to Men moſt expedient to have Ordinances and Lawes: For likewiſe as the Bridle and Spurre directeth and conſtraineth the Horſe ſwiftly and well to performe his Journey, ſo doe good and reaſonable Ordinances and Lawes lead and direct Men to uſe good Manners and Conditions, and thereby to honour, to dread and to love God, and vertuouſly to live amongſt their Neighbours in continuall Peace and Tranquillitie, which Thing to performe is not given to Mankind immediately and onely by Nature, as it is given to all other Creatures which be by Nature conſtrained to doe and live after their Kindes, for the which it followeth, that Man cannot attaine theſe Things but by a Meane, which Meane is none other but good and reaſonable Ordinances and Lawes to inſtruct and direct Men to the ſame, which reaſonable Ordinances and Lawes proceed and come principally of God, for the which the Providence and Will of God is ever aſſiſtant and preſent. St. *German*, fol. 7. ſaith, that the Law is ordained for the Preſervation of the Realme, and for the fulfilling of the Lawes of God, to induce the People to depart from Evill and to doe Good; *Plowden* fol. 9. & fol. 55. ſaith, that the Law is appointed to the King for the Governance of his People, and as the Subjects of the King be borne to inherit Lands, ſo to inherit Lawes; ſo that the Lawes are the Inheritance of the People, *Fineux* 12 *H.* VII. *fol.* 28. ſaith, That at the Beginning all the Adminiſtration of Juſtice was in the Crowne; and where the King was, there was the Law miniſtred, then after the Multiplying of the People, was the Court Leet, and Court Baron ordained

(that

(that is to ſay) the Court Leet for the puniſhing of Enormities and Annoyances for the Weale publike, within the Precinct of the ſaid Leet, *vide Leſtat. vic. franc. pleg. Forteſcue* fol. 30. ſaith, as a naturall Body may not be without a Head, ſo a Realme may not be governed without a Head; that is, the King; *Et ibidem ulterius dicit, Quandocumque ex pluribus conſtituuntur, unum inter illa erit regens, & alia erunt recta. Britt. fol.* 1. *dicit* that the King is ordained of God, that the Peace may be kept, the which may not be without Law. *Et Forteſcue, fol.* 1. *dicit, Omnis poteſtas a domino Deo eſt. Et* Bracton *dicit, quod vita & membra hominum ſunt in manu Regis, vel ad tuitionem, vel ad pœnam cum deliquerint.* The Law is appointed to the King for the governing of his People; and that is by three Lawes, (that is to ſay) generall Law, Cuſtomes and Statutes; our Law is grounded upon ſix Principles. * Firſt, our Law is grounded on common Reaſon. Secondly, on the Law of God. Thirdly, on divers generall Cuſtomes. Fourthly, on divers Maximes. Fifthly, on particular Cuſtomes: And, ſixthly, on divers Statutes. † Prerogative is a Priviledge or Preheminence that a Man hath before another; ſo likewiſe as it is tolerable in ſome, ſo it is moſt to be allowed in a Prince or Soveraigne Governour of a Realme; for beſides, the King is the moſt excellent or moſt worthy Part or Member of the Body of the Common-weale; ſo as by his good Governance he is the Preſerver, Nouriſher, and Defender of all the People, being the reſt of the ſame Body: And by his great Travells, Study, and Endeavours, and Labours, they injoy not onely their Lives, Lands and Goods, but all that ever they have in Reſt, Peace and Quietneſſe, for which Cauſe the Lawes attribute unto him all Honour, Dignitie, Prerogative and Preheminence, which Preheminence doth not onely extend to his owne Perſon, ‖ but to all other his Goods and Chattells: As that his Perſon ſhall be ſubject to no Man's Suit, his Poſſeſſions cannot be taken from him by any Violence or wrongfull Diſſeiſin, his Goods and Chattels are not under any Tribute, Toll or Cuſtome, or otherwiſe diſtrainable, with infinite Number of Prerogatives: *vide Glanvill* Lord Chiefe Juſtice, which wrote in *Diebus Hen.* II. *Britton* which writ his Booke *Tempore Edw.* I. *Juſtinian* the Emperour well and wiſely pondering in the Beginning of his Booke, ſayeth thus; it behoveth the Imperiall Majeſty not onely to be guarded with Armes, but alſo to be armed with Lawes, to the End he may be able rightly to execute his Government of both Times, as well in War as in Peace: the Exhortation of the chiefe Law-maker *Moſes*, ought to be more in Regard with Kings and Princes, than the Words of *Juſtinian*, whereas in the 17. Chapter of the Booke of *Deuteronomy*, he doth by the Authority of God ſtraitly charge the Kings of *Iſrael* to be Readers of the Law all the Dayes of their Life, ſaying thus: When the King ſhall ſit upon the princely Seat of this Kingdome, he ſhall write him out this Law in a Booke, taking the Copie thereof of the Prieſts and Levites; and he ſhall have it with him, and he ſhall read it all the Dayes of his Life,

* *Doct. & Student. fol.* 8.

† *Vide Stanford, Chap.* 1. *tit. Prerogativa Regis.*

‖ *Seneca de Conſolat. ad Polybium.*

that

that he may learne to feare the Lord his God, and to keepe his Commandements and Ordinances written in this Law. * *Princeps ergo non debet juris ignarus esse, nec prætextu militiæ legem permittitur ignorare.* For the Booke of *Deuteronomy* was the Book of the Lawes by which the Kings of *Israel* were to rule and governe their Subjects. There *Moses* commands the Children of *Israel* to read, that they may learne to feare God and keep his Commandements, written in the Law. The Effect of the Law is to feare God, and keepe his Commandements written in the Law; whereunto Man cannot attaine, unlesse he first know the Will of God written in the Law: *Moses* the Law-maker in his Charge, mentioneth the Effect of his Law, that is, the Feare of God; next he allureth us to the keeping of the Cause thereof, (that is to say) of God's Commandements; *Job* after he had diversly searched for Wisedome, saith thus, *Behold the Feare of the Lord is perfect Wisedome, and to forsake Evill is Understanding, the Feare of the Lord is holy and endureth for ever.* The Booke of *Deuteronomy* is a Booke of holy Scripture, the Lawes also and Ordinances therein contained are the Lord's making, and published by *Moses*; you shall understand that not onely God's Lawes, but also Man's Lawes are holy. The Law is defined by these Words, The Law is a holy Sanction or Decree, commanding Things that be honest, and forbidding the contrary; now the Things must needs be holy which by Definition is determined to be holy; Right also by Description is called the Art of that which is good and streight: So then in this Respect a Man may well call us *Sacerdotes* (that is to say) Givers or Teachers of holy Things, for so by Interpretation doth *Sacerdos* signifie. For as much then as the Lawes are holy, it followeth then that the Ministers and Setters forth of them may right well be called *Sacerdotes*, that is, Givers and Teachers of holy Things: All good Lawes published by Men have their Authoritie from God, for as the Apostle saith, all Power is from the Lord God, wherefore the Lawes made by Man, which thereunto he received Power from the Lord, are ordained of God; as appeareth by this Saying of the Author of all Causes, whatsoever the second Cause doth, the same doth the first Cause by a higher and more excellent Meane: wherefore *Jehosaphat* the King of *Judah* saith thus to his Judges; The Judgements which ye execute are the Judgements of God: whereby you are taught, to learne Lawes, though they be Man's Lawes, is to learne holy Lawes and Ordinances of God, wherefore *Moses* commanded the Children of *Israel*, 2 *Chron.* 19. to read the Lawes of *Deuteronomy*.

A King whose Government is politique cannot change the Lawes of his Realme.

For the King of *England* cannot alter or change the Lawes of the Realme at his Pleasure: for why? he governeth his People by Power, not onely Regall, but Politique: if the King's Power in *England* were royall onely, then he might change the Lawes of the Realme, and charge his Subjects with Tallages and Burdens without their Consents: But where the King's

* So *Helinandus* expoundeth.

Govern-

Government over his People is politique, he can neither change the Lawes of his Realme without Conſent of his Subjects, nor yet charge them with ſtrong Impoſitions againſt their Wills. Saint *Thomas* in his Booke which he wrote to the King of *Cyprus* of the Government of Princes, wiſheth the State of a Realme to be ſuch, that it may not be in the King's Power to oppreſſe his People with Tyrannie, which Thing is performed onely while the Power royall is reſtrained by Power politique.

How Kingdomes ruled by royall Government firſt began.

Men in Times paſt excelling in Power, greedy of Dignitie and Glory, did many Times by plaine Force ſubdue their Neighbours the Nations adjoyning, and compelled them to doe them Service, and to obey their Commandements, which Commandements they agreed afterwards to be unto theſe People very Lawes, and by long Sufferance of the ſame, the People ſo ſubdued being by their Subduers defended from the Injuries of others, agreed and conſented to live under the Dominion of their Subduers. *Nimrod* was the firſt that got unto himſelfe a Kingdome; and thus certaine Kingdomes firſt began. Saint *Auguſtine* in the 13. Chapter of his Booke *de Civitate Dei*, that a People is a Multitude of Men aſſociated by Conſent of Law, and Communion of Wealth, yet ſuch a People being without a Head is not worthy to be called a Body. So likewiſe in Things politique, a Commonaltie without a Head is no wiſe Corporate: wherefore *Ariſtotle* in the firſt Booke of his Civill Philoſophie, ſaith, that whenſoever one is made of many, amongſt the ſame one ſhall be the Ruler, and the other ſhall be ruled, wherefore a People that will raiſe themſelves into a Kingdome, or into any other Body politique, muſt ever appoint one to be the chiefe Ruler. The Inſtitution of a Kingdome politique is where a King is made and ordained for the Defence of the Law of the Subjects, and of their Bodies and Goods, whereunto he receiveth Power of his People, ſo that by that Law politique he governes his People, not by any other Power. Then how commeth it to paſſe that in the Power of Kings there groweth ſo great Diverſitie? ſurely the Diverſitie of the Inſtitution or firſt Order of theſe Dignities was the onely Cauſe of theſe Differences. As thus; the Kingdome of *England* derived out of *Brute*'s Retinue the *Trojans*, which he brought out of the Coaſts of *Italy* and *Greece*, firſt grew to a politique and regall Dominion: ſo *Scotland* which ſometimes was ſubject to *England* as a Dukedome thereof, was advanced to a politique and royall Kingdome: many other Kingdomes have had their firſt Beginning not onely regall, but alſo of politique Government. *Diodorus Siculus* in the ſecond Booke of his old Hiſtories thus writeth of the *Egyptians*. The *Egyptian* Kings lived firſt not after the licentious Manner of other Rulers, whoſe Will and Pleaſure was inſtead of Lawes, but they kept themſelves as private Perſons in Subjection of the Lawes. Thus did they willingly, being perſwaded that by obeying the Lawes they ſhould be bleſſed. *Diodorus* in his fourth Booke writeth thus, The *Ethiopian* King as ſoone as he is created, he ordereth his Life according to his Lawes, doth all Things according to the

the Manner and Cuſtomes of his Country, aſſigning neither Reward or Puniſhment to any Man, otherwiſe than the Law made by his Predeceſſors: the King of *Saba*, *Arabia Happie*, and of certaine other Kings, which in old Time honorably raigned.

You ſhall underſtand that all humane Lawes are either the Law of Nature, or Cuſtomes, or Statutes, which are called Conſtitutions; but Cuſtomes when they were firſt put in Writing, and by ſufficient Authoritie of the Prince publiſhed and commanded to be kept, were changed into the Nature of Conſtitutions and Statutes, did after that more penally than before bind the Subjects. The Lawes of *England* which they doe force of the Law of Nature doe ratifie and eſtabliſh, are neither better or worſe than the Lawes of all other Nations in like Caſes; for as *Ariſtotle* (Morall Philoſophy, *l.* 5.) ſaith, the Law of Nature is that which amongſt all People hath the like Strength and Power: For the Statutes in *England* by Parliament, they proceed not from the Prince's Pleaſure as doe the Lawes of other Kingdomes that are ruled by regall Government, where ſometimes the Statutes doe ſo procure the ſingular Commoditie of the Maker, that they redown'd to the Hindrance and Damage of the Subjects. But Statutes cannot thus paſſe in *England:* for ſo much as they are made not onely by the Prince's Pleaſure, but alſo by the Aſſent of the whole Realme, and therefore they muſt of Neceſſitie procure the Wealth of the People, and in no wiſe tend to their Hindrance; and it cannot be thought otherwiſe but that they are made not by the Advice of one Man alone, or a hundred wiſe Counſellors onely, but of more than of three hundred choſen Men, Members of the Houſe of Commons in Parliament, intruſted by the whole Kingdome for the Profit and Good of the King and People. By the Civill Law where a Matter in Controverſie commeth before a Judge by Way of Conteſtation of Suite, it muſt be tried by the Depoſitions of two Witneſſes; but by the Law of *England* the Truth of the Matter cannot appeare evident to the Judge but by the Oath of twelve Men, Neighbours to the Place where ſuch Deed is ſuppoſed to be done, which the Lawyers in *England* calleth the Iſſue of the Plea, the Truth of the Plea, *(ſic differentia)*.

With what Gravitie the Statutes are made in *England.*

Diverſitie betweene the Civill Law and the Lawes of *England.*

Nota, all humane Lawes are either of the Lawes of Nature, or Cuſtomes, or elſe Statutes: the Cuſtomes of *England*, are of a moſt ancient Antiquity, practiſed and received of five ſeverall Nations. Firſt, from the *Brittons*. Secondly, after them the *Romanes*. Thirdly, after them the *Saxons*. Fourthly, after them the *Danes*. And, fifthly, the *Normans*, whoſe Deſcent continueth in the Government, to this Day. And in all the Times of theſe ſeverall Nations, and of their Kings, this Realm was ruled by the ſelf-ſame Cuſtomes that it is now governed by.

When a Statute was firſt eſtabliſhed in *England.*

The King of *England* ruleth his People not onely by regall, but alſo by politique Government, in ſo much that at his Coronation he is bound by an Oath to the Obſervance and Keeping of his Lawes; not freely to govern their

Subjects as other Kings doe, whose Rule is regall, governing their People by the civill Law, so by that Maxime of regall Power, they at their Pleasure, burden their Subjects, change the Lawes at their Pleasure, execute Punishment, charge their Subjects with Charges and Taxes, when they list, determine Controverfies of all Suitors when they please. And so to cast off the Yoke of the Law politique; and so to raigne and tyrannize over their People in regall Manner only. And that to rule the People by Government politique, is no Yoke to the People, but Liberty and great Security, both to the King and Subjects.

The Parliament is the high and most honourable Court, and absolute Court of Justice of *England*, * consisting of Lords in Parliament and Commons. The Lords are divided into one Sort, Temporall. The Commons are divided into three Parts *(viz.)* into Knights of Shires or Counties, Citizens out of Cities, and Burgesses out of Burroughs: The Antiquity of the High Court of Parliament; The King of *England* is armed with divers Councels, one is called *Commune Concilium*, and that is the Court of Parliament, and it is Legislative, called in Writs † *Concilium Regni Angliæ*, another is called *Magnum Concilium Regis Angliæ*; this sometimes is applyed to the House of Peeres, who are called the Lords of Parliament; and they are called *Magnum Concilium Regis*.

The Jurisdiction of the High Court of Parliament.

The Court of Parliament is so transcendent, that it maketh Lawes and inlargeth Lawes, diminisheth, abrogateth, and repealeth, and reviveth Lawes, Statutes, and Ordinances, concerning Matters Ecclesiasticall, Capitall, Criminall, Common, Civill, Maritime, and the rest; none can begin, continue, or dissolve the Parliament but by the King's Authority: ‡ It is of that high Honour and Justice, that none ought to imagine any Thing dishonourable, that proceedeth from that High Court of Justice.

The King ‖ hath in his Court of Parliament his Prelates, Earles and Barons, and other learned Men to determine of Doubts, and Judges to give Remedie.

In the Case of a general Pardon by Act of Parliament, the Justices ought to take Notice, and to allow the Pardon, although the Felon plead Not Guilty; for that is a generall Act.

Nota per Fitzherbert and *Shelley*, Justices in Debt against a Priest, upon the Statute of *Firmes*, 21 *Hen.* VIII. *cap.* 13. the Defendant may plead, *Quod non habet, nec tenet, ad firmam contra formam Statuti*, and give in Evidence, that he tooke that Firme for the Maintenance of his Houshold, by vertue of the said Proviso in the said Statute.**

* *Coke, lib.* 10. *fol.* 123, & 124. *sect.* 97.

† *Bract. lib.* 1. *cap.* 2. *Regist.* 280. 27 *August.* 5. *H.* IV.

‡ *Mirr. cap.* 2. *sect.* 4, 7, 10, 14. *cap.* 4. *de default.* & *cap. de Homicid. cap.* 1. *sect.* 13. *cap.* 4.

‖ *Vide Plow. Com.* 398. *B. Doctor* & *Student. cap.* 55. *Fortescue de laudibus legum Angliæ, lib.* 1. *Bract. cap.* 2. *Fleta, lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. 26 *H.* VIII.

** Sir *Thomas Parret*'s Case.

The

The Order of Parliament is, that if a Bill come firſt to the Commons, and they paſſe, that then it is uſed to be indorſed in this Forme, *Soit bayle al Seignors*, and if the Lords nor the King doe not alter the Bill, then the Uſe is to deliver it to the Clerke of the Parliament, to be inrolled without indorſing it; and if it be a common Bill it ſhall be inrolled; but if it be a particular Bill it ſhall not be inrolled, but filed upon the Filinſter; but if the Party will ſue to have it inrolled, it may be inrolled: every Bill which paſſeth the Parliament ſhall have Relation to the firſt Day of the Parliament, though it be put in at the End of the Parliament, 33. *H.* VI. 17.

If divers Seſſions be in one Parliament, and the King doth not ſigne the Bill untill the laſt, then all is the ſame Day, and all ſhall have Relation to the firſt Day of the firſt Seſſions, and the firſt Day and the laſt, all is one Parliament, and one Day in Law, 33. *H.* VIII.

Premunire is given *per Leſtat.* * yet a Man may not have that againſt a Man by Bill in *Banco Regis.*

In the Caſe of a *Quare impedit*, it was ſaid by *Horton* that a Statute penall, as the Statute *de proviſion*, ſhall be taken ſtrict Law; but the Statute made for the common Remedy for generall Miſchiefe, may be taken by Equity; and that the Pope may not grant to a Man to have three Biſhopricks, *Vide Tit. de Waſt* 68. where the Statute giveth an Action *de Waſt* in novell Caſe, all that is adjoyning to the ſame Act, *eſt done ſimiliter*, though it be not expreſſely ſpoken of, as if an Action of Waſt be given againſt Tenant *in Tayle apres poſſibilitie d'iſſue extient*, &c. treble Damage ſhall be recovered, though that it be not ſpoken of *per Thirn.* And the ſame Law is of *Gardein* in Chivalry, and Tenant in Dower ſhall render treble Damages, yet Waſt lyeth againſt them by the Common Law, 12 *Hen.* IV. 3.

Nota, That a Statute or Act of Parliament † need not be proclaimed, for the Parliament doth repreſent the whole Body of the Realme, for there be Knights and Burgeſſes in every County: a private Act of Parliament ſhall not conclude Men as a generall Act ſhall do, nor Strangers are bound to take Notice thereof.

If the King by Act of Parliament ‡ reciteth an Act of Parliament, where there is no ſuch Act of Parliament, and confirms the ſame Eſtate of Party contained in the Act, that is a Concluſion to all to ſay, that the Tenant had nothing in the Land at the Time of the making of the Act, or Time of the Confirmation, 9 *Hen.* VII. *fol.* 2.

Note, where it is given by the *Stat.* of *Weſt.* 2. *cap.* 11. that a Man ſhall have an Action of Debt upon an Eſcape of a Man condemned againſt the Jaylor, the Action doth not lie againſt the Executor of the Jaylor, for that is out of the Caſe of the Statute.

A Statute which is in the Negative, ‖ bindes the Common Law ſo, that a Man may not after make uſe of the Common Law. *Weſt.* 2. *cap.* 40. 21 *Hen.* VII. 21.

* *Premunire per Bill*, 1 *Rich.* III. *cap.* 17. 11 *H.* IV. 76.

† 39 *Edw.* III. 7.

‡ 9 *Hen.* VII. *fol.* 2.

‖ In the Negative and Affirmative Diverſity, *Vide* 18 *Edw.* IV. *fol.* 16.

The Liberties and Freedomes of the Subjects. *

That no Tallage or Ayde ſhall be laid or levied by the King or his Heires in this Realme, † without the good Will and Aſſent of the Arch-Biſhops, Earles, Barons, Knights, Burgeſſes, and other of the Freemen and Commonaltie of this Realme, and by Authoritie of Parliament, holden in the 25. Yeare of the Reigne of King *Edward* the Third, it is enacted that thenceforth no Perſon ſhould be compelled to make any Loanes to the King againſt his Will, becauſe ſuch Loanes were againſt Reaſon, and the Franchiſe of the Land. And by another Law of this Realme it is provided that none ſhould be charged by any Charge or Impoſition called a Benevolence, nor by ſuch Charge by which the Statutes before mentioned, and other good Lawes and Statutes of this Realme your Subjects have inherited their Freedomes. *Vide Leſtat.* 1 *Edw.* I. and 25 *Edw.* III.

Vide Leſtat. called *The Grand Charter of the Liberties of* England. The Words of the Statute, ‡ That no Freeman may be taken or impriſoned, or diſſeiſed of his Freehold, or Liberties, or his free Cuſtomes, or be outlawed, or in any Manner deſtroyed, but by the lawfull Judgement of his Peeres, or by the Law of the Land.

‖ *Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus juſtitiam, vel rectum.*

In which Statute there is not any Mention made how Wives, Ladies of great Eſtate, by reaſon of their Huſbands Peeres of the Land, Coverts or Soles, that is to ſay, Dutcheſſes, Counteſſes, or Baroneſſes, ſhall be put to anſwer, or before what Judges they ſhall be adjudged upon Indictments of Treaſons or Felonies by them made, becauſe of which there is a Doubt in Law, before whom, and by whom ſuch Ladies ſo indicted, ſhall be put to anſwer, and be adjudged: The King willeth further, ** ſuch Ambiguities and Doubts, hath declared by the Authoritie aboveſaid, that ſuch Ladies ſo indicted, or hereafter to be indicted of any Treaſon or Felony by them made, or hereafter to be made, though they be Covert of Baron or Sole, they are by themſelves to anſwer and put to anſwer; and adjudged before ſuch Judges and Peeres of the Realme, as Peeres of the Realme ſhall be, if they were indicted or impeached of ſuch Treaſons or Felonies made: And in ſuch Manner and Forme, and no otherwiſe. But none of theſe Statutes have beene

* *Vide Leſtat.* of King *Edw.* I. *vocat. Statut. de tallagio non concedendo.*

† *Vide le Petition de Droit*, exhibited in Parliament, *Anno* 3. *Carol. Regis. Vide Leſtat.* 25. *Edw.* III.

‡ *Vide Leſtat. de Magna Charta, cap.* 9. *Nullus liber homo capiatur vel impriſonetur, aut diſſeiſitur de libero tenem' ſuo, vel libertatibus, vel liberis conſuetudinibus ſuis, aut utlagetur, aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo deſtruatur. Nec ſuper eum ibimus, nec ſuper eum mittimus, niſi per legale judicium partum ſuorum, vel per legem terræ.*

‖ *Stat. de Magna Charta, vide Leſtat.* 20. *Hen.* VI. *cap.* 9. *Vide Stamf. lib.* 3. *cap.* 1.

** *Stat. Magna Charta &* 20 *Hen.* VI. *cap.* 9.

put

put in Practiſe to extend to a Biſhop or Abbot, although they injoy the Name of Lord of Parliament, for they have not that Name Biſhop or Abbot *ratione Nobilitatis, ſed ratione Officii*; nor have any Place in Parliament in reſpect of their Nobilitie, but in reſpect of their Poſſeſſions, having ancient Baronies annexed to their Dignities. There be divers Precedents, whereof one was in the Time of King *Hen.* VIII. *& vide p.* 10. *Edw.* IV. *fol.* 6. that one of the Peeres indicted of Treaſon or Felonie may be arraigned of that in Parliament. *Vide Plus tit Corr. in Fitz. p.* 3. *Edw.* III. *p.* 161. *Vide Leſtat.* 1. *&* 2. *Phil. & Mar. cap.* 3. 33. *Hen.* VIII. *cap.* 23.

A True Accompt of the moſt Triumphant, and Royall Accompliſhment of the Baptiſm of the moſt Excellent, Right High, and Mighty Prince HENRY FREDERICK, by the Grace of GOD, Prince of *SCOTLAND*, and now Prince of *WALES*. As it was ſolemnized the 30. Day of *Auguſt*, 1594.

THE Noble and moſt Potent Prince of *Scotland* was born in the Caſtle of *Striviling*, upon *Tueſday*, the 19. Day of *February*, 1594. upon which Occaſion the King's Majeſtie, ſent for the Nobles of his Land, and to all the capitall Burrows thereof, to have their Adviſe, how he ſhould proceed for the due Solemnization of his royal Baptiſme, and what Princes he ſhould ſend too: When they were all compeired with great Diligence and good Will, he proponed unto them, that it was neceſſary, to direct out Ambaſſadours to *France*, *England*, *Denmarke*, *Low Countries*, the Duke of *Brunſwicke* his Brother in Law, and to the Duke of *Magdelburgh*, the Queene's Majeſtie's Grand-father, and to ſuch other Princes as ſhould be thought expedient. Likewiſe, he thought the Caſtle of *Striviling*, the moſt convenient Place for the Reſidence of this moſt Noble and Mightie Prince, in Reſpect that he was born there: As alſo, it was neceſſary, that ſufficient Preparation might be made for the Ambaſſadours that ſhould be invited to come, for Honour of the Crown and Countrey. And beſides all this, becauſe the Chappell Royall was ruinous, and too little, concluded, that the old Chappell ſhould be utterly raſed, and a new erected in the ſame Place, that ſhould be more large, long and glorious, to entertain the great Number of Straungers expected. Theſe Propoſitions at length conſidered, they all with a free voluntarie Deliberation, graunted unto his Majeſtie, the Summe of an Hundred Thouſand Pounds Money of *Scotland*. Then was there Ambaſſadours elected, to paſs in *France*, *England*, *Denmarke*, the *Low Countries*, and other Places before mentioned, who were all diſpatched with ſuch Expedition, and their Legacies tooke ſuch wiſhed Effect: That firſt there came

two

two famous Men from the King of *Denmarke*, the one *Chriſtianus Bernekow*, the other, *Stenio Bille*, theſe came to *Leyth* the 16. of *July*. The next Day after them, came *Adamus Cruſius*, Ambaſſadour for the Duke of *Brunſwick*, and *Joachimus Beſſevitius*, Ambaſſadour for the Duke of *Magdelburgh*, who is Grand-father to the noble Princeſſe *Anne*, by the Grace of God Queene of *Scotland*. Thirdly, the 3. Day of *Auguſt*, there came Ambaſſadors from the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*, the Barron of *Braderod*, and the Treaſurer of *Zeland*, called *Jacobus Falkius*.

There was alſo a Nobleman directed from *England*, to wit, the Earle of *Cumberland*, who even when he had prepared himſelf richly, and honourably in all Reſpects for his Voyage to come into *Scotland*, and divers Noblemen and Gentlemen of Renown, prepared and commanded for his honourable Convoy, it pleaſed God to viſit him with Sickneſs: And in that Reſpect another Nobleman was choſen to ſupply his Place, which was the Earle of *Suſſex*, &c. And he in Conſideration of his ſhort and unexpected Advertiſement, made ſuch Diligence in his Voyage, and Magnificence for his own Perſon and honourable Convoy, as was thought Rare and Rich by all Men: whereby it fell out, that betwixt the Sickneſs of the one Nobleman, and the haſtie Preparation of the other, the Time was ſo farre ſpent, that the very prefixt Dayes of the Baptiſme were ſundrie Times delayed. And becauſe the Ambaſſadour of *England* was ſo long a Comming: And the Ambaſſadours of *Denmarke*, *Brunſwicke* and *Magdelburgh*, were feared to be hindred in their Voyage by the Sea, by Reaſon of the neare approaching of Winter: They deſired daily of the King's Majeſtie, dureing their remaining in *Edenburgh*, to have ſome prefixed Day to be nominate and certainly kept, that immediatly thereafter, they might be diſpatched, which he granted at the laſt, although he had divers great Impediments to the contrary. The firſt was, becauſe the Chappell Royall and Caſtle of *Striviling*, was not fully compleit in all ſuch Neceſſaries, as was requiſite, although he had the Supply of the greateſt Number of Artificers in the whole Country, convened there of all Craftes for that Service, and his Majeſtie's owne Perſon dayly Overſeer, with large and liberall Payment: but the chiefeſt Cauſe, was the long Abſence of an Ambaſſadour from *England*, which his Majeſtie greatly reſpected for many Cauſes: And laſt of all, expecting that ſome Ambaſſadour ſhould have come from *France*, which fell not out as was looked for. But when the Ambaſſadour was come from *England* to *Edenburgh*, foorthwith, his Majeſtie diſpatched one of the Gentlemen of his Highneſs's Chalmer, to requeſt him to repaire towards *Striviling* the next Day with all poſſible Diligence, (which was the 28. Day of *Auguſt*) becauſe he would have had the Baptiſme adminiſtred the Day following. But neither were the Propines ſent by the Queen of *England*, neither her Ambaſſadours owne Cariages as then come. Therefore the Baptiſme was delayed untill the 30. Day of *Auguſt*, as ye ſhall hear particularly hereafter.

But in the meane Time, it is to be underſtood, that all theſe noble Ambaſſadours before expreſſed, were honourably ſuſtained upon the King's Majeſtie's owne proper Coſtes, during the whole Time of their Reſidence in *Scotland*,

Scotland, ſave only the Ambaſſadour of *England*, whoſe whole Expences, were defrayed by his Soveraigne the Queen of *England*. And becauſe the reſt of the Ambaſſadours were repaired to *Striviling* by his Majeſtie's Direction, long before the Coming of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour, his Highneſs beſtowed the Time with them in magnifique Banketting, Revelling, and dayly Hunting with great Honour.

The King's Majeſtie, purpoſing further to decore by Magnificence this Action, committed the Charge thereof to the Lord of *Lendores*, and Mr. *William Fowler*, who by their Travels, Diligence, and Invention, brought it to that Perfection, which the Shortneſſe of Time and other Conſiderations could permit. So they having conſulted together, concluded that thoſe Exerciſes that were to be uſed for Decoration of that Solemnitie, were to be devided both in Field Paſtimes, with martiall and heroicall Exploits, and in Houſehold, with rare Shewes and ſingular Inventions.

The Field to be uſed at two ſeverall Daies; the firſt to be of three *Turkes*, three Chriſtian Knights of *Malta*, three *Amazones*, and three *Moores*. But by reaſon of the Abſence, or at the leaſt the uncertain Preſence of the three laſt Gentlemen, who ſhould have ſuſtained theſe Perſonages, it was thought good, that the Number of that Maſke ſhould conſiſt of nine Actors, nine Pages, and nine Lackies; which comming from ſundry Parts, and at divers Times, together with the Diverſitie of their Apparel, ſhould bring ſome Noveltie to the Beholders.

The Place moſt expedient for this Action was the Valey, near the Caſtle, which being prepared for that Purpoſe, both with Carier and Scaffold, after the comming of the Queene's Majeſtie, with her honourable and gallant Ladies, together with the honourable Ambaſſadors, the Field being beſet by the brave Yonkers of *Edinburgh*, with their Hagbutes, during the whole Time of that Paſtime.

Then three Chriſtians entered the Field with Sound of Trumpet, who were the King's Majeſtie, the Earle of *Mar*, and *Thomas Erſkine*, (Gentleman of his Majeſtie's Chalmer) who made up this Number.

A little after followed three apparelled like *Turkes*, very gorgeouſly attired: and theſe were the Duke of *Lennox*, the Lord *Home*, and Sir *Robert Ker*, of *Cesfurde*, Knight.

Laſt of all came in three *Amazones*, in Women's Attire, very ſumptuouſly clad, and theſe were the Lord of *Lendores*, the Lord of *Barclewch*, and the Abbot of *Holy Roote Houſe*. So all theſe Perſons being preſent, and at their Entrie making their Reverence to the Queene's Majeſtie, Ambaſſadours and Ladies, having their Pages ryding upon their led Horſe, and on their left Armes, bearing their Maiſters *Impreſe* or Device.

The King's Majeſties, was a Lyon's Head with open Eyes, which ſignifieth after a miſtique and hierogliphique Senſe, Fortitude and Vigilancie: the Words were, *Timeat & primus & ultimus orbis*. The ſecond was a Dog's Collar, all beſet with Iron Pikes; the Words were theſe, *Offendit, & defendit*. The third of that Chriſtian Army, was a Windmill, with her Spokes

Spokes unmoving, Windes unblowing on every Side; with theſe Words, *Ni ſperat immota.*

The ſecond Faction did carie theſe: A Heart half in Fire, and half in Froſt; on the one Part *Cupid*'s Torch, and on the other, *Jupiter*'s Thunder; with theſe Wordes, *Hinc amor, inde metus.* The other Page a Zodiacke, and in the ſame, the Moone farre oppoſite to the Sunne; with theſe Wordes, *Quo remotior, lucidior:* that is to ſay, the farther, the fairer. The third of this Partie, carried painted foure Coach-wheeles, the hindmoſt following the foremoſt, and yet never overtaking them; with theſe Wordes, *Quo magis inſequor.*

The laſt three Pages, bare in their Targets, theſe Impreſſes following, a Crown, an Eye, and a Portcullis: the Crown betokening the Power of God, the Eye his Providence, and the Portcullis his Protection, with theſe Wordes, which were compoſed in *Anagrame*, of *Walterus Scotus*, the Laird of *Bacleugh*'s Name, *Clauſus tutus ero.* The ſecond Page of this Party, carried on his Targe, the Portraiture of an Hand, holding an Eell by the Tail, alluding to the Uncertainty of Perſons, or of Times, with theſe Wordes, *Ut fruſtra, ſic patienter.* The laſt was this, a Fire in Sight of the Sun, burning, and not perceived, with this Sentence, *Oblector lumine victus.*

And every Lackie, carrying in his Hand, his Maſter's Launce. They began their Paſtime by running at the Ring and Glove: the Lawes whereof were theſe.

1. Firſt, that all the Perſons of this Paſtime compeare maſked, and in ſuch Order as they come into the Field, ſo to run out all their Courſes. 2. Secondly, that none uſe any other Ring, but that which is put up: and uſe no other Launce, but that which they have brought for themſelves. 3. Thirdly, he that twice touches the Ring, or ſtirres it, winneth as much as if he carrieth away the Ring. 4. Fourthly, he that lets his Launce fall out of his Hand, is deprived of all the reſt of his Courſes. 5. Fifthly, that every one run with looſe Reins, and with as much Speed, as his Horſe hath. 6. Sixtly, that none after his Race, in uptaking of his Horſe, lay his Launce upon his Shoulder, under the Pain of Loſſe of that which he hath done in his Courſe. 7. Seventhly, he that carrieth not his Launce under his Arme, loſeth his Courſe. 8. Eightly, that none untill his three Courſes be ended, chaunge his Horſe, if he be not hurt, or upon ſome other Conſideration moved to change him. Theſe Lawes being ſeen and approved by the Actors, the Queene's Majeſtie, ſignified unto them, that he who did run beſt, ſhould have for his Rewarde, a faire and a rich Ring of Diamonds: and he alſo, who on that ſame Side, had beſt Fortune in Running, he ſhould be acknowledged with another as fair as the firſt. The Proof hereof, being made, the Victorie fell to the Duke of *Lennox*, who bringing it to his Side and Partie, had the Praiſe and Priſe adjudged to himſelf. Thus the firſt Dayes Paſtime was ended, with great Contentment to the Beholders, and Commendation of the Perſons Enterpriſers.

The ſecond Dayes Paſtime was extended, by reaſon that the Artiſans were imployed

imployed in other Buſineſſe, who ſhould have followed forth that Invention given them: And ſeeing the Grace of that Exerciſe conſiſted in Emboſſerie, and the Crafteſmen apt for the ſame, otherwiſe and neceſſarily buſied, it was left off: Which, if it had been brought to Effect, this Countrey had not ſeen, nor practiſed a more rarer: for what by the Bravery and ſtrange Apparell of the Perſons themſelves, and by the divers Shapes of the Beaſts that ſhould have been born and brought there in Sight, had been commendable and wonderfull: by Reaſon that ſuch Beaſtes, as Lyon, Elephant, Hart, Unicorne, and the Griphon, together with the Camel, Hydre, Crocadile, and Dragon, (carrying their Riders) had carried alſo with it by the Newes of that Invention, great Contentment and Commendation of that Exerciſe. But I ſay, ſome ariſing Letts, impeded this Invention: and all Things were caſt off, that might have farther decored this Solemnity, through other urgent Occaſions.

And when all the Ambaſſadours were convened together, and all neceſſary Materials readie, the Chappell Royall of the Caſtle of *Striviling* was richly hung, with coſtly Tapeſtries: And at the North-Eaſt End of the ſame, a Royall Seat of Eſtate prepared for the King's Majeſtie: And on his Right Hand, was ſet a faire wide Chaire, with the due Ornaments pertaining thereto, over which, was ſet the Armes of the King of *France*.

Next thereunto, was a princely Travers of Crimſon Taffeta, for the Ambaſſadour of *England:* and over his Head, the Armes of *England:* on the Deſk before him, lay a Cuſhion of red Velvet: There ſtood attending on him, two Gentlemen Uſhers, appointed by the Queene of *England* for that preſent Service.

Next unto him, ſat Mr. *Robert Bowes*, Ambaſſadour Ordinary for the Queene of *England:* On the Deſk before him, was laid a Cloth of Purple Velvet, and a Cuſhion ſutable thereunto.

Then ſat the Ambaſſadour of the noble Prince, *Henricus Julius*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, and before him on the Deſk, was laid a Cloth of green Velvet, with a Cuſhion of the ſame: and over his Head, the Arms of his Prince.

Next unto him, ſat the Ambaſſadours of the *Low Countries*, with a long fair Cloth, ſpred on the Deſk before them of blewe Velvet, and two Cuſhions ſutable thereunto, and over their Heads the Arms of their Countries.

On the King's Left Hand, was placed neareſt his Majeſtie, the two Ambaſſadours of *Denmark*, with a large broad Cloth ſpred on the Deſk before them of Purple Velvet, and the Arms of *Denmark* over their Heads.

Next unto them ſat the Ambaſſadour of the noble Prince *Udalricus*, Duke of *Magdelburgh*, with his Prince's Arms over his Head.

In the middeſt of the Chappell Royall within the Partition, where the King's Majeſtie, the Ambaſſadours, and Prince with his Convoy were placed, there was a new Pulpit erected: The ſame was richly hung with Cloth of Gold: All the Pavement within this Partition, was Prince-like laid with fine Tapeſtry.

Under the Pulpit was another Deſk, wherein ſat in the midſt, Mr. *David Cunninghame*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Miniſter of *Leyth*,

and *John Duncanſon*, one of the ordinary Miniſters to the King's Majeſtie: Before whom was ſet a Table, covered with yellow Velvet.

And when all Things were in Readineſs, as was requiſite, there was placed a hundred Hagbutters (being onely the Yonkers of *Edinburgh*, bravely apparelled) in Order, betwixt the Prince's utter Chalmer Doore, and the Entry to the Chappell Royall, on both the Sides of the Paſſage.

Then the King's Majeſtie, with his Nobles and Counſellers attending on him, entred the Chappell, and there ſat downe in his Royall Seate of Eſtate.

All the Ambaſſadours likewiſe were ſent for, and convoyed to the Prince's Chalmer of Preſence, where the Prince was lying on his Bed of Eſtate, richly decored, and wrought with broidered Worke, containing the Story of *Hercules* and his Travels.

This Bed was erected on a Platforme, very artificially, with a Foote Pace of three Degrees aſcending to it: The Degrees being covered with Tapeſtrie, all wrought with Gold, and a large Cloth of Lawne, covering both the Bed and the Degrees, which reached forth a great Space over the Floor.

Then the old Counteſſe of *Mar*, with Reverence paſt to the Bed, ſhe tooke up the Prince, and delivered him to the Duke of *Lennox*, who preſently rendred him likewiſe to the Ambaſſadour of *England*, to be borne to the Chappell Royall.

The Maſter of the Ceremonies, addreſſing himſelf to a Table in the ſaid Chalmer, curiouſly ordered, whereon ſtood thoſe Ornaments of Honour which were to be born to the Chappell before the Prince, with due Reverence delivered them to certaine Noblemen, according to the Order appointed by his Majeſtie for the bearing thereof.

In like Manner, the Prince's Robe royall, being of Purple Velvet, very richly ſet with Pearle, was delivered to the Duke of *Lennox*, who put the ſame about the Prince: the Traine whereof, was born up by the Lord *Sinclair*, and the Lord *Urquhuart*. Then they removed themſelves to the utter Chalmer, where, there was a fair high Pale made foureſquare, of Crimſon Velvet attending, which was laid on with rich Paſments, and fringed with Gold. This Pale was ſuſtained by four worſhipfull Barons: The Laird of *Bacleugh*, the Conſtable of *Dundee*, Sir *Robert Ker*, of *Ceſurd*, Knight, and the Laird of *Traquhair*. Under the which Pale were the Ambaſſadours of *England*, *Robert* Earle of *Suſſex*, carrying the Prince in his Armes, and Mr. *Robert Bowes*, ordinary Ambaſſadour for *England*, aſſiſting him. Next to them, was the Duke of *Lennox*. About the Pale, were the Ambaſſadours of *Denmark*, *Magdelburgh*, *Brunſwick*, and the *Eſtates*. There followed the old Counteſſe of *Mar*, Miſtreſſe *Bowes*, divers Ladies of Honour, with the Miſtreſſe Nurſe.

Then the Trumpets ſounding melodiouſly before the Prince and his Convoy, went forward: *Lyon* King of Armes, and the Heraulds his Brethren, with their Coat-Armours, in goodly Order following.

Next followed the Prince's Honours, borne by theſe Noblemen: The Lord *Sempill* carrying a Laver of Water; the Lord *Seton*, a fair Baſon; the Lord *Levingſton*, a Towel; and the Lord *Home*, a low Crowne competent for a Duke,

Duke, richly ſet with Diamonds, Saphires, Rubies, and Emeraulds: who approaching neare the Pulpit, where theſe Honours were received from them by the Maſter of the Ceremonies, and by him placed on the Table before the Pulpit: The Noblemen retyring backe to their appointed Places.

Laſtly, the Pale was carried in before the Pulpit; where the Ambaſſador of *England* rendered the Prince to the Duke of *Lennox*, who immediately delivered him to the old Counteſſe of *Mar*, and ſhe conſequently to the Miſtreſſe Nurſe: And all the Ambaſſadors were then ſet, in ſuch Order of Places, as the Demonſtration of their Armories, give Notice.

Without the Partition, were ornate Fourmes, all covered with greene, whereupon were placed the Gentlemen of *England*, *Denmark*, *Almaine*, *Flanders* and *Scotland*. And as all Men were thus competently placed, and univerſall Silence made, entered Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, one of his Majeſtie's Ordinary Preachers, into the Pulpit, who learnedly and godly entreated upon the Text of the 21. of *Geneſis*. Which being done, the Biſhop of *Aberdeen* ſtood up in his Seate, and taught upon the Sacrament of Baptiſme, firſt in the vulgar Tongue, and next in the Latine, to the End all Men might generally underſtand. This done, the Provoſt and Prebends of the Chappell Royall did ſing the 21. Pſalme of *David*, according to the Art of Muſique, to the great Delectation of the noble Auditory.

Then they proceeded to the Action. The King aroſe, and came towards the Pulpit: The Ambaſſadours followed in their Order. The Barons that carried the Pale above the Prince, moved towards the Pulpit: The Duke of *Lennox* received the Prince from the Counteſſe of *Mar*, and delivered him to the Hands of the Earle of *Suſſex*, Ambaſſadour for *Eugland:* Where he was named by all their Conſents, FREDERIKE HENRY, HENRY FREDERIKE, and ſo baptized, *In the Name of the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghoſt*, by the ſaid Names.

This being done, *Lyon* King of Armes, with a loude Voice, repeates theſe Names thrice over: and then after him, the reſt of his Brethren Heraulds, with Trumpets ſounding, confirmed the ſame.

Then the King's Majeſtie, Ambaſſadours and all, removing to their Places: the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour alone, withdrawing himſelf on the one Side, was met and attended on by two Groomes, who humbly on their Knees, the one preſenting a large rich Baſon, the other a ſuitable Laver, replete with ſweet Water, wherewith the Ambaſſadour waſhed; a Gentleman Sewer, with humble Reverence, preſenting him a fair Towell, wherewith he dried his Hand, and ſo forthwith returned to his Place.

This being done, the Biſhop aſcended to the Pulpit, where, after that he had delivered in Verſe, a certaine Praiſe and Commendation of the Prince, then he converted the reſt of his Latine Oration, in Proſe, to the Ambaſſadours, every one in particular, beginning at the Ambaſſadour of *England*, and ſo continuing with the reſt: wherein he made Mention of the Chronology of each of theſe Princes; and recited the Proximitie, and Nearneſſe of Bloud, that they had with *Scotland*. Concluding his Oration, with Exhorta-

tion and Thankſgiving to GOD for that good Occaſion, and proſperous Aſſembly.

In Concluſion, the Bleſſing being given, *Lyon* King of Armes, cryed with a loud Voice, *GOD ſave* FREDERIKE HENRY, *and* HENRY FREDERIKE, *by the Grace of GOD, Prince of* SCOTLAND. The reſt of the Heraulds proclaimed the ſame at an open Window of the Chappell Royall, with Sound of Trumpet.

Then the King, the Prince, the Ambaſſadours, the Nobles, and Ladies of Honour, retired forth of the Chappell, in ſuch Order as they entered, and repaired towards the King's Hall: During their Paſſage, the Cannons of the Caſtle roared, that therewith the Earth trembled; and other ſmaller Shot made their Harmonie after their Kind.

In the King's Hall, the Duke of *Lennox* received the Prince from the Ambaſſadour of *England*, and preſented him to the King's Majeſtie, who addubbed him Knight: He was touched with the Spur by the Earle of *Mar*. Thereafter the King's Majeſtie preſented a Ducall Crowne on his Head, and then he was proclaimed by *Lyon* King of Armes, *The right Excellent, High, and Magnanime*, FREDERIKE HENRY, HENRY FREDERIKE, *by the Grace of GOD, Knight and Baron of* Renfrew, *Lord of the* Iſles, *Earle of* Carrike, *Duke of* Roſay, *Prince and Great Steward of* Scotland.

Theſe Wordes were repeated by the Heraulds with a loud Voice, at an open Window of the Hall.

Then the Prince was carried, by the Ambaſſadour of *England*, to his owne Chalmer of Preſence; where the moſt rich and rare Propynes were there preſented.

Alſo, there were certain Barons and Gentlemen addubbed Knights, whoſe Names do follow, in Order as they were proclaimed. And firſt their Oath.

The Oath of a KNIGHT.

1. *I Shall fortifie and defend the true Chriſtian Religion, and Chriſt's holy Evangel, now preſently preached within this Realme, to the uttermoſt of my Power.*

2. *I ſhall be loyall and true to my ſoveraigne Lord the King's Majeſtie, to all Orders of Chivalrie, and to the noble Office of Armes.*

3. *I ſhall fortifie and defend Juſtice at my Power, and that without Favour or Feed.*

4. *I ſhall never flie from my ſoveraigne Lord, the King's Majeſtie, nor from his Highneſſe Lieutenants, in Time of Mellay and Battell.*

5. *I ſhall defend my native Realme from all Alieners and Strangers.*

6. *I ſhall defend the juſt Action and Quarrel of all Ladies of Honour, of all true and friendleſs Widowes, of Orphans, and of Maidens of good Fame.*

7. *I ſhall do Diligence, wherſoever I heare there is any Murtherers, Traytors and maſterfull Reavers, that oppreſſeth the King's Lieges, and poore People, to bring them to the Laws at my Power.*

8. *I*

8. *I ſhall maintain and uphold the noble Eſtate of Chivalrie, with Horſe, Harniſhe, and other knightly Abillements: and ſhall helpe and ſuccour them of the ſame Order at my Power, if they have Need.*

9. *I ſhall enquire and ſeeke to have the Knowledge and Underſtanding of all the Articles and Points contained in the Book of Chivalrie.*

All theſe Premiſſes to obſerve, keep, and fulfil: I obleſſe me, ſo help me my God, by my owne Hand, ſo help me God, &c.

Sir William Stewart *of* Houſtoun, *Knight.*
Sir Robert Bruce *of* Clackmannan, *Knight.*
Sir John Boſwell *of* Balmowtow, *Knight.*
Sir James Schaw *of* Salquhy, *Knight.*
Sir John Murray *of* Ethilſtoun, *Knight.*
Sir William Menteith *of* Kerſe, *Knight.*
Sir Alexander Fraſer *of* Fraſerburgh, *Knight.*
Sir John Lindeſay *of* Dunrod, *Knight.*
Sir George Levingſton *of* Ogilface, *Knight.*
Sir James Foreſter *of* Torwood-head, *Knight.*
Sir Andrew Balfoure *of* Strathour, *Knight.*
Sir Walter Dundas *of over* Newliſtoun, *Knight.*
Sir John Boſwel *of* Glaſemont, *Knight.*
Sir George Elphingſtoun *of* Blythwood, *Knight.*
Sir William Levingſtoun *of* Darnecheſter, *Knight.*
Sir David Meldrum *of* New-hall, *Knight.*

Theſe Names were proclaimed upon the Tarraſe of the Forefront of the Caſtle, with Sound of Trumpets, and great Quantity of divers Eſpeces of Gold and Money, caſt over amongſt the People.

Theſe Things being accompliſhed, the King and Queene's Majeſties, with the Ambaſſadours addreſſed themſelves to the Banket in the great Hall, about eight of the Clock at Night. Then came *Lyon* King of Armes, with his Brethren the Herauldes, and entred the Hall before the King and Queene's Meate, the Trumpets ſounding melodiouſly before them: with theſe Noblemen, bearing Office for the preſent.

The Earle of *Mar*,	Great Maſter-Houſhold.	
The Lord *Fleming*,	Great Maſter-Uſher.	
The Earle of *Montroze*,	Carver,	For the King's Majeſtie.
The Earle of *Glencarne*,	Copper,	
The Earle of *Orkenye*,	Sewer,	
The Lord *Seton*, —	Carver,	For the Queene's Majeſtie.
The Lord *Hume*, —	Copper,	
The Lord *Sempill*, —	Sewer,	

This delicate Banquet being ordered with great Abundance, the King, Queene, and Ambaſſadours, were placed all at one Table, being formed of three Parts, after a Geometricall Figure, in ſuch Sort, that every one might have a full Sight of the other.

The

The King and Queene's Majeſties, were placed in the midſt of the Table, and on the King's Right Hand were ſet the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadours, the Earle of *Suſſex*, and Mr. *Robert Bowes*, next them ſat the Ambaſſadour from the Duke of *Brunſwick*, and the Ambaſſadour from the Duke of *Magdelburgh*.

On the King's Left Hand, next to the Queene's Majeſtie, ſate the Ambaſſadour of *Denmark*, and Ambaſſadours from the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*: Betwixt every one of their Seates was left a good Space.

On the Eaſt and Weſt Side of the Hall, were placed two very long Tables, where were ſet certain Noblemen, Ladies of Honour, and Counſellors of *Scotland*, and with them the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *England*, *Denmark*, *Almaine*, and *Flanders*: And betwixt every Nobleman, and Gentleman Stranger, was placed a Lady of Honour, or Gentlewoman.

Now, being thus in a very honourable and comely Order ſet, and after a while, having well refreſhed themſelves with the firſt Service, which was very ſumptuous, there came into the Sight of them all, a *Black-Moor*, drawing (as it ſeemed to the Beholders) a triumphall Chariot, (and before it, the melodious Noiſe of Trumpets and Hautboyes) which Chariot entred the Hall, the Motion of the whole Frame (which was twelve Foot long, and ſeven Foot broad) was ſo artificial within it ſelf, that it appeared to be drawne in, onely by the Strength of a *Moor*, which was very richly attired, his Traces were great Chaines of pure Gold.

Upon this Chariot was finely and artificially deviſed, a ſumptuous covered Table, decked with all Sorts of exquiſite Delicates and Dainties, of Patiſſerie, Frutages, and Confections.

About the Table, were placed ſix gallant Dames, who repreſented a ſilent Comedie, three of them clothed in Argentine Sattin, and three in Crimſon Sattin: All theſe ſix Garments were enriched with Togue and Tinſal, of pure Gold and Silver, every one of them having a Crowne, or Garland on their Heads, very richly decked with Feathers, Pearles and Jewels, upon their looſe Haire, in *Antica forma*.

In the firſt Front ſtood Dame *Ceres*, with a Sickle in her right Hand, and a Handfull of Corne in the other; and upon the outmoſt Part of her Thigh was written this Sentence, *Fundent uberes omnia Campi*, which is to ſay, the plenteous Fields ſhall affoord all Things.

Over againſt *Ceres*, ſtood *Fecunditie*, with ſome Buſhes of Cheſbolls, which under an hierogliphick Sence, repreſenteth Broodines with this Deviſe, *Fœlix prole divûm*, and on the other Side of her Habite, *Creſcant in mille*. The firſt importing that this Country is bleſſed by the Childe of the Goddes, and the ſecond, alluding to the King and Queene's Majeſties, that their Generations may grow into Thouſands.

Next on the other Side, was placed *Faith*, having in her Hands a Baſon, and in the ſame two Hands joyned together, with this Sentence. *Boni alumna conjugii*, the Fortreſſe and Nurſe of a bleſſed Marriage.

Over againſt *Faith*, ſtood *Concorde*, with a golden Taſſe in her Left Hand, and the Horne of Aboundance in her Right Hand, with this Sentence,

Pleniebant te numina Sinu. The heavenly Powers do bleſſe thee with a full Boſome.

The next Place was occupied by *Liberalitie*, who having in her Right Hand two Crownes, and in her Left, two Scepters, with this Deviſe, *Me comite, plura quam dabis, accipies.* That is to ſay, having me thy Follower, thou ſhalt receive more than thou ſhalt give.

And the laſt was *Perſeverance*, having in her right Hand a Staffe, and on her left Shoulder an Anchor; with this Device, *Nec dubiæ res mutabunt, nec ſecundæ*, Neither doubtfull, nor more proſperous Things ſhall change your State.

This Chariot, which ſhould have been drawne in by a *Lyon*, (but becauſe his Preſence might have brought ſome Feare to the neareſt, or that the Sight of the Lights and Torches might have commoved his Tameneſs) it was thought meet that the *Moor* ſhould ſupply that Roome: And ſo he, in outwarde Shewe, preaſed to draw that forward, which by a ſecret Convoy was brought to the Prince's Table; and the whole Deſert was delivered by *Ceres*, *Fecunditie*, *Faith*, *Concord*, *Liberalitie*, and *Perſeverance*, to the Earles, Lords and Barons that were Sewers.

Preſently after the returning of the Chariot, entered a moſt ſumptuous, artificiall, and well proportioned Ship, the Length of her Keele was 18 Foot, and her Breadth 8 Foot; from her Bottome to her higheſt Flagge, was 40 Foot; the Sea ſhe ſtood upon was 24 Foot long, with Breadth convenient; her Motion was ſo artificially deviſed within her ſelf, that none could perceive what brought her in. The Sea under her, was lively Counterfeit, with all Colours; on her Foreſterne was placed *Neptunus*, having in his Hand his Trident, and on his Head a Crowne, his Apparell was all of *Indian* Cloth of Silver and Silke, which bare this Inſcription, *Junxi atque reduxi*, which in Sence importeth, that as he joyned them, ſo he reduced their Majeſties.

Then *Thetis* with her Mace, Goddeſſe of the Sea, with this Deviſe, *Nunquam abero, & tutum ſemper te littore ſiſtam*, which ſignifieth, that by her Preſence, ſhe alwayes ſhall be carefull, to bring them into a ſafe Shore and Harbour.

Then *Triton* with his wilke Trumpet, was next to her, with this Device, *Velis, Votis, Ventis*, By Sails, by Vows, by Winds.

Round about the Ship, were all the Marine People, as *Syrenes*, (above the Middle as Women, and under as Fiſhes:) and theſe were *Parthenope*, *Ligea*, and *Leucoſia*, who accommodating their Geſtures to the Voice of the Muſitions, repeated this Verſe, *Unus eris nobis cantandus ſemper in orbe.* And all the ſame were decored with the Riches of the Seas, as Pearles; Coralls; Shelles; and Mettals; verie rare and excellent.

The Bulk of this Ship was curiouſly painted, and her Galleries; whereupon ſtood the moſt part of the Banket in Chriſtalline Glaſſe, gilt with Gold and Azure. Her Maſtes were red; her Tackling and Cordage was Silke of the ſame Colour, with golden Pullies. Her Ordinance was 36 Peeces of Braſſe, bravely mounted, and her Anchors Silver-gilt. And all her Sails were

were double of white Taffata. And in her Fore-sayle, a Shippe Compasse; regarding the North Starre; with this Sentence, *Quascunque per undas*; which is to say, through whatsoever Seas, or Waves, the King's Majestie intendeth his Course, and Project of any arising Action, *Neptune* as God of the Sea, shall be favourable to his Proceedings.

On the maine Sail, was painted the Armories of *Scotland* and *Denmark*, with this Device, competent in the Person of the Prince of *Scotland*. *En quæ divisa beatos efficiunt, collecta tenes.* That is to say, behold (O Prince) what doth make these Kingdomes severally blessed, jointly (O Prince of Hope) thou holdes, and hath altogether.

Her Tops were all armed with Taffatees of his Majestie's Colours, Gold, and Jewels: and all her Flagges and Streamers sutable to the same.

Her Marriners were in Number six, apparelled all in chaungeable *Spanish* Taffatees, and her Pilote in Cloth of Gold, he alone stood at the Helm, who only moved and governed the whole Frame, both the Ship and her Burden, very artificially.

The Musitions within the same, were 14, all apparelled in Taffatees of his Majestie's Colours, besides *Arion* with his Harpe.

Being thus prepared, at the Sounde of Trumpets, she approached, and at the next Sounde of *Triton*'s wilke Trumpet, together with the Master's Whistle, she made Sail till she came to the Table, discharging the Ordinance in her Sterne by the Way: But because this Devise carried some morall Meaning with it, it shall not be impertinent to this Purpose, to discover what is meant and propyned thereby.

The King's Majestie having undertaken in such a desperate Time, to sail to *Norway*, and like a new *Jason*, to bring his Queene, our gracious Lady, to this Kingdome, being detained, and stopped, by the Conspiracies of Witches, and such deviliſh Dragons, thought it very meet, to follow forth this his own Invention, that as *Neptunus* (speaking poetically, and by such Fictions, as the like Interludes, and Actions are accustomed to be decored withall) joyned the King to the Queene.

So after this Conjunction, he brought their Majesties as happily hither: and now at this her blessed Delivery, did bring such Things as the Sea affoords, to decore this festival Time with all: which immediatly were delivered to the Sewers, forth of the Galleries of this Ship, out of Christaline Glasse, very curiously painted with Gold and Azure, all Sorts of Fishes: as Herrings, Whitings, Flooks, Oysters, Buckies, Lampets, Partans, Labstars, Crabs, Spout-fish, Clammes: with other infinite Things made of Sugar, and most lively represented in their owne Shape. And whilst the Ship was unloading, *Arion* sitting upon the galey Nose, which resembled the Forme of a Dolphine Fish, played upon his Harpe; then began her Musick in greene holyne Hautboys in fine Parts. After that followed Viols with Voices in plaine Counterpoint, to the Nature of these Hexameter Verses.

Undique conveniant, quot Reges nomine Christi
Gaudent, hucque suas maturent cogere vires.

Viribus

Viribus hos, O Rex, opibuſque anteiveris omnes
Quiſque ſuam jam poſſe velit tibi cedere ſortem.
Regna, viros, aurum, quæ te fecere potentem.
Omnia conjugii decorant hæc pignora chari:
ANNA *precor fælix multos feliciter annos,*
Vive, reſume novas, atque annuus anni
Luſtar eat, redeatque; novo tibi partus ab ortu.
Creſce Puer, ſacri mens numinis imbibar imbres,
Semper uterque parens de te nova gaudia captet.
Scotia, quæ quondam multis tenebroſa vocata eſt
Lumina magna nitent in te ſuperantia cœlum,
Lux Verbi, & Rex, & Princeps diademata Regni.

After which enſued a ſtill Noiſe of Recoders and Flutes: and for the fourth, a generall Conſort of the beſt Inſtruments.

So this Enterlude, drawing neare to an End, in the very laſt Courſes, was diſcovered this Sentence likewiſe; *Submiſſus adorat Oceanus*, inferring, that the Ocean Sea, by offering the Shapes of her Treaſure humbly adored and honoured the Sitters. And when in this Time, all the Banket was done, after Thanks being given, there was ſung with moſt delicate dulce Voices, and ſweet Harmonie in 7 Partes, the 128. Pſalm, with 14 Voices. And that being done, at the Sound of *Triton*'s wilke Trumpet, and the Pilotte's Whiſtle, ſhe wayed Anchor, made Sail, and with Noiſe of Hautboys and Trumpets, retyred, and then diſcharged the reſt of her Ordinance, to the great Admiration of the Beholders.

After all which Paſtime and Sport, with merry and joyfull Repaſt, the King and Queene's Majeſties, after their Offices of Honour and Reſpect, Place being prepared for the Revels, and the Perſons appointed for the ſame, diſcharging themſelves ſufficiently. Their Majeſties and Ambaſſadors went to another Hall, moſt richly and magnificently hung with rich Tapeſtrie, where for the Collation, a moſt rare, ſumptuous, and Prince like Deſart was prepared, which being ended, after taking Leave and Good-nights, they departed about three of the Clock in the Morning, to their Night's Reſt.

The Dayes enſuing, ſo long as Leiſure might ſerve, was beſtowed by the Ambaſſadours in banketting of Noblemen and Gentlemen of their Acquaintance, and the King in the mean Time was ſolicite and carefull of honourable and magnifike Rewards, to be beſtowed on either of them, which was alſo princely performed, to their great Contentments.

And as they were come to *Edinburgh*, they were all banketted at ſometime, ſeverally, and at other Times together, by divers Noblemen of *Scotland* with great Honour: Laſt of all, one Ambaſſadour banketted another, for Commemoration of that joyfull Meeting and good Succeſſe.

Then the King and Queene's Majeſties came to *Edinburgh*, where they were invited by the Ambaſſadours of *Denmarke*, unto a Banket within their

Ship, which lay at Anchor in the River of *Forth:* She was ſo great, that ſhe could not enter the Harbour.

The Banket was very ſumptuous, and the Ambaſſadours ſo joyous of their finall Diſpatch, behaved themſelves to their Majeſties on a kindly Manner, according to the ordinary Cuſtome of their Countrey, by propining of Drink unto them in the Name of their Princes, which was lovingly accepted and requited: In Commemoration whereof, the whole Artillery of that great Veſſel were ſhot in great Number.

The three great Ships of the Eſtates, lying in the ſame Road neare by, made Correſpondance and Reſonance to the Number of ſix ſcore great Shot; and thus concluded their *Bein ale.*

Then the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, for Performance of the King's Honour, as they perceived the Ships to loſe, and to hoiſe up Sail: The Captain of the Caſtle ſaluted every Ship, as they ſhewed themſelves in Readineſſe by Order, with a Number of great Cannon Shot. And ſo I conclude.

The Life and Death of our late moſt Incomparable and Heroique Prince HENRY, Prince of *WALES.* A Prince (for Valour and Vertue) fit to be imitated in ſucceeding Times. 1641.

Written by Sir CHARLES CORNWALLIS, Knight, Treaſurer of his Highneſſe's Houſhold.

In a LETTER to a FRIEND.

To the High and Mighty Prince *CHARLES*, Prince of WALES, *&c.*

SIR,

FInding this Manuſcript, amongſt others, I could not paſſe by it, as I did the reſt: The Subject thereof being ſo rare a Prince, *as it may ſeeme worthy your Highneſſe's Peruſall: In reading Him, you may read Your ſelfe; His Titles of Honour were the ſame with Yours: Your Titles of Vertues the ſame with His: He was, as You are, the Mirrour of the Age; which, that You may ſtill continue, ſhall ever be the Prayer of*

Your Highneſſe's moſt humble Servant,

N. B.

SIR,

SIR,

YOUR impoſed Taſke, when with the Eyes of my Mind I conſidered, I found ſuch a Multitude of Letts and Rubs herein, that it ſeemed unto me a Thing impoſſible to dare to looke after, much more to adventure to write any thing touching the *Life* and *Death* of our late moſt noble, and ever renowned Prince, whoſe high ſoaring Thoughts, becauſe the World was not able to containe, the Heaven of Heavens vouchſafed to entertaine; for both his farre every where renowned Fame thorowout this Iſle, and the whole World being too great, that who ſhould adventure to ſay any more, ſhould but in vaine adde Water to the Sea: As alſo the Numbers of others neerer unto him, of moſt aſſured Knowledge, and better Judgement, all which knew him a great deale better than I, being able to give the World and you more full and abſolute Satisfaction; together with the Multitude and divers Sorts of religious, wiſe, grave, judicious, learned, critticke, and curious Cenſurers; all who, if it ſhould happen but once to peepe into the World, for the welbeloved Subject therof, would gredily entertane and welcome the ſame, with their divers Humours, and piercing Judgements. Theſe, and many more, with the Conſcience of my Unworthineſs, and Inſufficiencie to performe ſo high a Taſk, (which rather would become ſome *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Demoſthenes*, *Cicero*, or rather ſome one in whom all their Excellencies are combined, to performe aright) like Mountaines appeared at firſt in my Way; yet becauſe (as one ſaith) *In magnis voluiſſe ſat eſt*, rather than it ſhould not be done at all, and with the Loſſe, the Remembrance alſo periſh, how and in what Manner we loſt ſo brave a Prince. Sometime the Expectation of the World, and that it might for ever be knowne unto it, and you both, how exceeding great this laſt Duty is, which I owe to the Dead, as alſo how abſolutely you may command him, whom your Love long ſince hath ſtrictly bound to be perpetually yours, in Place of a better, I have adventured upon theſe enſuing Conditions, to launch out my fraile Barke, into that great Ocean of Sorrow, even from the Cradle to the Grave, whence ſtorme-beaten as you ſee, I have with much adoe, recovered my deſired Haven. Firſt, that whatſoever Diſtaſte you finde therein of any thing, you would not impute it to any Preſumption of mine, but rather to my Frailty and Ignorance, which (rather than to offend you) I have herein bewrayed: Next, that whatſoever is here written of his late Highneſſe, not content herewith, you would only uſe the ſame as a Ladder to mount up your Thoughts to a far more excellent Meditation of his Vertues: Further alſo, that you would not be too buſie upon this Report to cenſure any of your Phiſitians, or any other; all whom, I proteſt, I have endeavoured to pleaſe, without Partiality, ſo farre, as in my Judgement, the Truth would ſuffer me, rather imputing the Blame unto my Relation, than any of their Actions. As alſo, that with your accuſtomed Patience, you would delay to cenſure me for this Letter, untill with mature Judgement you have throughly peruſed the ſame, conſidering how much more eaſie it is to cenſure others, than to doe well our ſelves. Again, that ſince the Way by which I muſt paſſe, is through a

long, darke, ſilent, ſolitary, untrodden Path, leading even to the Chambers of Death, fraught altogether with Sorrow, ending in Teares, wherein I cannot chuſe (but by the Exceſſe thereof) many Times fall, ſtumble, and miſſe of my Way, you would with your gentle Excuſes reach out your Hand of Love to helpe me up againe, rather expecting what is entended, than done. Laſtly, that you, with my other diſcreet Reader, who hereafter ſhall ſee the ſame, would onely uſe it as a Hunter's Baite, to ſtay your Stomachs a little, until ſome others of better Knowledge, and ſounder Judgement, doe feed you with a better Dinner.

KNOW then that the King's Majeſtie and the Queene lying at the Caſtle of *Striveling*, (a Place famous for Antiquitie, faire for Building, pleaſant for Scituation) on *Tueſday* the 19. of *February* 1594, about Three a Clocke in the Morning, his Highneſſe was born, to the great Joy of all the whole Iſle, and all forraigne true hearted Princes and People, his Majeſtie's Well-willers, and Confederates, but chiefly the Phœnix of her Age, great matcheleſſe ELIZABETH, to ſhew the exceeding Love to his Majeſtie, did not onely ſend the Right Honourable the Earle of *Suſſex*, with rich Preſents to the Chriſtning, but alſo by him, and for Her, did give unto his Highneſſe the Name of HENRY, moſt renowned and victorious; after which, by ſpeciall Appointment from his Majeſtie, he was reſigned to the Cuſtody and Keeping of the Earle of *Marre*, aſſiſted alſo by the continuall and vigilant Care of the venerable and noble Matron his Mother, unto whom the chief Charge of his Highneſſe's Perſon by his Majeſtie was given: She alſo, for many Yeares before, being his owne great happy Nurſe, with whom he no leſſe proſpered in all Things, than his Royall Father before him did in the ſelfe ſame Place and Keeping. Thus continued the Strength of his Father, and the Glory of his Mother a great while in the Hands of Women, giving in this his tender Age, by his wonderfull Courage, infallible Tokens of a *Noble and Heroick Spirit*, no Muſick being ſo pleaſant in his Eares, as the Sounding of the Trumpet, the Beating of the Drumme, the Roaring of the Cannon, no Sight ſo acceptable, as that of Pieces, Piſtols, or any ſort of Armour; all which evidently ſhew, that (if he had lived) *Mars* himſelfe would not one Day have dared to looke him in the Face.

Thus he remained untill the 5. or 6. Yeares of his Age; at which Time his Majeſtie thought it expedient he ſhould no longer want a Tutor. Whereupon Maſter *Newton* (afterwards his Secretary) was by his Majeſty thought fitteſt for the ſaid Place, who preſently with all Care poſſible did begin to teach his Highneſſe the Grounds of Learning, with the Introductions leading to the ſame.

A little after, the Women being put from about his Highneſſe, divers of good Sort were appointed to attend upon his Perſon; amongſt whom, as chiefe, was the Right Honourable the Earle of *Marre*, together with Sir *David Murray*, Knight, firſt and onely Gentleman of his Highneſſe's Bedchamber, to lye therein, (continuing ſo alwaies untill his Death) aſſiſted alſo by ſundry Lords, Barons, Knights and Gentlemen: At which Time, in the

7. 8. and 9. Yeares of his Age, leaving thoſe childiſh and idle Toyes, uſuall to all of his Yeares, he began to delight in more active and manly Exerciſes, learning to ride, ſing, dance, leape, ſhoot at Archery, and in Peeces, to toſſe his Pike, *&c.* Whereof all theſe Things in young Yeares, to the Admiration of all, chiefly Strangers, he did wonderfully performe; and that with ſuch a Grace, as it ſeemed incredible to forraigne Nations; ſave that thoſe of their owne, who were Spectators of the ſame, did aſſure them thereof.

Now beganne thoſe Sparks of Piety, Majeſty, Gravity, *&c.* which before were true, though ſmall, to flaſh out bigger every Day, uſing a milde and gentle Behaviour towards all, chiefly to Strangers, before whom he uſed (if they were of good Sorts, and Nobles) to ſhew theſe Exerciſes, wherein he excelled all thoſe of his Age, thereby filling their Hearts with Love, and all their Sences with Delight, departing exceeding well pleaſed, that they had ſeene Prince *Henry*.

Meane while ſwift winged *Time*, the Mother of Change (whilſt we expected no ſuch Alteration) joyning with the eternall Decree, which pittying that ELIZABETH, now overcloyed with earthly Joyes ſhould any longer be detained in this Vale of *Miſery*, did ſend the bleſſed Angels to change her corruptible for an incorruptible Crowne. The Newes whereof (in a ſhorter Time than ever was poſted ſo great a Journey) was brought unto his Majeſtie by the honourable Sir *Ro. Carey*, Knight, who out of the Abundance of his Love, preventing all others, was the firſt Newes-bringer, not onely of ſo lamentable Death, but alſo of the ſudden enſuing Joy, of his Majeſtie's right, lawfull, lineall, proclaimed Succeſſion: who ſhortly after was ſeconded by the honourable Gentlemen, Sir *Charles Percie*, and Sir *Thomas Somerſett*, Knights, with a Letter from the right honourable, the Peeres of *England*, and Lords of her late Majeſtie's moſt honourable Privy Counſell, preſenting Heapes of all Sorts of dutifull Services, from ſo loving Subjects to ſo beloved a King; withall wiſhing a haſtie Diſpatch of his Affaires, that they the ſooner might enjoy his royall Preſence, which being with Speed performed, they alſo, (out of their great Love) longing for the reſt. The Queene with his Highneſſe took their Journey from *Edenborough* the firſt of *June*, 1602. the laſt of the ſaid Moneth comming to *Windſor*, where, what Joy was at ſo loving a Meeting, and ſo long wiſhed, I leave for you to imagine.

His Majeſtie lying at this foreſaid Towne, his Highneſſe and ſome other Lords, were inſtalled Knights of the moſt honourable and noble Order of the Garter; after which (the Sickneſſe increaſing) his Highneſſe removed from thence to *Oatelands*, where by Appointment from his Majeſtie, he tooke Houſe by himſelfe, having ſo many to attend upon him in every Office, as was thought fitting for his Yeares. A little after removing to *Nonſuch*, and from thence being ſent for to *Wincheſter* by his Majeſtie, he againe returned to *Oatelands*, where he begun to ply his Booke hard for two or three Yeares, continuing all his princely Sports, Hawking, Hunting, Running at the Ring, Leaping, Riding of great Horſes, Dauncing, Fencing, Toſſing of the Pike, &c. In all which, he did ſo farre excell as was fitting for ſo great a Prince; whereby,

whereby, together with his continuall Travaile, being ever in Action, he came to have a very active and ſtrong Body; ſo that then he would many Times tyre all his Followers before he himſelfe would be weary.

Much about this Time, being thirteene Yeares of Age, he began to know himſelfe a little better, and finding himſelfe to be a Prince indeed, began not onely to ſtrive for Vertues anſwerable, but alſo to chaſe away the Reliques of childiſh Imperfections naturall to all, increaſing every Day in Favour with GOD and Man.

In the 14. and 15. Yeares of his Age, he began to be very juditious, almoſt in every Thing, drawing neerer to a majeſtique Gravity; to be a reverent and attentive Hearer of Sermons, to give Commendations to the ſame, to have Boxes kept at his three ſeverall ſtanding Houſes, *Saint James*, *Richmond*, and *Nonſuch*, cauſing all thoſe who did ſweare in his Hearing, to pay Moneyes to the ſame, which were after duly given to the Poore; he beganne now alſo to be of an excellent Diſcourſe, putting forth, and aſking ſtrange Queſtions and Suppoſitions, both of this, and forraine States, and deſiring to know, and to be reſolved almoſt of every Thing, whereby at length he attained to have a reaſonable Inſight and Judgement, in State-affaires; now alſo delighting to ſhoot in great and ſmall Field-pieces, to levell them to the White, and ſee them ſhot off.

The 16. Yeare of his Age, being to come to the Time of his Inveſtment in the Principalitie of *Wales* and *Cornewall*; he did advance his owne Title and Right ſo farre, as with Modeſtie he might: which preſently was gently and lovingly entertained, and granted of his Majeſtie, with the Conſent of the Right Honourable, the High Court of Parliament: The fourth of *June* following, being appointed for that ſolemne Action, the *Chriſtmas* before which, his Highneſſe not onely for his owne Recreation, but alſo that the World might know, what a brave Prince they were likely to enjoy, under the Name of *Meliades*, Lord of the *Iſles*, (an ancient Title due to the firſt borne of *Scotland*) did in his Name, by ſome appointed for the ſame Purpoſe, ſtrangely attired, accompanied with Drummes and Trumpets in the Chamber of Preſence, before the King and Queene, and in the Preſence of the whole Court, deliver a Challenge to all Knights of *Great-Britaine*, in two Speeches; the Relation whereof were out of Purpoſe, but the Summe was:

That *Meliades*, their noble Maſter, boyling with an earneſt Deſire, to trie the Valour of his young Yeares in foraigne Countreyes, and to know where Vertue triumphed moſt, had ſent them abroad to eſpy the ſame, who after their long Travailes in all Countreyes, and Returne; ſhewing, how no where in any Continent, ſave in the fortunate Iſle of *Great Brittaine*, they had found his Wiſhes; which miniſtring Matter of exceeding Joy to their young *Meliades*, who (as they ſaid) could lineally derive his Pedegree from the famous Knights of this Iſle, was the Cauſe that he had now ſent to preſent the firſt Fruits of his Chivalrie at his Majeſtie's Feete. Then after, returning with a ſhort Speech to her Majeſtie, next to the Earles, Lords, and Knights, excuſing their Lord in this their ſo ſudden and ſhort Warning: and laſtly,

to the Ladies; they after humble Delivery of their Chartle, concerning Time, Place, Conditions, Number of Weapons, and Aſſailants, tooke their Leave, departing folemnly as they entred.

Now began every where Preparations to be made for this great Fight, and happy did he thinke himſelfe who ſhould be admitted for a Defendant, much more Aſſailant: At laſt, to encounter his Highneſſe, with his ſix Aſſailants, 58 Defendants conſiſting of Earles, Barons, Knights, and Eſquires, were appointed and choſen, eight Defendants to one Aſſailant, every Aſſailant being to fight by Turnes, eight ſeverall Times fighting, two every Time with Puſh of Pike and Sword, twelve Stroakes at a Time; after which, the Barre for Separation was to be let downe untill a freſh Onſet.

The great Night of this Solemnity now approaching, his Highneſſe in his owne Lodging, in the Chriſtmas, did feaſt the Earles, Barons, and Knights Aſſailants, and Defendants, untill the great Twelfth appointed Night, on which this great Fight was to be performed; which being come, his Highneſſe, to the great Wonder of the Beholders, did admirably fight his Part, giving and receiving that Night, 32 Puſhes of Pikes, and about 360 Stroakes of Swords, which is ſcarſe credible in ſo young Yeares, enough to aſſure the World, that *Great-Britaine*'s brave HENRY aſpired to Immortality.

Againſt the Morrow, after the ſame ſaid Fight, was alſo prepared a magnificke Feaſt at his Highneſſe's Houſe at Saint *James*'s, at which his Majeſtie, his Highneſſe, his Brother and Siſter, with all the other Earles, Lords, and Knights of the Court were preſent; where after Supper (according as before they had beene judged) his Highneſſe gave three Priſes, to the three beſt deſerving, *viz.* to the Right Honourable the Earle of *Montgomery* one, and to Sir *Thomas Darcy*, and Sir *Robert Gourdon*, Knights, the other two.

The Barriers finiſhed, and Priſes won, judged and delivered, ſhortly after began Preparation every where to be made for his Highneſſe's *Creation*, every one from the higheſt to the loweſt (to ſhew their exceeding Love) ſtriving who ſhould exceed in Bravery, untill faſt-poſting *Time* at length brought forth the long wiſhed for Day; before which, his Highneſſe then lying at *Richmond*, a Houſe ſcituate on the Rivers Side, ſeven Miles from *Weſtminſter*, the Place of his *Creation*, the Cuſtome being to be brought from ſuch a Place, the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor of *London*, with the worſhipfull Aldermen his Brethren, accompanied with thirtie ſix ſeverall Companies of Citizens of divers Callings, in ſo many ſeverall Barges, and all Citie-like braverie poſſible, with their ſeverall Flagges, Banners, Colours, Armes, Trumpets, Drummes, and Phyfes, with other ſuch Proviſion, came from their mighty and renowned City, up the Silver-ſtreamed River, to welcome, meet and accompany his Highneſſe, towards the ſolemne Action, where having encountred with his Highneſſe's Barges with all the Joy, Love, and Kindneſſe poſſible, to the Wonder of the World; all Eyes were bent towards ſo joyfull and deſired a Sight: they came altogether rowing downe the proud River, which for two or three Miles together, ſeemed to be covered with Pinnaces, Barges, Boates, and Oares unto *Whitehall*-bridge at the Court, where

where he was alſo received, and welcommed by the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privie Counſel, with divers others, and from thence by them conducted unto his Majeſtie, where he remained untill the Time of his *Creation*, which being the next Day, he was in Preſence of the Right Honourable the High Court of Parliament, Lords Spirituall and Temporall, by his Majeſtie, the King his Father, created *Prince of* Wales, *Duke of* Cornewall, *Great Earle of* Cheſter, *&c.* with a full Inveſtment in all the ancient and great Liberties, ever poſſeſſed by any of his famous Predeceſſors, and with the Joy and Approbation of the whole Houſe.

His Highneſſe being now abſolute of himſelfe, did take up Houſe with a full Addition of high Officers; Sir *Thomas Challener* Chamberlaine, Sir *Charles Cornwallis* Treaſurer, and Sir *John Hollis* Comptrouler of his Houſe; making good and ſtrict Orders through the ſame, both above and below Staires, more like a grave, wiſe, and ancient Counſellour, ſurveying, diſpoſing, and diſpatching his Affaires, then ſo young and great a Prince: Now were allotted unto him certaine Lands for his Revenues, which he was ſo farre from diminiſhing, that he left the ſame encreaſed, by Thouſands a Yeare; his Servants did now begin to looke which Way to helpe themſelves, ſince his Highneſſe was every Day more and more able to give: yet he being very ſparing to give any Thing, did onely give Grants unto ſome, with Promiſes, Hopes and Delayes unto others, becauſe he would not (he ſaid) diſpoſe of any thing, untill with the Gift he might perpetrate the ſame, which could not be, untill either Yeares, or the High Court of Parliament ſhould enable him; but this Time as yet not being come, he went on his owne frugall Courſes, ſuffering almoſt nothing to paſſe in his Houſe, or other Affaires, which he himſelfe did not overſee.

At laſt, bethinking himſelfe that *Wales* and *Cornwall*, &c. his Principalitie, had a long Time beene without a Prince of their owne, he thought he might the rather ſhew his Authority in renewing and avoyding Leaſes; wherefore having firſt by a Writ, called *Scire facias*, avoided and annihilated all their former Rights and Leaſes, he brought them unto a generall Submiſſion to compound, take and hold new of him; which they were all ready to performe, a little before his Death: Whereupon Surveyors, and Commiſſioners were appointed, and diſpatched to ſurvey all his Lands, and to returne a true Certificate of the whole Value; untill which, (being but a little before his Sickneſſe and Death) he deferred all manner of Suits, becauſe he would firſt be informed truely, what, and how great their Demands were.

In the 17. and 18. Yeares of his Age he began not onely to be a Man in Stature, but alſo in Courage and Wiſdome, to the Admiration of all, and with the Eyes of his Spirit ſurveying the mighty Inheritance whereunto he was Heire apparant, he did alſo ſtraine to be the better furniſhed (if ever his Shoulders ſhould undergoe ſo great a Burthen with Furniture befitting the ſame, it being Wiſdome, in the Time of Peace, to prepare for the ſame, knowing that Peace is the Harbinger of Warre, (chiefly in Ships, counted the brazen Wall of this Iſle) he in the Time of our Security thought thereof:

and

and therefore did not only intreate his Majeſtie to cauſe his Officers of the Navy to build him a Ship, called the *Prince*, (then the faireſt of this Iſle) but alſo to advance the Affaires of the Navy, to his Power, now and then got Leave of his Majeſtie to goe in Perſon to view the Ships, and Store-houſes, which divers Times he did. Not content herewith, he did alſo practiſe Tilting, Charging on Horſebacke with Piſtols, after the Manner of the Wars, with all other the like Inventions. Now alſo delighting to conferre, both with his owne, and other Strangers, and great Captaines, of all Manner of Wars, Battailes, Furniture, Armes by Sea and Land, Diſciplines, Orders, Marches, Alarmes, Watches, Stratagems, Ambuſcadoes, Approaches, Scalings, Fortifications, Incampings, and having now and then Battailes of Head-men appointed both on Horſe and Foot, in a long Table; whereby he might in a Manner view the right Ordering of a Battaile, how every Troope did aide and aſſiſt another, as alſo the placing of the Light Horſemen, Vauntguard, Maine Battaile, with the aſſiſting Wings, and Rerewards, *&c.* which are out of my Element to ſpeake of. Neither did he omit, as he loved the *Theoricke* of theſe Things, to practiſe the ſame, entertaining in his Houſe a *Dutch* Captaine, ſent unto him by his Excellence *(Grave Maurice)* a moſt excellent Engineer, in all Manner of Things belonging to the *Wars*; cauſing alſo, from Time to Time, new Pieces of Ordnance to be made, learning to ſhoot, and levell them right to the White: No leſſe provident was he to have great Horſes, and thoſe of the beſt, which were ſent unto him from all Countryes; ſo that I may truely affirme, no Prince in Chriſtendome did exceed him therein. Thus in theſe, and other worldly Pleaſures, which ſtoope for Acquaintance unto Greatneſſe, did he ſpend the Yeares paſt.

In the 19. Yeare of his Age, whether by his continuall Toile of Body, and Minde, or ſome internall unknowne Cauſes (I know not) where before he was of ſomewhat a full round Face, and very pleaſant Diſpoſition, his Viſage began to appeare ſomewhat paler, longer and thinner than before, he himſelfe being alſo more ſad and retired than uſuall, yet without any Complaint of him, or Jealouſie of his Followers, ſave that ſome halfe a Yeare after, he would now and then complaine of a ſmall Kinde of giddy, lumpiſh Heavineſſe in his Forehead; the Paine whereof moved him (as I thinke) for the moſt Part, ever before he would put on his Hat, to ſtroke up with his Hand his Brow and Forehead; he did alſo uſe to bleed at the Noſe often, and in great Quantitie, wherein he found great Eaſe, untill a little before his Sickneſſe, (the Paſſages being ſtopped) this Helpe, to his further Griefe, left him; he was now ſubject to many ſtrong and extraordinary Qualmes, ſo that for Danger and Celerity they were forced many Times to fetch him againe with ſtrong Waters, which being onely by Intermiſſion now and then, were let paſſe as they came, without any Suſpition of ſo ſuddaine Sorrowes.

Much about the Beginning of this Summer, there could almoſt be no Newes heard, but of his Siſter's Marriage, of which many Speeches went currant, according to the divers Affections of Proteſtants and Papiſts; ſome wiſhing her to be married to the King of *Spaine*, ſome to the Prince of *Savoy*,

ſome to the young *Landſgrave*, and ſome to his Highneſſe the *Palſgrave* her now Huſband. But he following the Streame of his Father's well ſetled Affections, for *Great-Britaine*'s eternall Felicity, and Terrour of all Papiſts, did onely fancy the *Palſgrave*'s Motion, ſhortly after advancing the ſame by all Meanes poſſible at the Comming of the Right Honourable the Count *Hannaw:* the *Palſgrave*'s great Ambaſſadour, whoſe Errand as the Speech went, was to knit up this Match, unto whoſe Suite his Highneſſe did not onely give Way, and ſecond the Buſineſſe, but alſo in Signe of Love, entertaine, and countenance the ſaid Count (next unto his Majeſty) more than any, never reſting untill all was agreed (as Thankes be to God) it is now finiſhed.

Matters now being at Reſt, the Duke of *Bovillon*, and Count *Hannaw* having returned home againe, his Highneſſe removed to *Richmond*, where he lay untill the Progreſſe; the Pleaſure of the River running cloſe by the Houſe, inviting him now and then to ſwimme, which he endeavoured to learne in the Evening, to the Diſlike of many, who did ſee him ſwimme * after Supper, his Stomack being full, affirming it to be full of Danger, and that it was needleſſe for him to adventure himſelfe in the Water; but no Remedy, he would needs continue the ſame, and did untill his removing from thence. He did now alſo delight many Times to walke late at Night by the River's Side in Moone Light, to heare the Trumpets ſound an Eccho, which many ſuſpected, becauſe the Dew then falling did him ſmall good.

But the Time of the Progreſſe now approaching (when as he was commanded) he muſt needs meet the King his Father at *Beaver Caſtle* in *Nottinghamſhire* the ſecond *Saturday* after the Beginning of the ſame, which now drawing neere, his Highneſſe neither conſidering the Strength of his Body, the Greatneſſe of the Journey (being neere foureſcore and ſixteene Miles) nor the extreame and wonderfull Heat of the Seaſon, and notwithſtanding my Perſuaſions to the contrary, determined to ride that great Journey in 2 Dayes, according to which he ſet forth on *Fryday* by one of the Clock in the Morning from his Houſe at *Richmond*, comming to *Finchingbrooke* beſides *Huntingdon*, a Houſe pertaining to Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, Knight, Maſter of his Game, by tenne of the Clock in the Morning, which as they ſay is threeſcore Miles, in nine Houres poſting, where he remained all that Night, the next Day having ſix and thirty Miles to *Beaver Caſtle*, where he met with his Father juſt at the Time prefixed.

But the Time of one Thing, I had almoſt forgot to tell you, how before his Comming from *Richmond* in intending to feaſt the Court at his Mannor of *Woodſtock* about the End of this Progreſſe (it being the firſt Time of their generall Meeting there, ſince the Houſe became his) had given Order to his Officers to provide a moſt magnifique Feaſt againſt their Comming to the foreſaid Houſe; withall having ordained a great Summer-houſe of greene

* His frequent Swimming immediately after Supper, was moſt pernitious to his Health; for it ſtopt his bleeding at Noſe: whereupon the Bloud putrifying, engendered that fatall Fever which followed. Doctor *Mayerne*.

Boughes

Boughes to be built in the Parke wherein the great Supper ſhould be, all which was with Speed performed: meane while, although the Seaſon was exceeding hot, his Highneſſe did ride many and extraordinary Journeyes in the ſame (which as was thought) did much incline his boyling Bloud towards Inflamation.

At laſt, their Journies being towards an End, to *Woodſtock* they came, where his Highneſſe (according to his former Intention) did feaſt the Lords and Ladies at a long Table, neere which he himſelfe did beare them Company from the *Wedneſday* Night of their Comming, untill the *Sunday* Night, which (unknowne to him) he had appointed for the laſt great Farewell unto all his Friends; by this Time the appointed Night for this great Feaſt being come, his Highneſſe did himſelfe in Perſon come into the banqueting Houſe, to ſee all Things in good Order, for great was his Care to give Contentment.

At laſt, the King and Queene being ſet at a Table by themſelves at the upper End of the Roome, his Highneſſe with his Siſter, accompanied with the Lords and Ladies, ſitting at another Table of thirty Yards long and more, by themſelves, there was to be ſeene one of the greateſt and beſt ordered Feaſts as ever was ſeene, nothing wanting which any Way was fitting to adorn ſuch a ſolemne Meeting; all which, to the generall Joy of the whole Court, his Highneſſe, like to the Princely Bridegroom chearing and welcoming his Gueſts, there appeared an univerſall Contentment in all; but little knew he, that it was his laſt great Farewel to his Father, Mother, Siſter, yea, unto the whole Court, that it was his laſt Feaſt of Feaſts, one for all. And indeed, when we looke back unto the ſame, therein beholding his Highneſſe's cheerefull Carriage, the Time, Order, State, Magnificence, and Greatneſs thereof, we may behold ſomewhat ominous therein.

The *Monday* after, the Court removing from thence, his Highneſſe, after Leave obtained, haſted Home againe to *Richmond*, becauſe of the Newes of the *Palſegrave*'s Approach, whom he intended to grace with all poſſible Honour. Being returned, he began to give order for every thing, and to diſpatch all Affaires both of his owne, and concerning the following intended Triumphes, for his Highneſſe the *Palſgrave*'s better Welcome: He now alſo of himſelfe (I know not by what Motion) conſidering the great Paines, Deſerts, and ſmall Meanes of a Number of his Followers, who had ſpent much, and gotten nothing in his Service, did give order for a Number of ſeverall Penſions, according to his Diſcretion, to ſome of them, promiſing alſo, after a while (that none ſhould be diſcouraged) to remember the reſt.

But now, whether the continuall Violences of his Exerciſes, or his too frequent Eating of Abundance of Grapes, and other Fruits, or ſome ſettled Melancholly, engendred by ſome unknowne Cauſes, I cannot determine, yet did he looke ſtill more pale and thinne, from Day to Day, complaining now and then, of a cold, laſie, Drowſineſſe in his Head, which (as I think) moved him many Times to aſke Queſtions of divers about him, concerning the Quality, Cure, and Nature of the Feaver, called (for the ſtrange Diverſitie) *The new Diſeaſe*; belike, fearing ſome ſuch like Thing by his Indiſpoſition: He alſo uſed before this, now and then, and in his Sickneſſe to ſigh often,

whereof being ſometimes demanded the Cauſe by his Phiſitians, Doctor *Hamond*, and others neere him, he would ſometimes reply, that he knew not, ſometimes that they came unawares, and ſometimes alſo that they were not without Cauſe.

At the Beginning of *October*, his continuall Head-ach, Lazineſſe, and Indiſpoſition increaſing, (which notwithſtanding becauſe of the Time, he ſtrove mightily to conceale) whereas oft before, he uſed to riſe early in the Morning to walke the Fields, he did lye a-bed almoſt every Morning untill Nine of the Clocke, complayning of his Lazineſſe, and that he knew not the Cauſe; during which Time (belike jealous of himſelfe) he would many Mornings before his Riſing, aſke of the Groomes of his Bed-chamber, How doe I looke this Morning? And at other Times the ſame Queſtion againe; which they, fearing no Danger, to make his Highneſſe laugh, would put off with one Jeſt or other.

But he ſtill continuing ill, the Tenth of the foreſaid Moneth, he had two ſmall Fits of an Ague, forcing him to keepe his Chamber; which his Highneſſe finding, had ſome Speech with Doctor *Hamond*, his Phyſitian, willing belike to have taken ſome ſtrong Phiſicke, the ſooner to have removed the Cauſe. But he not daring to be too bold with his Highneſſe's Body, without a further Conſent, did onely give unto his Highneſſe a ſoftening Gliſter, which had its owne good Effects, ſtirring the Humours.

On the Morning, being *Tueſday*, the Thirteenth of *October*, he having (as was thought) taken Cold, had a great Looſeneſſe, his Belly opening 25 Times, avoiding a great deale of Choller, Flegme, and putrified Matter toward the Ende, yet for all this, on the Morrow, he finding himſelfe (as he ſaid) reaſonable well, becauſe of the *Palſgrave*'s Comming, he haſted from thence to Saint *James*'s, wherupon he gave Order, and would needes remove on *Thurſday*, the Thirteenth of the ſame Moneth, notwithſtanding any Perſwaſions whatſoever to the contrary, neither was it without great Danger (as they all ſhewed him) to hazard himſelfe abroad ſo ſoone, his Body being yet open: but he affirming himſelfe to be very well, would needes go on with his former Determination.

At laſt to Saint *James*'s he came, ſeeming well, but that he looked pale and ill, ſo that ſundry did ſpeake ſuſpitiouſly of his Lookes, fearing ſome Diſtemper in his Body: yet ſo ſtrong was his Minde, that complaining of nothing, he did beare out the Matter very bravely in Shew, being ſo well, that he gave his Phyſitian (who had waited a long Time) Leave to goe Home to his Houſe; meane while his Indiſpoſition ſtill continuing and increaſing, there might have beene perceived in him a ſudden great Change, for he began to be diſpleaſed almoſt with every thing, and to be exceeding curious in all Things, yet not regarding, but looking, as it were, with the Eyes of a Stranger upon them, for ſundry Things ſhewed him, which before he had wonted to talke of, aſke Queſtions, and view curiouſly, he now ſcarce vouchſafed to looke upon, turning them away with the Backe of his Hand, and departing, as who would ſay, I take Pleaſure in nothing; yet was he wonderfully buſie in providing, and giving Order for every thing belonging

longing to his Care, for his Sister's Marriage, advancing the same by all Meanes possible, keeping also his Highnesse the *Palsgrave* Company, so much as conveniently he could, together with Count *Henry* his Excellencie, *Grave Maurice* his Brother, whom he also much honoured and esteemed, belike because of a Noble and Heroicke Disposition, which he saw in him, fitting his Humour, with whom he used to play often at Cardes, and Tennis, delighting much in his Company; and above all the rest, one great Match they had at Tennis, on *Saturday* the 24. of *October*, the Day before his last Sicknesse, where his undaunted Courage, negligently, carelesly, and wilfully (neither considering the former weake Estate of his Body, Danger, nor Coldnesse of the Season) as though his Body had been of Brasse, did play in his Shirt, as if it had beene in the Heate of Summer; during which Time, he looked so wonderfull ill and pale, that all the Beholders tooke Notice thereof, muttering to one another what they feared: But he (the Match being ended) carried himselfe so well, as if there were no such Matter, having all this while a reasonable good Stomack to Meat; yet this Night, at his going to Bed, complaining more than usuall of his Lazinesse and Head-ache.

But oh whether goe I now? must I againe launch out into a Sea of Sorrowes, adding more Griefes unto our yet bleeding Wounds? Oh Death! was there no Remedy? When wilt thou make an End? Shall the Grave devour alwayes? Was thy Charge so strait that thou could'st shoote neither at great nor small, but at the *Prince* of our *Israel?* Doe sweete smelling Flowers so much delight thy grisly ghastly Senses Appetite, that thou wouldst gather none but our faireſt well beloved, scarce blowne, Rose? Why didst thou so soone robbe us? I know (but that thou, who scorneſt to reason with thy Captives, disdaineſt to answer thy Slaves) thou couldst give us many Reasons: Wherefore I leave to reason with thee, and turning againe to my dolefull Relation, will begin, *&c.*

Quanquam animus meminisse horret, luctusque refugit;

For, ——*Quis talia fando*
Temperet à lacrimis? &c.——

On *Sunday* Morning the five and twenty of *October*, 1612. the Morrow after his Highnesse's violent Play at Tennies, it was told him (the Custome of his House being to have the Sermon betimes in the Morning, for the most Part where the Court lay so neere; because he used after his owne, to heare the King's also) that Master *Wilkinson* one of his Father's Chaplaines, was ready, and did present his Service to preach that Morning (if it pleased his Highnesse to heare him) which he no sooner heard, but contrary to his late usuall Custome of long Time (although that Morning he found himselfe somewhat drousie and ill) addressed himselfe to be made ready, for he wonderfully delighted to heare the said Master *Wilkinson*; ever since the Time (long before) in which he heard him preach a Sermon of Judgement, which he did so well like of, that many Times he did speake of the same, affirming it to have

have beene ſo excellent, that he in a Manner did ſhew them the ſame; long it was not ere his Highneſſe was ready and gone to the Chappell to heare him.

But ere I proceed, give mee Leave I intreate you, to admire the wonderfull Providence and Goodneſſe of God, which did ſo provide for him a Sermon of *Mortification*, or Preparation, which you will: For the Time, Text, powerfull Delivery, *Method*, *&c.* were alſo fitting to our following unthought of *Funerall*, as though an Angell had come the whole Weeke before from Heaven, prefixing unto him the Time, Neceſſity, Text, Order, and Amplifications thereof, ſo truly did he thunder out the mortall Miſery of Mankind, but chiefely of *Princes:* The Text was out of *Job* the 14. and 1. Verſe, *Man that is borne of a Woman, is of full ſhort Continuance and of Trouble.* From which he ſhewed 3 Things; firſt, our miſerable Entry into the World, and ſhort Continuance; laſtly, our miſerable *Pilgrimage*, and Endurance in the World full of Trouble; in which the Miſery and Troubles of all Eſtates were well ſhewed, but chiefely thoſe of great Ones. Sermon being ended, his Highneſſe did commend the ſame, being very attentive all the Time thereof; preſently thereafter going into *Whitehall*, where he alſo did heare another Sermon with the King his Father; which being alſo done, to Dinner they went, his Highneſſe in outward Appearance eating with a reaſonable good Stomack, yet looking exceeding ill and pale, with hollow ghaſtly dead Eyes perceived of a great many.

The firſt Day.

After Dinner, for all his great Courage and Strife to over-maſter the Greatneſſe of his Evill, diſſembling the ſame, the Conquerour of all, about 3 a Clock in the Afternoone began to ſkirmiſh, with a ſuddaine Sickneſſe and Faintneſſe of the Heart (uſuall unto him) whereupon followed ſhortly after a Shaking, with a great Heat and Headache, which from henceforth never left him; his Highneſſe finding himſelfe thus ſuddainely taken, was forced to take his Leave, departing Home unto his Bed; where being laid, he found himſelfe very ill, remaining all this Evening in an Agony, having a great Drought (which after this could never be quenched but with Death) his Eyes alſo being ſo dimme, that they were not able to endure the Light of a Candle; for which that Night was ordained unto him a Cordiall of cooling *Ptiſan* for quenching of his Thirſt, with a moiſtning Broath to be given at the Ending of the Fit. This Night he reſted ill.

The ſecond Day.

On the Morrow after, being *Monday* the ſix and twenty of the Month, and the ſecond of his Sickneſſe; his Highneſſe felt ſmall or no Eaſe of his Headache, continuing bound in his Belly, his Pulſe beating exceedingly, his Water being crude, thinne, and whitiſh, which moved Doctor *Mayerne*, his Majeſtie's chiefe Phiſitian, to appoint for him a ſoftning Gliſter, which accordingly to their Deſire did worke very well. After which his Highneſſe finding Intermiſſion (which continued all that Day) did ariſe, and put on

his Cloathes, playing at Cards that Day, and the next alſo, with his Brother the Duke of *Yorke*, and Count *Henry:* meane while there were many Meſſages ſent from the Court, and every where elſe, to know how Things went, all which (no Creature ſurmiſing the leaſt Danger) were anſwered with good Hopes, yet his Highneſſe for all this looked ill and pale, ſpake hollow, and ſomewhat ſtrangely, with dead ſunk Eyes, his Drineſſe of Mouth and great Thirſt continuing, for the which that Night were ordained unto him by the foreſaid Doctors, ſharpe, tarte, cordiall and cooling Juleps, prepared with all kind of Cordials and Antidotes poſſible, his Brothes and Gellies being with the ſame Care ordained: yet his Drought and Head-ache continuing (which could not be ſtayed) he remained ſtill very ill, this Night reſting quietly.

The third Day.

On *Tueſday* the ſeven and twenty, the third Day of his Sickneſſe, he found ſome Eaſe in the Morning, ſo that they were all in good Hope that it would have proved but ſome Tertian, or baſtard Tertian at the moſt, notwithſtanding that his Highneſſe, ghaſtly rowling uncoath Lookes, did put them in ſome Feare.

This Day his Majeſty did ſend Maſter *Naſmith*, his Surgeon, to attend his Highneſſe during his Sickneſſe; unto whom, and divers others conferring of his Highneſſe's Sickneſſe, and the Danger of the ſame; Doctor *Mayerne* did ſay, that, in his Judgement, the ſureſt Way for his Highneſſe's Safety was bleeding (as was thought) very ſubſtantially proving from the very dangerous forenamed Accidents and Indications of this Tertian, which he feared to be venemous, by reaſon Humours ſeated in the naturall Parts, inclining, by reaſon of the Quantity, to a continuall; that Bleeding chiefly, and that in great Quantity with Reiteration (if Need ſo required:) Now whileſt his Highneſſe was ſtrong, naturall Heate not being decayed, nor too much oppreſſed, before that Feaver turned continuall, and he weaker, and leſſe able to endure hereafter, would prove the ſureſt Way for his Safety. But the ſame his Opinion, not being allowed of the reſt (whom by Conference, when he named, or ſpoke of Blood) he found directly oppoſite; there was as yet no Conſultation for Blood-letting, nor any Inclination that Wayes.

This Morning he did riſe and put on his Cloathes; but his Fit comming about Noone, firſt with a cold, then a great Heate, without any Sweat, continuing untill Eight a Clock at Night, he was forced to goe to Bed againe, this Night reſting quietly.

The fourth Day.

On *Wedneſday* the eight and twentieth, and fourth Day of his Sickneſſe, in the Morning, came Maſter *Butler*, the famous Phyſitian of *Cambridge*, a marvellous great Scholler, and of long Practiſe, and ſingular Judgment, but withall very humerous; who (whatſoever he thought) comforting him with good Hopes, that he would ſhortly recover, and that there was no Danger; yet ſecretly unto others, did not let to ſpeake doubtfully, (as they ſay, his Humour is) that he could not tell what to make of it, and that he did not well

well like of the ſame; adding further, that if he did recover, he was likely to lye by it for a great while, with divers other like Speeches; neither could he be perſwaded, all the Time of his Highneſſe's Sickneſſe, to ſtay any longer with him than one Houre, or thereabouts, every Morning; and ſo in the Afternoone, to give his Counſell and Advice with the reſt: what moved him I know not, whether he did miſlike the *French* Doctors Company, or becauſe the Cure was not committed to him as chiefe, or being jealous, and miſliking his Highneſſe's Diſeaſe, and therefore loved not to meddle too much in the Cure (which I rather imagine;) or whether his Health or Humour impeached the ſame, I dare not judge; the curious may beſt learne from himſelfe; yet having at his Comming enquired what was done, he approved the ſame, and wiſhed the Continuance of the ſame Proceedings, untill a further Judgement might be given of the ſame Event: yet did his Highneſſe finde ſmall or no Eaſe, but his Feaver, as yet not being continuall, he did riſe and put on his Clothes, they all as yet conceiving reaſonable good Hopes.

The former Daies and this, his Stomack was not quite loſt, but he would now and then take ſome ſuch Meate as the Phyſitians thought fitting; yet the Doctors, *viz. Mayerne*, *Hamond*, *Butler*, all conſidering the Greatneſſe of the Danger, and the Strangeneſſe of the Diſeaſe, the Water in no Way ſhewing the ſame, which made them the loather to meddle, untill the *Criſis* were ſeene, his Highneſſe remaining in the ſame Eſtate, the many dangerous forenamed Accidents, with the Good of the former Evacuations, his Belly now being hard bound, *&c.* would willingly have had more Doctors called for Conſultation; which his Highneſſe altogether refuſing to allow of, becauſe of the Confuſion, They by a generall Conſent (his Highneſſe then having Intermiſſion of his Fever) under all their Hands, did by their owne Report, give unto him a Purgation of *Sena* ſod, and *Rhubarb*, infuſed in Cordiall and cooling Liquors, with Syrupe of Roſes looſing, which working ſeven or eight Times, brought away great Store of putred Choler, and in the End Phlegme, the Urine inclining ſomewhat towards Concoction. But his Highneſſe after the Working thereof, found not that Eaſe that was expected; yet was ſtill fed with Hopes of his Recovery. But Night being come, (towards which, during all his Sickneſſe, he grew worſe than in the Morning, wherein he was more ſober alwaies than in the Evening) his Headache, Droughts and other Accidents, continuing, though not with Extremity, he reſted ill, and unquietly.

The fifth Day.

On *Thurſday* the nine and twentieth, and fifth Day of his Sickneſſe, Hopes began a little to diminiſh, howbeit that Morning his Headache was ſomewhat leſſened, his Breath alſo (which before was ſhort) being longer, which moved him to put on his Cloathes, endeavouring to riſe as he had done before; but his Head being ſo giddy, that he was not able to ſtand alone, he was forced to betake him to his Bed againe, from henceforth ever keeping his Bed: Nevertheleſſe the tingling of his Eares, the Leapings and Boundings continuing

tinuing alike; as alſo a ſmall Fitt comming upon him, with a little Coldneſſe, the Fever thereafter being continuall, with many ſmall Intermiſſions, and ſmall and great Redoublings, the Violence whereof cauſed his Tongue to become blacke and drie, the Leapings, and Boundings, and ſinging of the Eares encreaſing. Many neere unto him, jealous of ſo bad Signes without Amendment, feared the worſt, his Highneſſe now being forced to keepe his Bed continually, his Head being ſo giddy, that he could not ſtand upright, his Eyes alſo ſo dimme, that he could not indure the Candle Light; yet ſtill the Doctors, by Reaſon of his extraordinary Patience (not fully knowing the Danger which afterwards appeared) not willing nor daring to be too bold, untill ſome certaine further Knowledge, delaied to conclude of any Thing, ſave that his Highneſſe ſhould ſtill be plyed with all Sorts of Cordiall Juleps, which Art, or Experience could thinke of. Maſter *Butler*'s Adviſe, they ſay, was the ſame, that Cordialls externall, and internall, the Reſtoratives and Diet begun, ſhould be continued.

Thus, no other Courſe as yet being thought of, ſtill expecting the Succeſſe of new Daies; Delaies bred Danger, his Highneſſe remained ill, having no Evacuation by Sweat, neither was it expedient (as was thought) to force the ſame, ſtill expecting Nature's owne Time, which deceived them.

This Evening there appeared a fatall Signe about two Houres or more within the Night, bearing the Colours and Shew of a * *Rainbow*, which hung directly croſſe and over Saint *James*'s Houſe, it was firſt perceived about Seven a Clock at Night, which I my ſelfe did ſee, which divers others looking thereupon with Admiration, continuing untill paſt Bed-time, being no more ſeene: This Night was unquiet, and he reſted ill.

The ſixth Day.

On *Friday* the thirtieth, and ſixth Day of his Sickneſſe, he remained in the ſame Eſtate, no Creature knowing what to ſay or make of his Sickneſſe, ſome fearing one Thing, and ſome another, the Doctor's ſtill attending the Iſſue of the eight Day, but for all that his Highneſſe's Feaver remained continuall, withall the former cruell Accidents, for which this Morning was giving him a Gliſter for waſhing of his Bowels, in which he found ſome Eaſe.

About Three a Clock in the Afternoone came his leſſer Doubling; during which, his Breath became ſhort, his Face very red, his Pulſe beating very ſwiftly; in which Fit his Noſe began to bleed (as ſome thought about two Ounces) then after ſtaying of it ſelfe, whereby he found ſome Eaſe, not having bled (as his Cuſtome was) of a great while before.

From this Time forth, chiefely Doctor *Mayerne*, with Maſter *Naſmith*, his Majeſtie's Chirurgion, began to propound the Neceſſity of Bleeding, as heretofore they had done, whereunto Nature now invited, the Feaver remaining continuall, with a great abounding Fulneſſe, in a Conſtitution exceſſively hot, in a Body which had much uſed bleeding, deprived of that Benefit for ſome

* A *Lunar* Rainbow, very rare, and commonly fatall. *V. Ariſt. Meteor.*

Moneths before, yet the reſt being ſparing and loath to heare of the ſame, there was nothing done, this Day alſo paſſing as the reſt; all this while the exceſſive Paine of his Head continuing, as alſo his Heate and Thirſt, for which his Mouth and Tongue were continually waſhed; yet for all this his Highneſſe and the reſt were ſtill encouraged, that he ſhould ſhortly recover, although indeed he became ſtill worſe and worſe. This Night he reſted ill, being alwayes ſomewhat better in the Morning.

The ſeventh Day.

On *Saturday* the laſt of the Moneth, and ſeventh of his Sickneſſe, there appeared no Amendment, his Highneſſe continuing in a wonderfull exceſſive Heat, after which came the great redoubling, raving as he was awake, with Blackneſſe, Drines, and Clifts in his Tongue, was continually applied with all Things needfull, but to no Purpoſe, ſave a little Eaſe for the preſent, as alſo the tingling of the Eares, Leapings and Boundings became greater, the Urine's more crude, yet no Way ſhewing the Danger of the Diſeaſe all this while, untill a little before his Death; over and above all other Griefes he found his Head exceedingly pained, a Thing lying as it had beene a Lumpe in his Forehead, which together with the Ulceration of his Throat, made him loth to ſpeake, but when he muſt needs, and then not without great Paine, the Extremity, as it were, of the Evill overcomming and ſtupifying the Vitals and Senſes, ſtriving to ſubdue naturall Heat, and oppreſſing the Heart, notwithſtanding the doubling and trebling of the Cordials to withſtand the ſame.

This Day alſo, Nature (as the Day before) though not in Quantity, did (as was ſaid) ſhew the Neceſſity of Bleeding, for which Cauſe it was with more Inſtance againe propounded, and urged, than ever, as the onely Meanes, under God, to ſave his Highneſſe; at length after much adoe *pro & contra*, Doctor *Mayerne* urging, and Maſter *Butler* chiefely withſtanding the ſame, miſtaking the firſt Beginning of his Highneſſe's Sickneſſe, in the End, the three Doctors, *Mayerne*, *Hamond*, and *Butler* did agree, that on the Morrow being *Sunday* (the eighth broken, and the ſeventh whole Day of his laſt Sickneſſe) a Vaine ſhould be opened; all this while untill his Bleeding was paſt, they conceived good Hope of his Recovery, yet he remained dangerouſly ill; you muſt imagine that all this while of his Sickneſſe, the whole World did almoſt every Houre ſend unto Saint *James*'s for Newes; the better Sort who were admitted to viſit him; or acquainted with thoſe neere unto him, knowing the Danger, the reſt fearing nothing, imagining it onely to have beene ſome common Tertian, for which Cauſe in many Places neere unto the City he was thought dead and gone, before they knew that he was dangerouſly ſick. This Night was more cruell and unquiet unto him than any other.

The eighth Day.

On *Sunday* the firſt of *November*, and the eight Day of his Sickneſſe, according to their former Agreement, after much adoe, Maſter *Butler* reſiſting to conſent that he ſhould be let Bloud, becauſe (as he ſaid) it was the

eighth

eighth Day, proferring to have left them, untill he was forced to ſtay and give his Conſent; Doctor *Hamond* and others proving unto him, that it was not the eighth Day, his Highneſſe being ill of a long Time before, (howſoever he ſtrangely with a wonderfull Courage and Patience concealed the ſame;) his Highneſſe being ſtill after one, in the Preſence of the foreſaid Doctors, and divers others of very good Worth, in the Morning was drawne out of the *Median* of his right Arme, ſeven or eight Ounces of Bloud, during which Time he fainted not, bleeding well and aboundantly, deſiring and calling to them to take more, as they were about to ſtoppe the ſame, finding ſome Eaſe as it were upon the Inſtant: The Bloud being cold, was ſeene of all to be thinne, corrupt and putred, with a cholerick and blewiſh Water above, without any *Fibres*, or ſmall Strings, therein ſcarce congealed.

This Day, after his Bleeding, he found great Eaſe, inſomuch as ſince the Beginning of his Sickneſſe he had not found himſelfe ſo well, his Pulſe inclining towards a more gentle Motion, miſſing his former wonted cruell Doublings, and his former Accidents being leſſe and more mild. This Afternoone he was viſited by his Royall Father, Mother, Brother, Siſter, the *Palſgrave*, with divers others of the Court; all which conceiving good Hopes, departed from thence reaſonably cheerefull. Yet that Night (though better than others) he paſſed unquietly.

The ninth Day.

On *Monday* the ſecond of *November*, and ninth of his Sickneſſe, he became worſe than ever, the great redoubling comming upon him, accompanied with Redneſſe of Face, Shortneſſe of Breath, Increaſe of Drought, Blackneſſe of his Tongue, with exceſſive Heat, ſomewhat leſſe than it was the ſeventh Day, and Benumbings, which now, with the Encreaſe of all the former Accidents tormented him; briefely, ſo many evill Signes appeared, that ſome of the Doctors then plainely affirmed, that by violence of the Diſeaſe, the Bloud and Humours were retired in Aboundance, with great Violence towards the Braine, filling the Veins aboundantly (as afterwards in the opening did appeare) by reaſon whereof the Paine of his Head was extreame great, his Spirits being as it were overcome.

This Morning Doctor *Atkins* (a Phiſitian of *London*, famous for his Practice, Honeſty, and Learning) was ſent by his Majeſty to aſſiſt the reſt in the Cure; whoſe Opinion (as they ſaid) was, that his Highneſſe's Diſeaſe was a corrupt putred Fever, the Seat whereof was under the Liver in the firſt Paſſages, the Malignity whereof, he thought, by reaſon of the Putrifaction (in almoſt the higheſt Degree) was venemous.

This Day and the next, he was viſited by the King his Father, and others of the Court, whoſe exceeding Sorrow I cannot expreſſe; yet were they ſtill fed with ſome good ſmall Hopes of his Recovery. All this while, although he grew every Day worſe and worſe, yet none diſcouraged him with any Speech of Death (ſo loath they were to thinke of his Departure) he himſelfe being ſo tormented with this, and the next Dayes Sickneſſe, that he could

not thinke thereof; or if he had, yet the Phyſitians Courage, and Hope of Life, which good Opinion (his unſpeakable Patience not any way complaining, ſo that he could not have beene knowne to be ſicke, but by his Lookes) moved them to conceive, telling him there was no Danger, daſhed the ſame.

This Night came upon him greater Alienations of Braine, Ravings and idle Speeches out of Purpoſe, calling for his Cloathes, and his Rapier, *&c.* ſaying, he muſt be gone, he would not ſtay, and I know not what elſe, to the great Griefe of all that heard him, whoſe Hopes now began to vaniſh.

The tenth Day.

On *Tueſday* the third of the Moneth, and the tenth of his Sickneſſe, he became worſe than before, all his former Accidents encreaſing exceedingly, his Boundings being turned into Convulſions, his raving and benumming becomming greater, the Fever more violent; whereupon Bleeding was againe propoſed by Doctor *Mayerne*, and the Favourers thereof, who ſtill affirmed, that he did miſlike the too ſparing Proceeding with his Highneſſe; alledging, that in this Caſe of Extremity, they muſt (if they meane to ſave his Life) proceed in the Cure, as though it were to ſome meane Perſon, forgetting him to be a Prince, whom they had now in Hand, otherwiſe he ſaid, (for ought he ſaw) becauſe he was a Prince he muſt die, but if he were a meane Perſon, he might be ſaved. But this his Opinion being diſallowed of moſt, they continued and increaſed their Cordials, giving unto him a Glyſter, which brought away Aboundance of corrupt and putred Matter, together with ſome Rayſons, which (as was thought) he had eaten twelve Dayes before.

This Day alſo, for eaſing of the extreame Paine of his Head, the Hair was ſhaven away, and Pigeons and Cupping Glaſſes applyed to leſſen and draw away the Humour, and that ſuperfluous Blood from the Head, which he endured with wonderfull and admirable Patience, as though he had beene inſenſible of Paine; yet all without any good, ſave perhaps ſome ſmall ſeeming Hope of Comfort for the preſent.

Now began the Pilots, who guided this fraile Barque of his Highneſſe's Body, almoſt to deſpaire, to eſcape the enſuing Tempeſts; ſome of whoſe Lookes did now more than ever diſcourage the reſt. For this Night he became very weake, the Fever augmenting, the Raving becomming worſe than ever, in which he began to toſſe and tumble, to ſing in his Sleepe, profering to have leaped out of the Bed, gathering the Sheets together, the Convulſions being more violent; In which Extremity, his Tongue, Mouth, and Throat being more dry than ever, yet called he not for any kind of Moiſture, complaining of Thirſt, which evidently ſhewed, that the Vehemencie of his Diſeaſe had overcome the Seat of Reaſon, otherwiſe he could not but have complained, as he did before.

The eleventh Day.

On *Wedneſday* the fourth of *November*, and the eleventh Day of his Sickeneſſe,

neſſe, all Hopes of Recovery were leſſe than ever, the Phyſitians, Chirurgeons, and Apothecaries beginning to be diſmaied, but that like ſtout Pilots, they did beare it out bravely, ſo long as was poſſible; yet (as Men perplexed in ſuch an Extremity) the moſt Part were of Opinion, that the *Criſis* was to be ſeene, before a finall Reſolution, of which there was as yet ſmall Appearance: all the former Accidents meane while encreaſed, the whole World beginning to be afraide. This Day a Cocke was cloven by the Backe, and applyed unto the Soles of his Feet, but in vaine; the Cordials alſo were redoubled in Number and Quantitie, but without any Profit.

This Afternoone his Majeſtie hearing of his undoubted Danger (although more ſober than at other Times) came to ſee him; but being advertiſed how Matters went, and were likely to go, and what Addition of Griefe it would be unto him, to ſee his beſt beloved Sonne in that Extremity, he was at laſt perſwaded to depart without Viſitation, yet giving Order and Command before his Departure, that from thenceforth (becauſe his Highneſſe was continually moleſted with a Number, which out of their Love came to viſit him) no Creature ſhould be admitted to ſee him, ſave thoſe who of Neceſſitie muſt tend upon him, untill the Event and Iſſue of his Diſeaſe was ſeene, which was accordingly done; his Highneſſe for his more Eaſe, being removed into another longer and quieter * Chamber. But now all Things appearing to be out of Frame, and confuſedly Evill, without Hope of Amendment, whereof the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* hearing, he made ſo much the more Haſte unto his Highneſſe, whom after ſome Diſcourſe fitting that Time, ſeeing ſo much Care to be taken for the mortall Body, the immortall Soule being † neglected; he aſked his Highneſſe, whether there had beene any Prayers ſaid in his Chamber, ſince his Sickneſſe, or no? To whom he anſwered, that there had not: aleaging the Cauſe to have beene, the continuall Toile of the Doctors, Apothecaries, and Surgeons about him; and further, that untill now, he was not put in Minde thereof. But that, for all that, he had not failed to pray quietly by himſelfe, which his Anſwere pleaſing them well; the Archbiſhop againe demanded, if his Highneſſe would now from thenceforth be contented to have Prayers ſaid in his Chamber, which he willingly aſſented unto, aſking which of his Chaplaines were there preſent; amongſt whom, finding that Doctor *Milborne* Deane of *Rocheſter* was there preſent, he willed the ſaid *Deane* to be called, as being one, whom for his Learning, good Carriage, and profitable Preaching, above all the reſt he ever affected and reſpected.

The Archbiſhop meane while not willing too much to diſquiet his Highneſſe, called for to ſay Prayers that Evening at his Highneſſe's bed-ſide, where ſpeaking ſomewhat low, fearing to offend his diſtempered Eares, his Highneſſe willed him to ſpeake aloud, thereafter repeating the Confeſſion

* Juſt over this Chamber (wherein he dyed) did the End of the fatall Rainebowe, aforementioned, hang (as Doctor *Mayerne* obſerved.)

† Notwithſtanding the Prince was ſeriouſly remembred, to commend himſelfe into the Hands of God (before this) by Doctor *Mayerne*, who found his Reſolution therein, to be moſt heavenly and divine.

of

of his Faith Word by Word after him; from henceforth the foreſaid Deane continued to pray dayly with him at his Bed-ſide untill his Departure. This Night was unquiet as the reſt.

The twelfth Day.

On *Thurſday* Morning the fifth of *November*, and twelfth of his Sickneſſe, Newes was ſent unto his Majeſty of the undoubted Danger, and that there now remained no Hopes or Means of his Highneſſe's Recovery, but with deſperate and dangerous Attempts, which his Majeſty conſidering, gave Leave and abſolute Power to Doctor *Mayerne* (his chiefe Phiſitian) to doe what he would of himſelfe, without Advice of the reſt, if in ſuch an Extremity it were poſſible to doe any Thing for his Highneſſe's Safety; but he weighing the Greatneſſe of the Cure and Emminency of the Danger, would not for all that adventure, to doe any Thing of himſelfe, without Adviſe of the reſt (which he alwayes tooke) ſaying, that it ſhould never be ſaid in after Ages, that he had killed the King's eldeſt Sonne; his Majeſty meane while (whoſe Sorrow no Tongue can expreſſe) not willing, nor being able to ſtay ſo neere the Gates of ſo extreame Sorrow, more like a dead, than a living Man, full of moſt wonderfull Heavineſſe, removed to *Theobalds* (a Houſe twelve Miles from *London)* there to expect the dolefull Event.

Meane while amongſt the Doctors *Mayerne*, *Hamond*, *Butler*, and *Atkins*, Bleeding was now the third Time propoſed; ſome of them (as I thinke Doctor *Mayerne)* affirming, that the Bloud, which by the Vapours being violently thruſt upwards, filling the Braine, did cauſe by the maligne Acrimony and Quantity thereof, Ravings and Convulſions; which Accidents (although without ſeeming Paine, becauſe the Spirits were oppreſſed) did put his Highneſſe in imminent Danger, more than the Benumings, the Cauſe whereof was within the Ventricles of the Braine, as alſo the ſaid hot and cholerick Bloud in the Membranes; all which conſidered, and that his Highneſſe was yet of ſufficient Strength of Body, his Pulſe alſo able to endure, they ſaid, the Opening of a Vein was in their Judgement the onely Meanes left: But the reſt of the Counſell miſliking this Adviſe, did conclude to double and treble the Cordials, making a Revulſion from the Head with a Cliſter, whoſe Working was to ſmall Effect; ſave that his Highneſſe became more ſenſible thereafter: In the meane Time the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, hearing of the Danger, came unto his Highneſſe in great Haſte; where finding him in extreame Danger, he thought it now more than high Time to goe about another Kind of Cure; and therefore, like a wiſe and ſkilfull Phiſitian, firſt trying the Humour of his Patient, before he would proceed in the Cure, he addreſſed himſelfe gently and mildly to aſke how his Highneſſe found himſelfe ſince his Departure; at whoſe Reply, ſeeing every Thing amiſſe, he began againe further to feele his Mind, firſt preparing him his Antidote againſt the Feare of Death, that the Preparation thereunto, Meditation, and thinking thereof, could, nor would bring Death the ſooner, but the contrary rather, arming himſelfe ſo much the more againſt it; withall putting him in Mind of the *Excellency* and *Immortality* of the *Soule*, with the unſpeakeable

Joyes

Joyes prepared for GOD's *Children*; and the Baſeneſſe and Miſery of the Earth, with all the vaine, inconſtant, momentary, and fraile Pleaſures thereof, in reſpect of heavenly *Joyes*; with many other moſt excellent Meditations againſt the ſame Feare of Death.

Having thus prepared him to heare, he went further, putting him in Mind of the *Exceeding great Danger he was in*; and that although he might recover (as he hoped he ſhould) yet he might alſo die; and that ſince it was an inevitable and irrevocable Neceſſity that *All muſt once die*, late or ſoone, (Death being the Reward of Sinne) he aſked, if it ſhould ſo fall out, whether or no he was well pleaſed to ſubmit himſelfe to the *Will of God*; to which he anſwered, yea withall his Heart. Then the Archbiſhop went on demanding Queſtions of his Faith; Firſt of the Religion and Church wherein he lived; which his Highneſſe acknowledged to be the onely true Church, wherein onely, and without which there was no Salvation; Then of his Faith in Chriſt onely, by him, and in him, without any Merits of his owne, being aſſured of the Remiſſion of all his Sinnes; which he profeſſed he did, hoping and truſting onely therein; Then of the Reſurrection of the Body, Life Everlaſting, and the Joyes of Heaven; all which he confeſſed and beleeved, hoping with all Saints to enjoy the ſame.

This Conference, with a great deale more, the Archbiſhop had with him to this Purpoſe; (which may alſo give unto you abſolute Satisfaction of his Soules Health, if thereunto his Life be conſidered.) After which, fearing he ſhould too much diſquiet him, with many good Exhortations, he tooke Leave for that Time.

This Day being the fifth of *November*, a Day of everlaſting Remembrance and Thankſgiving for our Deliverance from the Powder Treaſon, was Order given every where unto all Churches, to pray for his Highneſſe, untill when, the great Danger was unknowne to the Commons, which was effectually as ever, untill his Death performed.

This Day, and at ſundry other Times ſince his Confuſion of Speech, he would many Times call upon Sir *David Murray* Knight (the onely Man in whom he had put choiſe Truſt) by his Name *David*, *David*, *David*; who when he came unto his Highneſſe, demanding his Pleaſure, in Extremity of Paine, and Stupefaction of Senſes confounding his Speech, ſighing, he did reply, I would ſay ſomewhat, but I cannot utter it; which Forme he ſtill uſed, ſo long as he had any perfect Senſe or Memory.

This done, alſo (but too late) to aſſiſt the reſt, came Doctor *Palmer*, and Doctor *Giffard*, famous Phiſitians for their Honeſty, Learning, and Phiſick, who with the former foure went all ſix to a Conſultation, what now remained finally to be done; wherein by ſome (as they ſay) was againe propounded the Neceſſity of Bleeding; the Opportunity whereof, by the Evacuation of his Belly, was now over paſſed.

In the End, the Doctors (long before this deſpairing of his Recovery) did at laſt agree upon *Diaſcordium*, as the onely Meanes (under GOD) now remaining, which tempered with cooler Cordials, was given him in the Preſence of many honourable Gentlemen, about Tenne a Clock at Night, the Operation

Operation whereof was ſmall or none; neither all this while did Nature of it ſelfe incline towards Sweating, and to force the ſame they thought it to no Purpoſe. This Night was unquiet as the reſt, his Accidents remaining in the ſame Sort, but now and then ſpeaking, but ſo confuſedly that he could not be underſtood.

Among the reſt this Night, about Midnight, Maſter *Naſmith* his Majeſtie's Surgeon, ſitting on his Bed-ſide, his Highneſſe pulled him unto him by the Hand, ſpeaking unto him ſomewhat, but ſo confuſedly, by reaſon of the rattling of his Throat, that he could not be underſtood; which his Highneſſe perceiving, giving a moſt grievous Sigh, as it were in Anger turned him from him; thereafter (unleſſe he were urged) never ſpeaking unto him, or any.

In this Extremity Sir *David Murray* (who in this one Death ſuffered many) came unto him, intreating him, and aſking him, that if he had any Thing to ſay which troubled him, that he would betimes make knowne his Mind: but his Spirits being overcome, and Nature weake, he was not able to ſay any Thing, ſave that of all other Buſineſſe, he gave Order for the burning of a Number of *Letters* in a certaine Cabinet in his Cloſet, which preſently after his Death was done.

Not long after (as I thinke) on *Friday* Morning about Three a Clock, his Back-bone, Shoulders, Armes and Tongue, by reaſon of the horrible Violence of the Convulſions, disjoyntingly deviding themſelves, the Effect ſhewing that the retentive Power was gone, the Spirits ſubdued, the Seat of Reaſon overcome, and Nature ſpent; in which Extremity, Fainting and Swooning, he ſeemed twice or thrice to be quite gone; at which Time there aroſe wonderfull great Shouting, Weeping, and Crying in the Chamber, Court, and adjoyning Streets, which was ſo great (together with ſomething elſe which they uſed) that they brought him againe.

This Crie was ſo great, that all thoſe in the Streets thought he had beene dead; whereupon it went for the moſt part current, in the City and Countrey, that he was gone.

I am not able to expreſſe the unſpeakeable Sorrow which every where was for this wofull Newes, chiefely in that dolefull Houſe, you may imagine no Thought can thinke the Greatneſſe thereof, nor Underſtanding conceive the ſame, this little which I have ſaid, overlading my Weakneſſe.

Thus given over of all into the Hands of God, did his Highneſſe lie in extreame Paine; during which, ſtill now and then (till two or three Houres before his Death) looking up, and ſpeaking, or endeavouring to ſpeake, which for Confuſion and Extremity of Paine (being ſo neere gone) could not be underſtood, all the World were ready in this Deſpaire, to bring cordiall Waters *Diaphoretick*, and *Quintiſſentiall* Spirits to be given unto him; amongſt which, one in the Afternoone was miniſtred; which ſet that little Nature remaining, on worke, forcing a ſmall Sweat, which, too late, was the firſt he had, Sir *Walter Raleigh* alſo did ſend another from the Tower, which whether or no to give him, they did a while deliberate.

After

After the Operation of the firſt, his Highneſſe reſted quietly a little while, preſently after falling into his former Extremities; whereupon (as the laſt deſperate Remedy) with the Leave and Adviſe of the Lords of the Counſell there preſent, the Cordiall ſent by Sir *Walter Raleigh* (after it had beene taſted and proved) was given unto him; but in vaine, ſave that forcing that Sparke of Life that remained, it brought him againe into a Sweat; after which, as before, he had ſome Reſt for a little while. But, no Remedy, Death would needs be Conquerour; in vaine did they ſtrive againſt the Streame, for he ſhortly after became wonderfull ill againe; Sight and Senſe failing, as alſo all the infallible Signes of Death approaching; In which Extremity, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* being there preſent, who ſeeing it was now the Time of Times, before the laſt Gaſpe, to miniſter ſome Comfort unto his Highneſſe (if as yet there were any Sence remaining) came unto him, firſt ſpeaking aloud; putting him in Mind of all thoſe Things which he had ſpoken unto him the Day before in his perfect Senſe, calling aloud in his Eare, to remember CHRIST JESUS, to beleeve, hope, and truſt onely in him, with aſſured Confidence of Mercy, to lift up his Heart, and prepare him to meete the Lord JESUS, with many other divine Exhortations: Thereafter calling more loud than ever, thrice together in his Eare, Sir heare you mee, heare you mee, heare you mee; If you heare mee, in certaine Signe of your Faith, and Hope of the bleſſed Reſurrection, give us for our Comfort a Signe, by lifting up of your Hands, which he did, lifting up both his Hands together: Againe he deſired him yet to give him another Signe, by lifting up his Eyes; which having done, they let him alone; for the Archbiſhop had with Streames of Teares, powred out at his Bed-ſide, a moſt exceeding powerfull paſſionate Prayer.

All this while alſo, from three a Clock in the Morning untill Night, there was continuall Prayer in the Houſe, and in every Place where the Danger was knowne; by which his Time growing neerer and neerer, and he weaker and weaker; thus did he lie, patiently ſtriving betwixt Death and Life, unavoidable Neceſſity, and GOD's Will forcing Patience, and againe invincible Courage and Magnanimity (loath to be overcome) ſhewing ſome Indignation and Contempt of Death: yea Death it ſelfe (for all his Cruelty) ſtood a long while hovering in Doubt what to doe, ſo did his Highneſſe's young Yeares, his Triumphes at Hand, the Teares, and exceeding Sorrow of Father, Mother, Brother, Siſter, the howling Cries of his Servants, and of the whole Land (who ſaid, her Loſſe, above all was moſt unſpeakeable) move his hard Heart to Pitty: But a greater Crie before this, having outcried thoſe Cries (even the Crie of our Sinnes) there was no Remedy: for Death (although unwilling) not being able to reſiſt the forepaſſed Decree, muſt needs ſtrike the cruell Stroke; many Times did he from that Morning untill Night offer to ſhoote and thruſt in his Dart a little, yet pulling it preſently backe againe, as it were of Purpoſe delaying the Time, expecting ſome mercifull Meſſage from Heaven, untill at laſt the cloudy Night bewraying the irrevocable Doome, by Nature's Decay, the Exceſſe of Paine having taken away the Senſe thereof, of meere Pitty, that thereby he might open unto him the

Doore of Heaven for his Paſſage into Glory, being loath that the Angell, (who had long attended to convey his Soule unto Heaven, ſhould make any longer Stay) he thruſt his Dart quite thorow; after which, his Highneſſe quietly, gently, and patiently, halfe a Quarter, or thereabouts, before eight a Clocke at Night, yeelded up his Spirit unto his Immortall Maker, Saviour, and Reſtorer, being attended unto Heaven, with as many Prayers, Teares, and ſtrong Cries, as ever Soule was, on *Fryday* the ſixth of *November*, 1612. The Corps ſhortly after (as the Cuſtome is) was laide along upon a Table on the Floore, being the faireſt, cleareſt, and beſt proportioned, without any kinde of Spot or Blemiſh, as ever was ſeene.

On the Morrow after came the Lords of the Councell, by Appointment from his Majeſtie, to give Order for the Opening of his Body, *&c.* which was the ſame Night effected, about Five a Clocke in the Evening, in Preſence of the Phyſitians and Chirurgions who aſſiſted the Cure, together with the Phyſitian of the Prince *Palatine*, with many other Knights and Gentlemen, in the Chamber where he dyed, by the Chyrurgeons of his Majeſtie, and his late Highneſſe, under all their Hands, as followeth.

The Skinne, like that of a dead Man, blacke; but no Way ſpotted with Blackneſſe, or pale Markes, much leſſe marked with Purples like Flea-bites, which could ſhew any contagious or peſtilentiall Venome. About the Place of his Kidneys, Hips, and behind the Thighes, full of Redneſſe; and by reaſon that with great Paine he had a lor_ while lien upon his Backe, his Belly ſomewhat ſwollen and ſtretched out, by reaſon of the Windineſſe which iſſued out of the ſmalleſt Opening made in the Navill, ſomewhat high naturally, incontinently the Belly falling; the Stomacke whole and wholſome within and without, having never all his Sickeneſſe Time beene troubled with Vomitting, Loathings, or Yealpings, or any other Accident which could particularly ſhew that it was attainted. The Liver without, in his higheſt Parts, marked with ſmall Spots, and in the lower with ſmall blackiſh Lines, paler and blacker than was fitting: The Gall, and Bladder, void of any Humour, full of Wind: The Spleen on the top, and in the lower End blackiſh, filled with a blacke heavy Blood: The Kidneys faire, and without any Blemiſh: The Midriffe under the Filme, or Membrane, containing the Heart (which contained a little Moiſture) ſpotted with blacke, as it were a leadiſh Colour, by reaſon of the Bruiſing: The Lungs almoſt for the greateſt Part blacke, the reſt all ſpotted with blacke, all imbrewed, and full of aduſt Blood, with a corrupt and thicke Serocitie, which by a Vent made in the Body of the Lungs, came forth foaming in great Abundance; in which doing, and in cutting the ſmall Skinne which invironeth the Heart, to ſhew the ſame, the Surgeon by chance having cut the Trunck of the great Veine, the moſt Part of the Bloud iſſued out into the Cheſt, leaving the lower Veines empty; upon Sight whereof the Company did draw Conſequents of an extreame Heat and Fulneſſe, the which yet appeared more evident in this, that the Windepipe with the Throat and Tongue were covered with a thicke Blackeneſſe; and amongſt other Accidents, the Tongue cleft, and dry in many

many Places: The Heart ſound and dry, in all Appearance, good in all his Quallities.

The hinder Veines, which are in the inmoſt Filme of the Braine, called *Pia mater*, ſwolne and ſtufft with Abundance of Blood, a great deale more than naturall, the Subſtance of the Braine faire and cleare, but the Ventricles thereof full of a cleare Water, which after the Inciſion ranne forth in great Abundance: One Part of which Accidents (as they thought) was ingendred, onely by reaſon of the Fever maligne, by reaſon of the Putrifaction of divers Humours gathered together of a long Time before, his Highneſſe not being ſubject to any dangerous Sickneſſe by Birth; the other Part, by reaſon of the Convulſions, Reſoundings, and Benummings, which by reaſon of the Fulneſſe, choaking the naturall Heat, and deſtroying the Vitals, by their Malignitie, have conveyed his Highneſſe to the Grave, without any Token or Accident of Poyſon.

Thus (or very neere thus) loſt we the Delight of Mankind, the Expectation of Nations, the Strength of his Father, and Glory of his Mother, Religion's ſecond Hope: Fooliſh People immagine, that they have done enough, when they have railed upon the Phyſitians, as though they could have altered Providence, by prolonging his Life, never truly beholding the Omnipotent Power bereaving him, which although in his Sickneſſe, untill the Blow was given, could not be ſeene, yet now (even of the Blind) may be eaſily diſcerned. And I pray you, if we narrowly looke upon the Practiſe of the Meanes, what Omiſſion of the Duty ſhall we find therein? Some neere his Highneſſe, together with Doctor *Mayerne*, at firſt called and wiſhed he might bleed; others againe, miſliked the ſame; both learned.

The Phyſitians, although jarring at firſt in their Propoſitions and Reaſons, at laſt did every Thing by a common Conſent under all their Hands; nothing was wanting, which either Art or Experience could thinke thereof, whatſoever they did, they always thought moſt ſafeſt and beſt. They toiled continually Day and Night, and if it pleaſed not GOD to give a Bleſſing to the Meanes, muſt they therefore be blamed? You know *Paul* may plant, and *Apollos* may water, but it is GOD that giveth the Increaſe. But imagine, there had beene any ſuch Strife amongſt them, the Phyſitians, as it is reported, what ſhould we thinke thereof, but that the GOD of Order will ſometime have his Will brought to paſſe, by a Kind of Confuſion, as he overthrew the Tower of *Babel*, with the Hoſts of *Midian*, &c. So in Phiſicke, when his Will muſt be done, if it pleaſe him to breake and take away the Staffe of Bread, not bleſſing the Meanes; who, I ſay, can lett him (whoſe Will muſt be our Law) to doe whatſoever he will.

Indeed his Highneſſe's great and extraordinary Patience, ſtriving ſo long to over maſter, and hide the ſame in his Health, in my Judgement, did much wrong the Phyſitians, who by Reaſon of his Patience, never dreamed of his Danger; as alſo his moſt wonderfull and matchleſſe Patience all the Time of his Sickneſſe, ſhewing no Kind of froward Diſpoſition; lying in Shew (for any Complaints were heard of him) as though he had never been ſicke nor ſore. As alſo the Urines, which untill a little before his Death,

ſhewed no ſuch Danger; with the dangerous unknowne State of his greateſt Griefe cloſely rooted in his Head (as in the Opening hath beene ſeene) which could not at firſt be fully knowne, untill too late; the Picture of Death by a ſtrange extraordinary Countenance, having from the Beginning poſſeſſed him: vaine Rumors alſo have beene ſpreade Abroad, that he was poyſoned: But if the former Diſcourſe be well conſidered, his Death, in my Judgement, will appeare to have beene naturall, grounded upon very urgent Cauſes. For the Phiſitians in Opening found no ſuch Cauſe in his Internalls, upon his Skinne being no kinde of Spot, or any ſuch Suſpition. To ſurmiſe as ſome have done, that he was poiſoned by a *Sent*, conſidering the Premiſes, mee thinkes were great Folly, contrary to the Opinions of all the learned, who upon this Relation to his Majeſty, proved him free from any ſuch Infection: For my Part, my Skill reacheth not to determine of any Thing; onely I thinke it beſt to hold, that he died in the Rage of a malicious and extraordinary burning Feaver, wherein his Vitals and Senſes were from the Beginning ſo over-preſſed, ſtupified, and amazed, chiefely the Heart and Head, which notwithſtanding all Cordials and other Helpes uſed (God not bleſſing the Meanes) could never be releeved.

The *Monday* after, the Right Honourable the Lords of the Privy Counſell of his Majeſty, with exceeding Care came to Saint *James's*, to give Order for all Things belonging to ſo wofull a Buſineſſe; according to which, the whole Houſe, Chappell, great Chamber, Preſence, Lobby, Privy Chamber, and Bed Chamber, were all hung in Black with all Things fitting, thick ſet with Scutcheons of his Highneſſe's divers Armes, which being done, under the State in the Chamber where he firſt ſickened, appointed for the Coffin, there was a Place erected above an Ell in Heigth, where it was to ſtand to be watched untill the Funerall; Threeſcore and tenne Gentlemen of his Servants, ordinary and extraordinary (which were all he had) being appointed Night and Day to attend the ſame, tenne at a Time, it being ſo ordered that the tenne who watched in the Night, did conſtantly wait the third Day after; Meane while was Order given that the Funerall ſhould be ſolemnized on *Monday* the 7. of *December* following; untill which Time, I will not renew Griefes in remembring the unſpeakeable Sorrow which was in that wofull Houſe, now longing to doe their laſt Duty.

The Time of the Funerall now approaching, on *Thurſday* the third Day of *December* the Coffin was removed from the Chamber where it ſtood all this while, unto the Privy Chamber, there being watched for that Night. On the Morrow it was removed from thence to the Preſence Chamber, where it remained all that Night untill the next Day, being *Saturday* at three a Clock in the Afternoone, at which Time his Crowne and Cap of State were ſet upon a Cuſhion at the Head of the Coffin; after which the Heralds marching before the ſame, the Coffin was removed by the Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber unto the great Chamber, where his Guard attended, in which it was ſet downe for the Space of a Quarter of an Houre; thereafter being lifted againe by the foreſaid Gentlemen, it was brought downe Staires towards the Chappell, where againe for a pretty while it was ſet downe in the Court; where

where being lifted againe, the Gentlemen of his Majeſtie's Chappell ſinging mournefull Ditties before them, it was brought into the Chappell, and there placed under a Canopy ſet with great Armes of the Union at full, chained with divers other Scutcheons and ſeverall Armes, there to remaine untill the Funerall Day; This *Sunday* at Night before the Funerall, his Repreſentation was brought (made in ſo ſhort Warning, as like him as could be) and apparelled with Cloathes, having his Creation Robes above the ſame, his Cap and Crowne upon his Head, his Garter, Coller, with a *George* about his Neck, his golden Staffe in his Right Hand lying croſſe a little; briefely, every Thing as he was apparelled at the Time of his Creation; which being done, it was laid on the Back on the Coffin, and faſt bound to the ſame, the Head thereof being ſupported by two Cuſhions, juſt as it was to be drawne along the Streets in the Funerall Chariot, drawne by eight black Horſes, decked with his ſeverall Scutcheons and Plumes.

But now the Time being come, and all Things to adorne the Triumphes of his mournefull *Hadadrimon*'s black Day, the Funerall being foure Houres in Marſhalling and Marching, ſet forth about Tenne a Clock in the Morning, there being (as was thought) the Number of 2000 Mourners in black; the Relation whereof were now to no Purpoſe, ſince the Order, Rankes, and Names are already printed in a Booke to be ſeene: As it paſſed along, the whole World, ſenſible and inſenſible Things, and Creatures ſeemed to mourn, and have Compaſſion, Heaven and Earth and all: There was to be ſeene an innumerable Multitude of all Sorts of Ages and Degrees of Men, Women, and Children, whoſe wonderfull Sorrow who is able to expreſſe? Some holding down their Heads, not being able to endure ſo ſorrowfull a Sight, all mourning, which they expreſſed by ſeverall Sorts of Lamentation and Sorrow, ſome Weeping, Crying, Howling, Wringing of their Hands, others halfe dead, Swooning, ſighing inwardly, others holding up their Hands, paſſionately bewayling ſo great a Loſſe, with Rivers, nay, with an Ocean of Teares: Well, on they came at laſt to *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, the Buriall Place, where after the dolefull Muſick of all Sorts being ended, the Coffin was ſet under a great ſtately Herſe, built quadrangle-wiſe with eight Pillars, ſhewing three to the View on each ſide four ſquare, Canopy like, riſing ſmall on the Top, trimmed and ſet thick within and without with divers Scutchions, ſmall Flagges, and Penſils of his Highneſſe's ſeverall Armes of the Union chained, *Scotland*, *Wales*, *Cornewall*, *Cheſter*, *Rothſay*, *Carrick*, &c. mingled here and there, with his Highneſſe's Motto, *Fax mentis honeſtæ Gloria*, and that of the Funerall Herſe, *Juvat ire per Altum*. After which the whole Aſſembly having taken their Places, Banners, Bannarets, and Penſills of all Sorts being at reſt, after an univerſall Silence, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (who was appointed to doe his Highneſſe the laſt Duty) was ſeene in the Pulpit, who with a grave ſober Countenance, ſhewing the inward Sorrow of his Heart, after a little Pauſe and Prayer, did with exceeding Paſſion make the Funerall Sermon; of which, though you write that you are marvailous deſirous to heare the Relation, yet I am loath to ſay any Thing, fearing to wrong ſo great and grave a Perſon: Nevertheleſſe, ſince I have adventured

tured thus farre (I hope without Offence) I ſhall here (as neere as I can remember) rehearſe a Word or two thereof, whereby you may judge of the reſt.

The Text was out of the 82. *Pſalme*, the ſixth and ſeventh Verſes: *I have ſaid yee are Gods, and yee are Children of the moſt high: But yee ſhall die as a Man, and yee Princes ſhall fall like others.* Where after he had moſt learnedly, by way of Introduction, ſpoken of the Authour, Occaſion, Scope, and Meaning of this *Pſalme*, he devided the ſame into two maine Branches. Firſt, the Exaltation of *Princes*; *I have ſaid yee are Gods*, &c. Secondly, in what Reſpect they are ſo called. Again, in the Humiliation, leſt they ſhould be out of Meaſure exalted, he admirably proved, by infinite Variety of Examples, both divine and morall, the Vanity and Inconſtancy of Greatneſſe, with all the ſhadowiſh Toyes thereof: Thirdly, for ocular Proofe and Uſe of all, inviting their Eyes to the preſent dolefull Spectacle of their late ever renowned *Prince*, who, not long agoe, was as freſh, brave, and gallant as the beſt of them, unto whom all the Delights and Pleaſures of the World did begge for Acquaintance, lacking nothing which Heart could wiſh for, who yet now for our Sinnes lay thus low, bereaved of Life and all Being, was forced to prove the Truth of this Text, not onely to fall, but to fall as others.

After which, when he had moſt truly and excellently ſhewed a Part of his Highneſſe's Excellencies, and many noble Vertues (for all was not poſſible) chiefely his rare and ſingular Piety both in himſelfe, and in the Governement of his Houſhould, which he ſo extolled, that he profeſſed he would not be aſhamed hereafter to propoſe the ſame for a Rule unto himſelfe. For Conſolation unto them all, he ſhewed the exceeding Meaſure of Felicity, his Highneſſe had attained unto by Death, and that now in Reſpect of himſelfe he was not to be pittied, being compared with thoſe, who had out lived him, the ſame one brave Ship lying amongſt a Number of others, all tending towards one Haven, whither at length they muſt needs all come, or ſhip-broken periſh by the Way, which ſetting forth betimes, as it were, new, freſh, and ſtrong, with a faire Gale of Wind, arriveth quickly without any Danger at the Haven of Safety; whereas the reſt loytering a long Time by theſe, and theſe Inticements, ſet forth at laſt in a more dangerous Seaſon, ſome overladen, ſome miſſing of their Way, ſome with Leakes, ſome wracked, ſome ſtarved, ſome drowned, all exceedingly Tempeſt-beaten, with much adoe recovering their deſired Haven; Even ſo, he ſaid, his late Highneſſe had gotten the like Advantage of all thoſe who had out-lived him; all which laded with infinite more Sinnes, indangering their ſafe Paſſage, muſt either periſh by the Way, or ſtorme beaten, arrive with much Toyle, whither he betimes with Eaſe attained. So with Exhortation unto all, to make right Uſe thereof, with exceeding great Paſſion and many Teares, he ended.

This very Day alſo the two Univerſities, *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, did ſolemnize this blacke Day, with all the Signes of Sorrow which could be imagined, having in their two Univerſitie Churches Funerall Sermons, all mourning, both in Heart, Habite, and Countenance; the Forerunners of

which their extreame Sorrow, long before this, in their ſeverall Bookes of mourning *Epitaphs* burſt forth, *Oxford* in her *Juſta Oxon:* and *Cambridge* in her *Epicedium Cantabrig. &c.* with divers other Orations to this Purpoſe. The Funerall Sermon, in Saint *Maries*, *Oxon*, was preached by Doctor *Goodwin*, Deane of *Chriſt-Church* Colledge there; the Text being out of *Eſay*, the 57. 1. *The Righteous periſheth, and no Man conſidereth it in his Heart; and mercifull Men are taken away from the Evill to come.* In which he was not onely exceedingly moved himſelfe, but alſo moved the whole Univerſitie and City, to ſhedde Fountaines of Teares.

The other of *Cambridge*, was preached by Doctor *Carey*, Maſter of *Chriſts Colledge*, and Vice-Chancellour of the Univerſitie, his Text being out of the ſecond of *Samuel*, Chap. 3. verſe 34. the laſt Words of the Verſe: *And all the People wept againe for him.* In ſpeaking whereof, and weeping himſelfe, he made all the People weepe againe and againe.

The Archbiſhop's Sermon (as aforeſaid) being ended, the Earles, Lords, and Barons, *&c.* by this Time having offered up their ſeverall Banners, and Honours which they carryed; as alſo the great Officers of his Houſe, Sir *Thomas Challenor* Chamberlaine, Sir *Charles Cornwallis* Treaſurer, Sir *John Holles* Comptrouler, together with his three Gentlemen-Uſhers, *Walter Alexander*, *Anthony Abington*, and *John Lumley*, having all by degrees (Sir *Thomas Challenor* beginning) broken their White Staves and Rods croſſe-wiſe over the Coffin, thereby reſigning their Places, the Aſſembly diſſolved; the Coffin with the Repreſentation (as is before ſaid) remaining ſtill under the Hearſe, to be ſeene of all, untill the 19. of the ſaid Moneth of *December*, when decked and trimmed with Cloathes, as he went when he was alive, Robes, Collar, Crowne, Golden Rodde in his Hand, *&c.* it was ſet up in a Chamber of the ſaid Chappell at *Weſtminſter*, amongſt the Repreſentations of the Kings and Queenes, his famous Predeceſſors, where it remaineth for ever to be ſeene.

He was of a comely, tall, middle Stature, about five Foot and eight Inches high, of a ſtrong, ſtreight, well-made Body (as if Nature in him had ſhewed all her cunning) with ſomewhat broad Shoulders, and a ſmall Waiſte, of an amiable Majeſticke Countenance, his Haire of an aborne Collour, long faced, and broad Forehead, a piercing grave Eye, a moſt gracious Smile, with a terrible Frowne, courteous, loving, and affable; his Favour, like the Sunne, indifferently ſeeming to ſhine upon all; naturally ſhamefaced, and modeſt, moſt patient, which he ſhewed both in Life and Death; ſlow to Anger, that even then, when he was many Times moſt offended, he would (overcomming himſelfe) ſay nothing; mercifull he was after he had a little puniſhed the Offendors; neither did hee judge raſhly, but after due Examination of both Parties; Diſſimulation he eſteemed moſt baſe, chiefly in a Prince, not willing, nor by Nature being able to flatter, fawne, or uſe thoſe kindly, who deſerved not his Love. Quicke he was to conceive any thing, not raſh, but mature in Deliberation, yet moſt conſtant having reſolved: true of his Promiſe; moſt ſecret even from his Youth, ſo that he might have beene truſted in any thing that did not force a Diſcovery: being of a cloſe Diſpoſi-

tion,

tion, not eaſie to be known, or pried into: of a fearleſſe, noble, heroicke, and undaunted Courage; thinking nothing unpoſſible, that ever was done by any: a few faire Words prevailed more with him, than all the Threats of the World: very pittifull and tender-hearted unto any in Miſery, whom, upon Petition, he ever ſome Way releeved.

Moſt ardent in his Love to Religion, to which Love, and all the good Cauſes thereof, his Heart was bent by ſome Meanes or other (if he had lived) to have ſhewed, and ſome Way to have compounded the unkind Jarres thereof; he well ſhewed his Love to good Men, and Hatred of the Evill, in diſcerning a good Preacher from a vaine-glorious, in whom above all Things he abhorred Flattery, loving and countenancing the Good; of the Idle and Loytering never ſpeaking but with Diſdaine; in which he ſhewed he had a Heart flexible to Good, and all kind of Goodneſſe, which (as I thinke) was the Cauſe one Day, he uttered this Speech of the Deane of *Rocheſter* his Chaplaine.

That he thought, whereas he and others like him, at their firſt Entry into the Pulpit, did looke him in the Face, their Countenance did, as it were ſay unto him: Sir, you muſt heare me diligently; you muſt have a Care to obſerve what I ſay: As alſo in his Conſtancie in obſerving the Prayer Time, duely before Dinner and Supper, which untill his Death he never willingly omitted, whatſoever Haſte he had, or were it never ſo late.

What ſhould I yet adde, his Conſcience of an Oath, that he was never heard (I now appeale to Envy it ſelfe) to take GOD's Name in vaine, with an Addition of any other ſeeming Light, much leſſe horrible Oathes, with full ſwinge of Paſſion; witneſſe the Teſtimony of the Moſt Reverend, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in his Funerall Sermon, wherein was remembred by him, (amongſt many other Things) that ever memorable Reply of his Highneſſe, who being aſked one Day (by one that greatly rejoyced, his Highneſſe was no Swearer) why he did not ſweare in Play aſwell as others; to his eternal Praiſe made this Reply, That he knew no Game worthy of an Oath.

To live long he never deſired, nor aſpired, many Times ſaying, that it was to ſmall Purpoſe for a brave gallant Man, when the Prime of his Dayes were paſt, to live ſo long untill he was full of Aches, Soares, &c. uttering contemptible Speeches of Death; affirming many Times, that he neither deſired, nor aſpired, or hoped to live long, and that when he ſhould be ſicke three or foure Daies together, then GOD have Mercy on me, would he ſay.

Popery, with all the Adjuncts and Adherents thereof, he hated to the Death; yet he would now and then uſe particular Papiſts very kindly, ſhewing that he hated not their Perſons, but their Opinions.

I muſt not forget his Love to Learning, to the Muſes, to all the Learned who any Way did excell; to the two Univerſities, chiefly *Oxford* (becauſe mourning *Cambridge* did never injoy his Preſence) whoſe unſpeakeable Sorrow for his Death, will ſhew the great Portion of his Love they injoyed. I ſhould but increaſe Sorrow, to tell you how exceeding kindly their Vice-chancellor, Doctors, Graduates, and Students were uſed, when they came to ſee him at *Woodſtock*; what Care he had to give them Contentment, how carefull

carefull he was, and what ſpeciall Commands were generally given throughout the whole Houſe, that they ſhould not want the ſame; of his mild and grave Carriage towards them, and his loving Speeches in their Abſence.

No leſſe carefull he was to obey the King his Father in every Thing, being alſo very diligent to obſerve and honour the Queene his Mother, ſo much as in him lay, or as poſſible he might; wiſe he was to know and not know, ſee and not ſee, almoſt every Thing which was done or ſaid. Wonderfull was his Care and Wiſedome in governing of his Houſe, and Revenues, giving Order and ſeeing every Thing done almoſt himſelfe, ſo that ſcarce were there any of his Houſhold Servants whom he did not know by Name, amongſt whom there was not one knowne or ſuſpected Papiſt, his Care being ſo great, that all Communicants Names ſhould be written up, that he might know if there were any, that would not receive.

So that I may moſt truly affirme, that ſince the Beginning of Princes no Houſe did ever exceede him in all Things; His Revenues he left increaſed by thouſands a Yeare; ſparing he was, yet liberall where either Honeſty, Deſert, or Poverty did move him; neither (whatſoever the World thinke) was he ever knowne to give away any Thing, or promiſe any Thing but upon mature Deliberation; as for thoſe Penſions which he gave a little before his Death, they were either given to ſuch as had very well deſerved them, or who having ſpent their Meanes in his Service, he could not out of his noble Diſpoſition but relieve, thinking it better to doe ſo, than beſtow upon them other unknowne Suites and Leaſes, which otherwiſe he muſt needs have done; he was loving and kind to Strangers, whoſe Hearts upon ſmall Acquaintance he did eaſily gaine. In State Matters and Petitions not pertaining unto him, he was ever ſparing and not willing to meddle: In his owne Affaires touching Coppy-holds, Leaſes, or any Thing of like Nature, whatſoever Abuſes were, he ever redreſſed, or minded to helpe, upon Petition of the Party aggreeved.

Friday being the Day wherein he died (I know not by what naturall Inclination, or Motion) he did not of a long Time before his Death love, miſliking it above all the Dayes of the Weeke, upon which he would not willingly uſe any kind of Exerciſe, or ride any Journey, ſometimes not ſo much as play at Cards thereon, alleaging that he continually found ſome Indiſpoſition upon that Day, and that he never had good Luck upon a *Friday*, ſuch an ominous Conceit of the Diſmalneſſe of this Day having poſſeſſed him, which at length proved to be the Period of his Dayes.

He loved and did mightily ſtrive to doe ſomewhat of every Thing, and to excell in the moſt excellent; he greatly delighted in all Kind of rare Inventions and Arts, and in all Kind of Engines belonging to the Warres, both by Sea and Land: In the Bravery and Number of great Horſes; in ſhooting and levelling of great Peeces of Ordnance; in the Ordering and Marſhalling of Armes; in Building and Gardening, and in all Sorts of rare Muſique, chiefely the Trumpet and Drumme; in Limming, Painting, and Carving, in all Sorts of excellent and rare Pictures, which he had brought unto him from all Countries.

What ſhould I ſay more of him? over and above all theſe Things, he had a certaine Kind of extraordinary unſpeakable Excellency, my fraile Penne and dull Stile not being able to expreſſe the ſame, gathered (out of Queſtion) by him long agoe from the plentifull Garden of the King his Fathers all admired *Bazilicondoron*, long ſince in his Youth dedicated unto him.

I dare fweare, none will thinke an ill Thought, much leſſe ſpeake an ill Word of him, unleſſe it be ſome *Janus*-faced *Machivillian*, or hollow-hearted Gunpowderers, who as they would have blowne up King, Progeny, and State, cannot chooſe now but barke againſt him, who was a Terrour to all the Papiſts in Chriſtendome.

As he was a Man, no queſtion but he had Imperfections as others (otherwiſe he could not have converſed with Men) which I profeſſe, I neither knew, nor delighted to ſearch after; or if I had, you know of all others, I am rather bound to cover and conceale the ſame with *Shem* and *Japhet*, than with *Ham* to ſhew his Nakedneſſe; if I were able, yet certainely whatſoever they were, ſuch a Number of noble Vertues did cover and weigh downe the ſame, eclipſing their Light, that they could not eaſily be perceived, unleſſe it were perhaps by ſome maliciouſly bent, who though they might have gathered great Store of Honey, have rather choſen (like Drones) to open the Gall; whom I alſo leave to the Gall of Bitterneſſe, untill it conſume them.

Wherefore now ſince his Soule reſteth in Heaven (whereof I intreat you doubt not) let us alſo leave him: For his good Life in generall, his unfaigned Love to Religion, his Love to good Men, his ſound and ſaving Knowledge, and Practice of the ſame, his attentive and reverent Hearing of the Word, his humble flexible Heart, eaſily caſt downe and drawne by the ſame, with many other good Things, which were in him, are ſure Signes of the Favour of GOD, and conſequently of his Salvation. To which if we conſider with what innumerable Prayers, and ſtrong Cries, his Soule was attended unto Heaven, we may reſt fully ſatisfied of his Felicity: For although the Extremity of Paine from the Beginning of his Sickneſſe, did as it were ſtupifie and bereave him of Senſe, that he could not give thoſe wiſhed Teſtimonies to the World at full; (the LORD chooſing to try him in the Furnace of Affliction) yet ſince we ſhall be judged not according to our Death, but according to our Life; (although his Death in ſuch an Extremity, as is ſhewed, was very good) we may certainely conclude, that his Soule now praiſeth GOD.

Wherefore when we miſſe him where we were wont to ſee him, let us lift up our Mindes to a higher Watch-tower, remembring that his Soule now reſteth in Heaven, where all Cares, Troubles, Sores, Sickneſſes, Croſſes, and Afflictions, ſhall no more annoy him; where the Feares, Jarres, Jealouſies, Diſcontentments, Mutinies, Uproares, and Diſſentions of State ſhall never vex him; where he ſhall hunger no more, thirſt no more, deſire no more, having all Tears wiped from his Eyes, in Place of thoſe fraile ones, which could not here endure the Sight of the Candle, now beholding Him whoſe Eyes are tenne thouſand Times brighter than the Sunne, following the Lambe whither-

whitherſoever he goeth, and in the Heaven of Heavens injoying the bleſſed Fruition of his GOD, in the Company of Millions of his Saints and Angels, waiting for the full Revelation and Felicitie of the Sonnes of GOD, and Renovation of us all, when GOD ſhall be All in All; where let us leave him (of whom we are not worthy untill we be gathered unto him) admiring his incomprehenſible Wiſdome which did bereave us, untill he let us know by Experience, how he will bring Light out of Darkeneſſe: For ſince he is Goodneſſe it ſelfe, his Will (whatſoever it be) muſt needs be good: And I pray you, what, how many, how great, and how wonderfull Things hath the Almighty done with this one Blow? In humbling of ſome, curbing the Pride of others, caſting ſome downe, and againe in raiſing up of others, letting all ſee, as in a Mirrour, the vaine Inconſtancie of Greatneſſe, making ſome others inexcuſable, if they receive no good from ſo ſenſible a Leſſon, with infinite more, knowne onely to the All-ſufficient, All-ſeeing Majeſty.

Let us therefore admire the infinite and incomprehenſible Wiſdome of Almighty GOD, which ſo ſoone tranſlated him from this Vale of Darkneſſe, and Miſery, into that marvellous Joy and Light, although it ſeem ſtrange unto our blind Eyes: For what know we but that the boyling head-ſtrong Paſſions of Youth, evill Company (which corrupteth good Manners) the Raines of Liberty, the Corruption of Time, with infinite other Inticements, whereunto Fleſh and Blood are prone, might have corrupted him, when dying with a conſumed Body, and a more corrupted Soule, he might with an evill Conſcience (though full of Years) have gone to the Grave, with farre more Hatred, loaded with innumerable more Sinnes, than now he did; when by the contrary, with the Love, Prayers, and Teares of all, he was attended unto Heaven.

Thus have I beene bold to trouble you, and out of my Love (for ſatisfying your Curioſity) to exceede the Bounds of a ſhort Letter; which if you mildly cenſure, with an impartiall Judgement, pardoning and excuſing what you finde amiſſe, you ſhall encourage me ever to remaine, as ſtill I am

Your aſſured Friend,

CHARLES CORNWALLIS.

Reasons of the present Judgement of the Universitie of OXFORD, concerning The Solemn League and Covenant; The Negative Oath; The Ordinances concerning Discipline and Worship. Approved by general Consent in a full Convocation, *June* 1st, 1647. And presented to Consideration.

A Solemn League and Covenant, for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happinesse of the KING, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms, *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

WE Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all Sorts in the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *by the Providence of God living under one King, and being of one Reformed Religion, having before our Eyes the Glory of God, and the Advancement of the Kingdom, of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Honour and Happinesse of the King's Majesty, and His Posterity, and the true publick Liberty, Safety, and Peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every one's private Condition is included, and calling to Mind the treacherous and bloody Plots, Conspiracies, Attempts, and Practices of the Enemies of God against the true Religion, and Professors thereof, in all Places, especially in these three Kingdoms, ever since the Reformation of Religion, and how much their Rage, Power, and Presumption are of late, and at this Time increased and exercised; whereof the deplorable Estate of the Church and Kingdom of* Ireland, *the distressed Estate of the Church and Kingdom of* England, *and the dangerous Estate of the Church and Kingdom of* Scotland, *are present and publick Testimonies; We have now, at last, (after other Means of Supplication, Remonstrance, Protestations, and Sufferings) for the Preservation of our selves and our Religion from utter Ruine and Destruction, according to the commendable Practice of these Kingdoms in former Times, and the Examples of God's People in other Nations, after mature Deliberation resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our Hands lifted up to the most High God, do swear:*

I.

THAT we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the Grace of God, endeavour in our severall Places and Callings, the Preservation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, against our common Enemies; the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, according to the Word of God, and the Example of

of the beſt reformed Churches: And ſhall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms, to the neareſt Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confeſſion of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Worſhip and Catechizing; that we and our Poſterity after us may as Brethren live in Faith and Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midſt of us.

II.

That we ſhall in like Manner, without Reſpect of Perſons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, (that is, Church Government by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellours and Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Eccleſiaſticall Officers depending on that Hierarchy) Superſtition, Hereſie, Schiſm, Profaneneſſe, and whatſoever ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound Doctrine, and the Power of Godlineſſe; leſt we partake in other Men's Sins, and thereby be in Danger to receive of their Plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his Name one in the three Kingdoms.

III.

We ſhall with the ſame Sincerity, Reality and Conſtancy, in our ſeverall Vocations, endeavour with our Eſtates and Lives, mutually to preſerve the Rights and Privileges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preſerve and defend the King's Majeſtie's Perſon and Authority, in the Preſervation and Defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms, that the World may bear Witneſſe with our Conſciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no Thoughts or Intentions to diminiſh his Majeſtie's juſt Power and Greatneſs.

IV.

We ſhall alſo with all Faithfulneſſe endeavour the Diſcovery of all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evill Inſtruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Faction or Parties amongſt the People, contrary to this League and Covenant that they may be brought to publick Trial, and receive condign Puniſhment, as the Degree of their Offences ſhall require or deſerve, or the ſupreme Judicatories of both Kingdoms reſpectively, or others having Power from them for that Effect, ſhall judge convenient.

V.

And whereas the Happineſſe of a bleſſed Peace between theſe Kingdoms, denied in former Times to our Progenitors, is by the good Providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded, and ſettled by both Parliaments, we ſhall each one of us, according to our Place and Intereſt, endeavour that they may remain conjoyned in a firm Peace and Union to all Poſterity; and that Juſtice may be done upon the wilfull Oppoſers thereof, in Manner expreſſed in the precedent Articles.

VI.

We ſhall alſo according to our Places and Callings in this common Cauſe of Religion, Liberty and Peace of the Kingdoms, aſſiſt and defend all thoſe that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and purſuing thereof,

thereof, and ſhall not ſuffer our ſelves directly or indirectly by whatſoever Combination, Perſwaſion or Terrour to be divided and withdrawn from this bleſſed Union and Conjunction, whether to make Defection to the contrary Part, or to give our ſelves to a deteſtable Indifferency or Neutrality in this Cauſe, which ſo much concerneth the Glory of God, the Good of the Kingdoms, and the Honor of the King; but ſhall all the Daies of our Lives zealouſly and conſtantly continue therin, againſt all Oppoſition, and promote the ſame according to our Power, againſt all Lets and Impediments whatſoever; and what we are not able our ſelves to ſuppreſs or overcome, we ſhall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed; all which we ſhall do as in the Sight of God.

And becauſe theſe Kingdoms are guilty of many Sins and Provocations againſt God, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as is too manifeſt by our preſent Diſtreſſes and Dangers, the Fruits thereof; We profeſs and declare before God and the World, our unfeigned Deſire to be humbled for our own Sins, and for the Sins of theſe Kingdoms; eſpecially that we have not as we ought valued the ineſtimable Benefit of the Goſpel, that we have not laboured for the Puritie and Power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Chriſt in our Hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our Lives, which are the Cauſes of other Sins and Tranſgreſſions ſo much abounding amongſt us: And our true and unfeigned Purpoſe, Deſire, and Endeavour for our ſelves, and all others under our Power and Charge, both in publick and in private, in all Duties we owe to God and Man, to amend our Lives, and each one to go before another in the Example of a real Reformation, that the Lord may turn away his Wrath and heavy Indignation, and eſtabliſh theſe Churches and Kingdomes in Truth and Peace. And this Covenant we make in the Preſence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to perform the ſame, as we ſhall anſwer at that great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts ſhall be diſcloſed; Moſt humbly beſeeching the Lord to ſtrengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this End, and to bleſſe our Deſires and Proceedings with ſuch Succeſſe, as may be Deliverance and Safety to his People, and Encouragement to other Chriſtian Churches groaning under, or in Danger of the Yoke of Antichriſtian Tyranny, to joyn in the ſame, or like Aſſociation and Covenant, to the Glory of God, the Enlargement of the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Peace and Tranquillity of Chriſtian Kingdoms and Common-wealths.

The Negative Oath.

I A. B. *Do ſwear from my Heart, that I will not directly, nor indirectly, adhere unto, or willingly aſſiſt the King in this War, or in this Cauſe, againſt the Parliament, nor any Forces raiſed without the Conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament, in this Cauſe or War: And I do likewiſe ſwear, that my comming and ſubmitting my ſelf under the Power and Protection of the Parliament, is without any Manner of Deſign whatſoever, to the Prejudice of the Proceedings of this preſent Parliament, and without the Direction, Privity, or Advice of the King, or any of his Council, or Officers, other than*

who

what I have now made known. So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.

Reaſons why the Univerſity of OXFORD cannot ſubmit to the Covenant; the Negative Oath; the Ordinance concerning Diſcipline and Directory, mentioned in the late Ordinance of Parliament, for the Viſitation of that Place.

WHereas by an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, for the Viſitation and Reformation of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, lately publiſhed, Power is given to certain Perſons therein named as Viſitors, to enquire concerning thoſe of the ſaid Univerſity, that neglect to take the ſolemn League and Covenant, and the Negative Oath being tendred unto them, and likewiſe concerning thoſe that oppoſe the Execution of the Ordinances of Parliament concerning the Diſcipline and Directory, or ſhall not promote or cauſe the ſame to be put in Execution according to their ſeveral Places and Callings, We the Maſters, Scholars, and other Officers and Members of the ſaid Univerſity, not to judge the Conſciences of others, but to clear our ſelves before God and the World from all Suſpition of Obſtinacy, whilſt we diſcharge our own, preſent to Conſideration the true Reaſons of our preſent Judgement concerning the ſaid Covenant, Oath and Ordinances: Expecting ſo much Juſtice, and hoping for ſo much Charity, as either not to be preſſed to conform to what is required in any the Premiſſes, further than our preſent Judgements will warrant us; or not condemned for the refuſing ſo to do, without clear and real Satisfaction given to our juſt Scruples.

SECT. I. *Of the Preface to the Covenant.*

THE Exceptions againſt the Introductory Preface to the Covenant, although we inſiſt not much upon, becauſe it may be ſaid to be no Part of the Covenant: yet among the Things therein contained, the Acknowledgement whereof is implicitely required of every Covenanter.

1. We are not able to ſay, *that the Rage, Power, and Preſumption of the Enemies of God* (in the Senſe there intended) *is at this Time increaſed.*
2. Nor can truly affirm, that we had uſed or given Conſent to any *Supplication* or *Remonſtrance* to the Purpoſes therein expreſſed.
3. Nor do conceive the entring into ſuch a mutuall League and Covenant to be a lawfull, proper, and probable Means to *preſerve our Selves, and our Religion from Ruine and Deſtruction.*
4. Nor can we believe the ſame to be *according to the commendable Practice of theſe Kingdoms, or the Example of God's People in other Nations.* When we find not the leaſt Foot-ſtep in our Hiſtories of a ſworn Covenant ever entred into by the People of this Kingdom upon any Occaſion whatſoever; nor can readily remember any commendable Example of the like done

done in any other Nation: but are rather told, by the Defenders of this Covenant, that *(a) the World never saw the like before.*

SECT. II. *Of the Covenant in groſs.*

FIRST we are not ſatisfied, how we can ſubmit to the taking thereof, as it is now impoſed under a Penalty.

1. Such Impoſition (to our ſeeming) being repugnant to the Nature of a Covenant: which being a Contract, implyeth a *(b) voluntary mutuall Conſent* of the Contractors; whereunto Men are to be induced by Perſwaſions, not compelled by Power. In ſo much that the very Words of this Covenant in the Preface, Concluſion, and whole Frame thereof runne in ſuch a Form throughout, as import a Conſent rather grounded upon prudentiall Motives, than extorted by Rigour.
2. Without betraying the Liberty, which by our Proteſtation we are bound, and in the third Article of this Covenant, muſt ſwear, *with our Lives and Fortunes to preſerve.* To which Liberty the Impoſition of a new Oath other than is eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, is expreſſed in *the (c) Petition of Right*, and by the Lords and Commons in their *(d) Declarations* acknowledged to be contrary.
3. Without acknowledging in the Impoſers, a greater Power then, for ought that appeareth to us, hath been in former Time challenged; Or can conſiſt with our former Proteſtation (if we rightly underſtand it) in ſundry the moſt material Branches thereof.

Neither, ſecondly, are we ſatisfied; although the Covenant would not be impoſed upon us at all, but only recommended to us, and then left to our Choice.

1. How we ſhould in Wiſdom and Duty (being Subjects) of our own Accord and free Will enter into a Covenant, wherein He, whoſe Subjects we are, is in any wiſe concerned, without his Conſent, either expreſſed or reaſonably preſumed. It being in his Power (as we conceive) by the Equity of the Law, *Numb.* 32. to annull and make void the ſame at his Pleaſure.
2. How we can (now that His Majeſtie hath by His publique *(e) Interdict* ſufficiently made known His Pleaſure in that Behalf) enter into a Covenant, the taking whereof he hath expreſly forbidden; forfeiting that Obedience,

(a) Such an Oath, as for Matter, Perſons, and other Circumſtances, the like hath not been in any Age or Oath we read of in ſacred or humane Stories. Mr. *Nye, Covenant with Narrative*, p. 12.

(b) Pactis eſt duorum pluriumve in idem placitum conſenſus, L. 1. ff. de Pactis.

(c) Whereas many of them have had an Oath adminiſtred unto them not warrantable by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, They do humbly pray that no Man hereafter be compelled to take ſuch an Oath —— All which they moſt humbly pray —— as their Rights and Liberties according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm. *Petit. of Right. 3 Carol.*

(d) It is declared, 16 *Jan.* 1642. *That the King cannot* compel Men to be ſworn without an Act of Parliament. *Exact Collect.* pag. 859, 860.

(e) Proclam. of 9. *Octob.* 19 *Car.*

which

which (as we are perſwaded) by our natural Allegiance and former Oaths, we owe unto all ſuch His Majeſtie's Commands, as are not in our Apprehenſion repugnant to the Will of God, or the poſitive Laws of this Kingdom.

SECT. III. *Of the firſt Article of the Covenant.*

WHerein, firſt, we are not ſatisfied, how we can with Judgement ſwear to endeavour to preſerve the Religion of another Kingdom.

1. Whereof, as it doth not concern us to have very much, ſo we profeſs to have very little Underſtanding.
2. Which (ſo farre as the Occurrents of theſe unhappy Times have brought it to our Knowledge, and we are able to judge) is in three of the four ſpecified Particulars, *viz. Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government*, much worſe; and in the fourth (that of *Doctrine*) not at all better than our own; which we are in the next Paſſage of the Article required to reform.
3. Wherein if hereafter we ſhall find any Thing (as upon farther Underſtanding thereof it is not impoſſible we may) that may ſeem to us favouring of *Popery*, *Superſtition*, *Hereſie*, or *Schiſm*, or *contrary to ſound Doctrine*, or *the Power of Godlineſſe*; we ſhall be bound by the next Article to indeavour the Extirpation, after we have bound our ſelves by this firſt Article to the Preſervation thereof.
4. Wherein we already find ſome Things (to our thinking) ſo far tending towards *(f) Superſtition* and *(g) Schiſm*, that it ſeemeth to us more reaſonable that we ſhould call upon them to reform the ſame, than that they ſhould call upon us to preſerve it.

Secondly, we are not ſatisfied in the next Branch, concerning the Reformation of Religion in our own Kingdom, in *Doctrine*, *Worſhip*, *Diſcipline*, and *Government*; how we can ſwear to endeavour the ſame, (which without making a Change therein cannot be done,)

I. Without *manifeſt Scandal to the Papiſt and Separatiſt.*

1. By yeelding the Cauſe, which our godly Biſhops and Martyrs, and all our learned Divines ever ſince the Reformation have both by their Writings and Sufferings maintained; who have juſtified, againſt them both, the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England* to be agreeable to the Word of God.
2. By juſtifying the Papiſts in the Reproaches and Scorn by them caſt upon our Religion, whoſe uſual Objection it hath been and is, that we know not what our Religion is; that ſince we left them, we cannot tell where to ſtay; and that our Religion is *a (h) Parliamentary Religion.*

(f) Viz. In accounting Biſhops Antichriſtian, and indifferent Ceremonies unlawfull.

(g) Viz. In making their Diſcipline and Government a Mark of the true Church, and the ſetting up thereof, the erecting of the Throne of Chriſt.

(h) Let us not be blamed if we call it Parliamentary Religion, Parliament Goſpel, Parliament Faith. *Harding, Confut. of Apology*, part 6. chap. 2.

3. By a tacite Acknowledgement that there is ſomething both in the Doctrine and Worſhip, whereunto their Conformity hath been required, not agreeable to the Word of God; and conſequently juſtifying them both, the one in his Recuſancy, the other in his Separation.

4. By an implyed Confeſſion, that the Laws formerly made againſt Papiſts in this Kingdom, and all Puniſhments by Vertue thereof inflicted upon them, were unjuſt in puniſhing them for refuſing to joyn with us in that Form of Worſhip, which our ſelves (as well as they) do not approve of.

II. Without *manifeſt Wrong unto our ſelves*, our Conſciences, Reputation and Eſtates, in bearing falſe Witneſs againſt our ſelves, and ſundry other Waies by ſwearing to endeavour to reform that, as corrupt and vitious.

1. Which we have formerly by our perſonal Subſcriptions approved, as agreeable to God's Word: and have not been ſince either condemned by our own Hearts for ſo doing, or convinced in our Judgements by any of our Brethren that therein we did amiſſe.

2. Which in our Conſciences we are perſwaded, not to be in any of the four ſpecified Particulars (as it ſtandeth by Law eſtabliſhed) much leſſe in the whole four, againſt the Word of God.

3. Which we verily believe (and, as we think upon good Grounds) to be in ſundry Reſpects much better, and more agreeable to the Word of God, and the Practiſe of the Catholique Church, than that which we ſhould by the former Words of this Article ſwear to preſerve.

4. Whereunto the Laws yet in Force require of all ſuch Clerks as ſhall be admitted to any Benefice, the Signification of their hearty Aſſent, to be atteſted openly in the Time of Divine Service before the whole Congregation there preſent, within a limited Time, and that under Pain (upon Default made) of the Loſſe of every ſuch Benefice.

III. Without *manifeſt Danger of Perjury:* This Branch of the Article (to our beſt Underſtandings) ſeeming directly contrary,

1. To our former ſolemn Proteſtation, which we have bound our ſelves neither for Hope, Fear, or other Reſpect, ever to relinquiſh. Wherein the Doctrine which we have vowed to maintain, by the Name of the *true Proteſtant Religion, expreſſed in the Doctrine of the Church of* England, we take to be the ſame, which now we are required to endeavour to reform and alter.

2. To the Oath of Supremacie, by us alſo taken, according to the Laws of the Realm, and the Statutes of our Univerſity in that Behalf. Wherein having firſt teſtified and declared in our Conſciences, that the *King's Highneſſe is the only ſupreme Governour of this Realm, we do after ſwear to our Power to aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdictions, Privileges, Preheminences, and Authorities granted or belonging to the King's Highneſſe, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm.* One of the which Privileges and Preheminences, by an expreſſe Statute ſo annexed, and that even, *in terminis*, in the ſelf-ſame Words in a Manner with thoſe uſed in the Oath, is the whole Power of Spiritual or Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction, for the Correction and Reformation of all Manner of Errors and Abuſes

Abuſes *in Matters Eccleſiaſtical:* as by the (*i*) Words of the ſaid Statute more at large appeareth. The Oath affording the *Propoſition*, and the Statute the *Aſſumption*, we find no Way how to avoid the *Concluſion*.

Sect. IV. *Of the ſecond Article of the Covenant.*

FIRST, it cannot but affect us with ſome Grief and Amazement, to ſee that ancient Form of Church-Government, which we heartily (and, as we hope, worthily) honour; as under which our Religion was at firſt ſo orderly, without Violence or Tumult, and ſo happily reformed; and hath ſince ſo long flouriſhed with Truth and Peace, to the Honour and Happineſs of our own, and the Envy and Admiration of other Nations, not only,

1. Endeavoured to be extirpated; without any Reaſon offered to our Underſtandings, for which it ſhould be thought neceſſary, or but ſo much as expedient ſo to do. But alſo,
2. Ranked with *Popery*, *Superſtition*, *Hereſie*, *Schiſm* and *Prophaneneſſe*; which we unfainedly profeſs our ſelves to deteſt as much as any others whatſoever.
3. And that with ſome Intimation alſo, as if that Government were ſome Way or other ſo *contrary to ſound Doctrin, or the Power of Godlineſſe*, that whoſoever ſhould not endeavour the Extirpation thereof, muſt of Neceſſity *partake in other Men's Sins*, which we cannot yet be perſwaded to believe.
4. And we deſire it may be conſidered, in Caſe a Covenant of like Form ſhould be tender'd to the Citizens of *London*, wherein they ſhould be required to ſwear, they would ſincerely, really and conſtantly without Reſpect of Perſons, endeavour the Extirpation of *Treaſon*, *the City Government* (by a Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Common-Councel and other Offices depending thereon) *Murther*, *Adulterie*, *Theft*, *Couſenage*, *and whatſoever ſhall be*, &c. *leſt they ſhould partake in other Men's Sinnes*, whether ſuch a tendry could be looked upon by any Citizen, that had the leaſt Spirit of Freedom in him, as an Act of Juſtice, Meekneſs and Reaſon?

Secondly, for Epiſcopal Government, we are not ſatisfied how we can with a good Conſcience ſwear to endeavour the Extirpation thereof, 1. in *Reſpect of the Thing it ſelf.* Concerning which Government we think we have Reaſon to believe.

1. That it is (if not *Jure divino* in the ſtricteſt, that is to ſay, expreſly commanded by God in his Word, yet) of *Apoſtolical Inſtitution*, that is to ſay, was eſtabliſhed in the Churches by the Apoſtles, according to the Mind and after the Example of their Maſter *Jeſus Chriſt*, and that by Vertue of their ordinary Power and Authority derived from him, as deputed by him Governors of his Church.

(*i*) Such Juriſdictions, Privileges, Superiorities and Prehemiences, ſpiritual and eccleſiaſtical, as by any, &c. for the Viſitation of the Eccleſiaſtical State and Perſons, and for Reformation, Order and Correction of the ſame, and of all manner of Errors, Hereſies, Schiſms, Abuſes, Offences, Contempts and Enormities, ſhall for ever by Authority of this preſent Parliament be united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. *An Act reſtoring to the Crown the antient Juriſdiction*, &c. 1 *Elizab.* 1.

2. Or at leaſt, that *Epiſcopal Ariſtocracy* hath a fairer Pretention, and may lay a juſter Title and Claim to a divine Inſtitution than any of the other Forms of Church-Government can do; all which yet do pretend thereunto, *viz.* that of the *Papal Monarchy*, that of the *Preſbyterian Democracy*, and that of the *Independents* by particular Congregations, or gathered Churches.

II. But we are aſſured by the undoubted Teſtimony of antient Records and later Hiſtories, that this Form of Government hath been continued with ſuch an univerſal, uninterrupted, unqueſtioned Succeſſion in all the Churches of God, and in all Kingdoms that have been called Chriſtian, throughout the whole World for fifteen hundred Years together; that there never was in all that Time any conſiderable Oppoſition made there againſt. That of *Arius* was the greateſt, wherein yet there was little of Conſideration, beſide theſe two Things: that it grew at the firſt but out of Diſcontent; and gained him at the laſt but the Reputation of an Heretique. From which Antiquity and Continuance, we have juſt Cauſe to fear, that to endeavour the Extirpation thereof,

1. Would give ſuch Advantage to the Papiſts, who uſually object againſt us, and our Religion, the Contempt of Antiquity, and the Love of Novelty; that we ſhould not be able to wipe off the Aſperſion.
2. Would ſo diminiſh the juſt Authority due to the conſentient Judgement and Practiſe of the univerſal Church (the beſt Interpreter of Scripture in Things not clearly expreſt; for *Lex currit cum praxi:*) that without it we ſhould be at a Loſſe in ſundry Points both of *Faith* and *Manners*, at this Day firmly believed and ſecurely practiſed by us; when by the Socinians, Anabaptiſts, and other Sectaries we ſhould be called upon for our Proofs. As namely, ſundry Orthodoxal Explications concerning the Trinity and Co-equality of the Perſons in the God-head, againſt the *Arians* and other Heretiques; the Number, Uſe and Efficacy of Sacraments; the Baptiſing of Infants; national Churches; the Obſervation of the Lord's Day; and even of the Canon of Scripture it ſelf.

Thirdly, *in Reſpect of our ſelves*; we are not ſatisfied how it can ſtand with the Principles of *Juſtice*, *Ingenuity*, and *Humanity*, to require the Extirpation of Epiſcopal Government (unleſſe it had been firſt clearly demonſtrated to be unlawfull) to be ſincerely and really endeavoured, by us,

1. Who have all of us, who have taken any Degree, by ſubſcribing the 39 Articles, teſtified our Approbation of that Government: one of thoſe (*k*) Articles affirming the very Book containing the Form of *their Conſecration* to contain in it nothing contrary to the Word of God.
2. Who have moſt of us, (*viz.* as many as have entred into the Miniſtery) received Orders from their Hands: whom we ſhould very ill requite for laying their Hands upon us, if we ſhould now lay to our Hand, to root them up, and cannot tell for what.
3. Who have ſundry of us, ſince the Beginning of this Parliament, ſubſcribed our Names to Petitions exhibited or intended to be exhibited to the

(*k*) Art. 36.

High

High Court, for the Continuance of that Government. Which as we then did ſincerely and really, ſo we ſhould with like Sincerity and Reality, ſtill (not having met with any Thing ſince to ſhew us our Errour) be ready to do the ſame again, if we had the ſame Hopes we then had of the Reception of ſuch Petitions.

4. Who hold ſome of us our Livelyhood, either in whole or in Part, by thoſe Titles of *Deans*, *Deans* and *Chapters*, &c. mentioned in the Articles; being Members of ſome Collegiate or Cathedrall Churches. And our Memories will not readilie ſerve us with any Example in this kind ſince the World began; wherein any State or Profeſſion of Men, though convicted (as we are not) of a Crime that might deſerve Deprivation, were required to bind themſelves by Oath, *ſincerely and really to endeavour* the rooting out of that (in it ſelf not unlawfull) together wherewith they muſt alſo root out themſelves, their Eſtates and Livelyhoods.

5. Eſpecially it being uſual in moſt of the ſaid Churches, that ſuch Perſons as are admitted Members thereof, have a perſonal Oath adminiſtred unto them, to maintain the Honour, Immunities, Liberties, and Profits of the ſame; and whilſt they live to ſeek the Good, and not to do any Thing to the Hurt, Hindrance, or Prejudice thereof; or in other Words to the like Effect.

Fourthly, *in Reſpect of the Church of* England: we are not ſatisfied how we can ſwear to endeavour the Extirpation of the eſtabliſhed Government, no Neceſſitie or juſt Cauſe for ſo doing, either offering it ſelf, or being offered to our Underſtandings.

1. Since all Change of Government unavoidably bringeth with it, beſides thoſe that are preſent and evident, ſundry other Inconveniencies, which no Wit of Man can poſſibly foreſee to provide againſt, till late Experience diſcover them: We cannot be ſure, that the Evils which may enſue upon the Change of this Government, (which hath been of ſo long Continuance in this Kingdom, is ſo deeply rooted in the Lawes thereof, and hath ſo near a Conjunction with, and ſo ſtrong an Influence upon the Civill State and Government, as that the Change thereof muſt infer the Neceſſity of a great Alteration to be made in the other alſo) may not be greater than the ſuppoſed Evils whatſoever they are, which by this Change are ſought to be remedied. For there are not yet any come to our Knowledge of that deſperate Nature, as not to be capable of other Remedy, than the utter Extirpation of the whole Government it ſelf.

2. Whereas the Houſe of Commons have *(l)* remonſtrated, that it was far from their Purpoſe, or Deſire, to *aboliſh the Church Government*, but rather

(l) — give Advantage to this Malignant Party to traduce our Proceedings: They infuſe into the People that we mean to aboliſh all Church Government — *Remonſt.* 15. *Dec.* 1641. *Exact. Collect.* pag. 19. The Lords and Commons do declare, That they intend a due and neceſſary Reformation of the Government and Liturgy of the Church; and to take away nothing in the one or in the other, but what ſhall be evil, and juſtly offenſive, or at leaſt unneceſſary and burthenſome. *Declar.* 9. *April.* 1642. *Exact. Coll.* p. 135.

that

that *all the Members of the Church of* England *ſhould be regulated by ſuch Rules of Order and Diſciptine as are eſtabliſhed by Parliament*, and that it was Malignancy *to infuſe into the People* that they had any other Meaning: We are loth by conſenting to the ſecond Article to become guilty of ſuch *Infuſion*, as may bring us within the Compaſs and Danger of the fourth Article of this Covenant.

3. Since it hath been declared by ſundry *(m)* Acts of Parliament, That *the holy Church of* England *was founded in the State of Prelacy within the Realm of* England: We dare not by endeavouring the Extirpation of Prelacy, ſtrike at the very Foundation, and thereby (as much as in us lieth) co-operate towards the Ruine of this famous Church; which in all Conſcience and Duty we are bound with out utmoſt lawful Power to uphold.

Laſtly, *In Reſpect of our Obligations to his Majeſty* by our Duty and Oathes: we are not ſatisfied how we can ſwear to endeavour the Extirpation of the Church-Government by Law eſtabliſhed, without Forfeiture of thoſe Obligations.

1. Having in the Oath of Supremacy acknowledged the King to be *the onely ſupream Governour in all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, and over all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons*; and having bound our ſelves both in that Oath, and by our Proteſtation, *To maintain the King's Honour, Eſtate, Juriſdictions*, and all manner of Rights: it is clear to our Underſtandings, that we cannot without Diſloyalty and Injury to Him, and double Perjury to our ſelves, take upon us without his Conſent to make any Alteration in the Eccleſiaſticall Lawes or Government, much leſſe to endeavour the Extirpation thereof: Unleſſe the Impoſers of this Covenant had a Power and Meaning (which they have openly *(n)* diſclaimed) to abſolve us of that Obedience, which under God we owe unto His Majeſty, whom they know to be intruſted with the Eccleſiaſtical Law.

2. We cannot ſincerely and really endeavour the Extirpation of this Government, without a ſincere Deſire and real Endeavour, that His Majeſty would grant His Royal Aſſent to ſuch Extirpation. Which we are ſo far from deſiring and endeavouring, that we hold it our bounden Duty by our daily Prayers to beg at the Hands of Almighty God, that he would not for our Sins ſuffer the King to do an Act ſo prejudicial to his Honour and Conſcience, as to conſent to the Rooting out of that Eſtate, which by ſo many Branches of his *(o) Coronation Oath*, he hath in ſuch a ſolemn Man-

(m) Statute of *Carlile*. 25 *E*. I. recited 25 *E*. III.

(n) They infuſe into the People, that we mean — to leave every Man to his own Fancy — abſolving him of that Obedience which he owes under God unto His Majeſty, whom we know to be intruſted with the Eccleſiaſtical Law, as well as with the Temporal. *Exact Collect. ubi ſup.* p. 19.

(o) That he will grant, keep, and confirm the Laws, Cuſtoms, and Franchiſes granted to the Clergy by the glorious King S. *Edward*. And that he will grant and preſerve unto the Biſhops, and to the Churches committed to their Charge, all Canonical Priviledges and due Law and Juſtice; and that he will protect and defend them as every good King in his Kingdom ought to be Protector and Defender of the Biſhops and the Churches under their Government. *Vide Exact Collect.* p. 290, 291.

ner ſworn, by the Aſſiſtance of God, to his Power to maintain and preſerve.

3. By the Lawes of this Land *(p)* the *Collation* of *Biſhopricks* and *(q) Deanaries*; the *(r) Fruits* and *Profits* of their Lands and Revenues during their Vacancies; the *(s) firſt Fruits and yearly Tenths* out of all Eccleſiaſtical Promotions; and ſundry other Priviledges, Profits, and Emoluments, ariſing out of the State Eccleſiaſtical, are eſtabliſhed in the Crown, and are a conſiderable Part of the Revenues thereof; which, by the Extirpation of Prelacy, as it is in the Article expounded, or by ſubſequent Practice evidenced, will be ſevered and cut off from the Crown, to the great Prejudice and Damage thereof. Whereunto, as we ought not in common Reaſon, and in order to our Allegiance as Subjects, yield our Conſent; ſo having ſworn expreſly *to maintain the King's Honour and Eſtate*, and to our Power to aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdictions, *&c.* belonging to His Highneſs, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of the Realm, we cannot without manifeſt Perjury (as we conceive) conſent thereunto.

4. The Government of this Realm being confeſſedly an *Empire* or *(t) Monarchy*, and that of a moſt excellent Temper and Conſtitution; we underſtand not how it can become us to deſire or endeavour the Extirpation of that Government in the Church, which we conceive to be incomparably of all other the moſt agreeable, and no way prejudiciall to the State of ſo well a conſtituted Monarchy. In ſo much as King *James* would often ſay, what his long Experience had taught him, *No Biſhop, no King*. Which Aphoriſm, though we find in ſundry Pamphlets of late Years to have been exploded with much Confidence and Scorn; yet we muſt profeſſe to have met with very little in the Proceedings of the late Times, to weaken our Belief of it. And we hope we ſhall be the leſs blamed for our Unwillingneſs to have any actual Concurrence in the Extirpation of Epiſcopall Government: ſeeing of ſuch Extirpation there is no other Uſe imaginable, but either the Alienation of their Revenues and Inheritances, (which how it can be ſevered from *Sacriledge* and *Injuſtice* we leave others to find out) or to make Way for the introducing of ſome other Form of Church Government: which whatſoever it ſhall be, will (as we think) prove either deſtructive of, and inconſiſtent with Monarchiall Government, or at leaſtwiſe more prejudicial to the peaceable, orderly, and effectual Exerciſe thereof, than with a well-regulated Epiſcopacy can poſſibly be.

(p) See Stat. 25. *Hen.* VIII. 20. & 1. *Ed.* VI. 2.

(q) See Stat. 39. *Eliz.* 8.

(r) Stat. 14. *Ed.* III. 4, & 5. & 17. *Ed.* III. 14.

(s) Stat. 26. *Hen.* VIII. 3. & 1. *Eliz.* 4.

(t) — *Supremam poteſtatem & merum imperium apud nos habet Rex.* Cambd. Whereas by ſundry divers old authentick Hiſtories and Chronicles it is manifeſtly declared and expreſſed, that this Realm of *England* is an Empire, and ſo hath been accepted in the World, governed by one Supream Head and King, having the Dignity and royall Eſtate of the Imperial Crown of the ſame. *Stat.* 24. H. VIII. 12. *See alſo* 1. Elizab. 3.

SECT.

SECT. V. *Of the other Parts of the Government.*

HAving inſiſted the more upon the two firſt Articles, that concern Religion and the Church, and wherein our ſelves have a more proper Concernment: We ſhall need to inſiſt the leſs upon thoſe that follow, contenting our ſelves with a few (the moſt obvious) of thoſe many great, and (as we conceive) juſt Exceptions,, that lye there againſt.

I. In the third Article, we are not ſatisfied that our Endeavour to preſerve and defend the King's Majeſties Perſon and Authority is ſo limited, as there it is, by that Addition: *In the Preſervation and Defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdom.* Foraſmuch as

1. No ſuch Limitation of our Duty in that Behalf is to be found, either in the Oathes of Supremacy and Allegiance, (which no Papiſt would refuſe to take with ſuch a Limitation) nor in the Proteſtation, nor in the Word of God.

2. Our Endeavour to preſerve the Rights and Priviledges of Parliaments, and Liberties of the Kingdomes, is required to be ſworn of us in the ſame Article without the like or any other Limitation added thereunto.

3. Such Limitation leaveth the Duty of the Subject at ſo much Looſeneſſe, and the Safety of the King at ſo great Uncertainty; that whenſoever the People ſhall have a Mind to withdraw their Obedience, they cannot want a Pretence, from the ſame, for ſo doing.

4. After we ſhould, by the very laſt Thing we did (*viz.* ſwearing with ſuch a Limitation) have made our ſelves guilty of an actual and real Diminution (as we conceive) of his Majeſtie's juſt Power and Greatneſſe: the Obteſtation would ſeem very unſeaſonable (at the leaſt) with the ſame Breath to call the World to bear Witneſſe with our Conſciences, that we had no Thoughts or Intentions to diminiſh the ſame.

5. The ſwearing with ſuch a Limitation is a Teſtimony of the Subjects Loyalty (to our ſeeming) of a very ſtrange Nature: which, (the Principles of their ſeveral Religions ſalved) the Conſcience of a moſt reſolute Papiſt or Sectary may ſecurely ſwallow, and the Conſcience of a good Proteſtant cannot but ſtrein at.

II. In the fourth Article,

1. We deſire it may be conſidered, whether the impoſing of the Covenant in this Article do not lay a Neceſſity upon the Son, of accuſing his own Father, and purſuing him to Deſtruction, in Caſe he ſhould be an Incendiary, Malignant, or other evill Inſtrument, ſuch as in the Article is deſcribed. A Courſe, which we conceive to be contrary to Religion, Nature and Humanity.

2. Whether the ſwearing according to this Article, doth not rather open a ready Way to Children that are ſick of the Father, Huſbands that are weary of their Wives, *&c.* by appealing ſuch, as ſtand between them and their Deſires, of Malignancy, the better to effectuate their unlawful Intentions and Deſignes.

3. Our

3. Our ſelves having ſolemnly proteſted to maintain the Liberty of the Subject, and the Houſe of Commons having publickly declared againſt the Exerciſe of an Arbitrary Power, with Order that their ſaid Declaration ſhould be printed and publiſhed in all the Pariſh Churches and Chappels of the Kingdome; there to ſtand and remain as a Teſtimony of the Clearneſſe of their Intentions; whether the ſubjecting of our ſelves and Brethren by Oath, unto ſuch Puniſhments as ſhall be inflicted upon us (without Law or Merit) at the ſole Pleaſure of ſuch uncertain Judges as ſhall be upon any particular Occaſion *deputed for that Effect*, of what mean Quality or Abilities ſoever they be, even to the taking away of our Lives, *if they ſhall think it convenient ſo to do*, though the Degree of our Offences ſhall not require or deſerve the ſame; be not the betraying of our Liberty in the loweſt, and the ſetting up of an Arbitrary Power in the higheſt Degree that can be imagined.

III. The Subſtance of the fifth Article, being the Settling and Continuance of a firm Peace and Union between the three Kingdomes, ſince it is our bounden Duty to deſire, and according to our ſeveral Places and Intereſts by all lawfull Means to endeavour the ſame: we ſhould make no ſcruple at all to enter into a Covenant to that Purpoſe, were it not

1. That we do not ſee, nor therefore can acknowledge *the Happineſs of ſuch a bleſſed Peace between the* three *Kingdomes* (for we hope *Ireland* is not forgotten) as in the Article is mentioned: So long as *Ireland* is at War within it ſelf, and both the other Kingdoms engaged in that War.

2. That ſince no Peace can be firm and well-grounded that is not bottom'd upon Juſtice, the moſt proper and adequate Act whereof is, *Jus ſuum cuique*, to let every one have that which of Right belongeth unto him; we cannot conceive how a firm and laſting Peace can be eſtabliſhed in theſe Kingdomes, unleſſe the reſpective Authority, Power, and Liberty of *King*, *Parliament*, and *Subject*, as well every one as other, be preſerved full and entire, according to the known Lawes, and continued unqueſtioned Cuſtomes, of the ſeveral Kingdomes in former Times, and before the Beginning of theſe ſad Diſtractions.

IV. In the ſixth Article we are altogether unſatisfied.

1. The whole Article being grounded upon a Suppoſition, which hath not yet been evidenced to us, *viz.* that *this Cauſe*, meaning thereby (or elſe we underſtand it not) the joyning in this Covenant of mutual Defence for the Proſecution of the late War, was *the Cauſe of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdomes*; and that it ſo much concerned *the Glory of God, and the Good of the Kingdomes, and the Honour of the King.*

2. If all the Premiſſes were ſo clear, that we durſt yeeld our free Aſſent thereunto, yet were they not ſufficient to warrant to our Conſciences what in this Article is required to be ſworn of us; unleſſe we were as clearly ſatisfied concerning the Lawfulneſs of the Means to be uſed for the ſupporting of ſuch a Cauſe. For ſince Evil may not be done, that Good may come thereof; we cannot yet be perſwaded, that *the Cauſe of Religion, Liberty, and Peace*, may be ſupported; or *the Glory of God, the Good of the*

Kingdomes, and the Honour of the King, ſought to be advanced, by ſuch Means, (as to our beſt Underſtandings) are both improper for thoſe Ends, and deſtitute of all Warrant from the Lawes, either of God, or of this Realm.

Laſtly, in the Concluſion, our Hearts tremble to think, that we ſhould be required to pray that *other Chriſtian Churches might be encouraged by our Example to join in the like Aſſociation and Covenant, to free themſelves from the Antichriſtian Yoke*, &c. Wherein

1. To omit that we do not know any *Antichriſtian Yoke* under which we were held in theſe Kingdomes, and from which we owe to this either War or Covenant our Freedom: unleſſe by the Antichriſtian Yoke be meant Epiſcopal Government, which we hope no Man that pretendeth to Truth and Charity will affirm.
2. We do not yet ſee in the Fruits of this Aſſociation or Covenant among our ſelves, any thing ſo lovely as to invite us to deſire (much leſs to pray) that other Chriſtian Churches ſhould follow our Example herein.
3. To pray to the Purpoſe, in the Concluſion of the Covenant expreſſed, ſeemeth to us all one in Effect, as to beſeech Almighty God, the God of Love and Peace.
   1. To take all Love and Peace out of the Hearts of Chriſtians, and to ſet the whole Chriſtian World in a Combuſtion.
   2. To render the Reformed Religion, and all Proteſtants odious to all the World.
   3. To provoke the Princes of *Europe* to uſe more Severity towards thoſe of the Reformed Religion: if not (for their own Security) to root them quite out of their ſeveral Dominions.
   4. The Tyranny and Yoke of Antichriſt, if laid upon the Necks of Subjects by their lawful Soveraignes, is to be thrown off by *Chriſtian Boldneſs* in confeſſing the Truth, and *patient Suffering* for it; not by taking up Armes, or violent Reſiſtance of the Higher Powers.

SECT. VI. *Some Conſiderations concerning the Meaning of the Covenant.*

OUR aforeſaid Scruples are much ſtrengthened by theſe enſuing Conſiderations.

Firſt, that whereas no Oath, which is contradictory to it ſelf, can be taken without Perjury; becauſe the one Part of every Contradiction muſt needs be falſe: This Covenant either indeed containeth, or at leaſtwiſe (which to the Point of Conſcience is not much leſs effectual) ſeemeth to us to contain ſundry Contradictions; as namely, amongſt others, theſe:

1. To preſerve as it is, without Change, and yet to reform and alter, and not to preſerve, *one and the ſame Reformed Religion.*
2. Abſolutely and without Exception *to preſerve*; and yet upon Suppoſition to *extirpate* the ſelf ſame Thing, *viz.* the preſent Religion of the Church of *Scotland.*

3. To

3. To reform Church-Government eſtabliſhed in *England*, and *Ireland*, *according to the Word of God:* and yet to extirpate that Government which we are perſwaded to be according thereunto, for the introducing of another whereof we are not ſo perſwaded.

4. To endeavour *really the Extirpation of Hereſies*, *Schiſms*, *and Prophaneneſs*; and yet withall to extirpate that Government in the Church, the Want of the due Exerciſe whereof, we conceive to have been one chief Cauſe of the Growth of the ſaid Evills; and do believe the Reſtoring and Continuance thereof would be the moſt proper and effectual Remedy.

5. *To preſerve with our Eſtates and Lives*, *the Liberties of the Kingdome*; that is, (as in the Proteſtation is explained) of the Subject; and yet contrary to theſe Liberties, to ſubmit to the Impoſition of this *Covenant*, and of the *Negative Oath*, not yet eſtabliſhed by Law; and to put our Lives and Eſtates under the Arbitrary Power of ſuch as may take away both from us when they pleaſe, not onely without, but even againſt Law, *if they ſhall judge it convenient ſo to do.*

Secondly, we find in the Covenant, ſundry Expreſſions of dark or doubtfull Conſtruction, whereunto we cannot ſweare in Judgement, till their Senſe be cleared and agreed upon. As, who are the *Common Enemies?* and which be *the beſt reformed Churches?* mentioned in the firſt Article. Who (in the fourth Article) are to be accounted *Malignants?* How far that Phraſe of *hindring Reformation* may be extended? What is meant by *the ſupreme Judicatory of both Kingdomes?* and ſundry other.

Thirdly, by the Uſe that hath been made of this Covenant, (ſometimes to Purpoſes of dangerous Conſequence) we are brought into ſome Fears and Jealouſies, leaſt by taking the ſame we ſhould caſt ourſelves into more Snares than we are yet aware of. For in the firſt Article,

1. Whereas we are *to endeavour the Reformation of Religion in this Kingdome*, *in Doctrine*, *Worſhip*, *Diſcipline*, *and Government*, *according to the Word of God*, *and the Example of the beſt reformed Churches:*

1. The Reformation in Worſhip (whereby we could not ſuppoſe any more was intended (according to their former *(u)* Declaration) than a Review of the Service-book, that the Tranſlations might be in ſome Places amended, ſome Alterations made in the Offices and Rubricks, or at moſt ſome of the Ceremonies laid aſide for the Reaſons of Expediency and Condeſcention) hath produced an utter Abolition of the whole Form eſtabliſhed: without ſubſtituting any other certain Form in the Room thereof.

2. The Reformation in Point of Diſcipline and Government intended (ſo far as by the Overtures hitherto made we are able to judge) is ſuch, as we conceive not to be *according to the Word of God*, nor (for any Thing we

(u) The Lords and Commons do declare, That they intend a due and neceſſary Reformation of the Liturgy of the Church; and to take away nothing therein but what ſhall be evill, and juſtly offenſive, or at leaſt unneceſſary and burthenſome. *Declarat.* 9. *Apr.* 1642. *Exact Coll.* pag. 135.

know) according to the Example of any Church that ever was in the World (beſt or worſt) ſince the Creation.

II. In the ſecond Arricle, our Grief and Fears had been leſſe, if we could have obſerved *the Extirpation of Popery, Hereſie, Schiſm, and Prophaneneſs*, to have been as really intended and ſet on with as much Speed and Animoſity, as the Extirpation of *Prelacy*, and that which ſome call *Superſtition*. But when we ſee, under the Notions of rooting out Prelacy and Superſtition, ſo much Quickneſs uſed to fetch in the Revenues of the Church and the ſacred Utenſils (no otherwiſe guilty of Superſtition, for ought we know, than that they are worth ſomething;) and on the other Side, ſo little yet done toward the Extirpation of Hereſie, Schiſm, and Profaneneſs, (as Things of leſs temporal Advantage:) We cannot diſſemble our Suſpition, that the Deſigners of this Covenant might have ſomething elſe before their Eyes beſides what in the Beginning of the Introduction is expreſſed; and that there is ſomething meant in this Article, that looketh ſo like Sacriledge, that we are afraid to venture thereon.

III. In the third Article

1. Although we ſhould not otherwiſe have apprehended any Matter of Danger or Moment in the ordering of the Particulars in the Article mentioned: yet ſince M. *Challoner in his Speech*, and others have made Advantage thereof to inferre from that very Order, that the Defence of the King's Perſon and Authority ought to be with Subordination to the Preſervation of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdome, *(w)* which are *in the firſt Place*, and before it to be endeavoured; we hope we ſhall be excuſed, if we dare not take the Covenant in this Senſe; eſpecially, conſidering that if the Argument be of any Force, it will bind us at leaſt, as ſtrongly to endeavour the Maintenance of *the King's Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate* in the firſt Place, and the reſt but ſubordinately thereunto; becauſe they are ſo ordered in the Proteſtation: And then that Proteſtation having the Advantage of preceding, it will bind us more ſtrongly, as being the firſt Obligation.

2. Whereas ſome have been the rather induced to take the Covenant in this Particular by being told, that that Limitation, *in the Preſervation and Defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdomes* was not to be underſtood excluſively: yet when we find that the Houſe of Commons in their Anſwer to the Scottiſh Papers, doe *(x)* often preſſe that Limitation, as without which the endeavouring to preſerve the King's Majeſtie's Perſon and Authority ought not to be mentioned; it cannot but deterre us from taking the Covenant in this Particular ſo underſtood.

(w) From whence it is moſt evident, that the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliaments, and Liberties of the Kingdom, are in the firſt Place to be preſerved. *Anſw. to Scottiſh Papers*, 18, *Nov.* 1646. page 21.

(x) We obſerve you mention the Defence of the King twice from the Covenant, yet in both Places leave out *In the Preſervation and*, &c. *pag.* 39. & 46. a main Clauſe, without which the other Part ought never to be mentioned. *pag.* 56.

3. Eſpe-

3. Especially being told in a late Pamphlet, that the King not having preserved the Liberties of the Kingdom, *&c.* as of Duty he ought, is thereby become a *Tyrant*, and so ceaseth to be a King, and consequently that his Subjects cease to be Subjects, and owe him no longer Subjection. Which Assertion, since we heartily detest, as false and scandalous in the Supposition, and in the Inference seditious and divelish; we darre not by subscribing this Article seem to give the least Countenance thereunto.

4. But it striketh us with Horror to think what Use hath been made of this fourth Article; concerning the Punishment of Malignants, *&c.* as by others otherwaies; so especially by *the Corrector of a Speech without Doors*, written in the Defence of Mr. *Challoner*'s Speech: who is so bold as to tell the Parliament, that they are bound by their Covenant (for the bringing of evill Instruments to condigne Punishment) to destroy the King and his Posterity, and that they cannot justifie the taking away of *Strafford*'s and *Canterbury*'s Lives for Delinquency, whilst they suffer the chief Delinquent to go unpunished.

Sect. VII. *Of the Salvo*'s.

THE *Salvo*'s that we have usually met withall, for the avoyding of the aforesaid Scruples, either concerning the whole Covenant, or some Particulars therein of special Importance, we find upon Examination to be no Way satisfactory to our Consciences.

The first is that we may take the Covenant *in our own Sense*: but this (in a Matter of this Nature, *viz.* an imposed promisory Oath, in the Performance whereof others also are presumed to be concerned) seemeth to be,

1. Contrary *to the Nature and End of an Oath*, which unless it be full of Simplicity, cannot be sworn in Truth and Righteousness, nor serve to the ending of Controversies and Contradictions, which was the Use for which it was instituted, *Heb.* 6.

2. Contrary *to the End of Speech?* God having given us the Use of Speech for this End, that it might be the Interpreter of the Mind; it behoveth us as in all other our Dealings and Contracts, so especially where there is the Intervention of an Oath, so to speak, as that they whom it concerneth, may clearly understand our Meaning by our Words.

3. Contrary to *the End of the Covenant* it self. Which being the Confirmation of a firm Union among the Covenanters, that by taking thereof they might have mutuall Assurance of mutuall Assistance and Defence; If one may be allowed to take it in one Sense, and another in a contrary; the Covenanters shall have no more Assurance of mutuall Assistance each from other after the taking of the Covenant, than they had before.

4. Contrary to the *solemn Profession* made by each Covenant (in expresse Terms in the Conclusion thereof) *in the Presence of Almighty God the Searcher of all Hearts*, that he taketh it *with a true Intention to perform the same, as he shall answer it at the great Day.*

II. This will bring a Scandall upon our Religion,

1. That

1. That we practiſe that our ſelves, which we condemn in Papiſts, *viz.* Swearing with Jeſuitical Equivocations and mental Reſervations.
2. That we take the glorious and dreadfull Name of God in vain; and play faſt and looſe with Oathes: in as much as what we ſwear to Day in one Senſe, we may ſwear the direct contrary to Morrow in another. And
3. It will give Strength to that Charge which is layed to the Preſbiterian Party, in ſpecial, both (*y*) by *Jeſuites* and (*z*) *Sectaries*; that there is no Faith to be given to Proteſtants, whatever they ſwear; becauſe they may ſwear one Thing in their Words, and in their own Senſe mean another.

The ſecond Way is, to take the Covenant with theſe or the like general *Salvo*'s expreſſed, *viz. So far as lawfully I may*; *So far as it is agreeable to the Word of God, and the Lawes of the Land*; *ſaving all Oathes by me formerly taken*, &c. But

1. We believe this mocking of God would be ſo far from freeing us from the Guilt of Perjury, that thereby we ſhould rather contract a new Guilt of moſt vile and abominable Hypocriſie.
2. It ſeemeth all one unto us (the Thing being otherwiſe ſuppoſed unlawfull) as if we ſhould ſwear to kill, ſteal, commit Adultery, or forſwear our ſelves, ſo far as lawfully we may.
3. If this would ſatisfie the Conſcience, we might with a good Conſcience not only take the preſent Covenant, but even ſubſcribe to the *Council of Trent* alſo; yea, and to the *Turkiſh Alcoran*; and ſwear to maintain and defend either of them, *viz.* ſo far as lawfully we may, or as they are agreeable to the Word of God.

Thirdly, for the *ſecond Article* in particular, in the Branch concerning the Extirpation of Church-Government, we are told, that it is to be underſtood of the whole Government, taken collectively and in *ſenſu compoſito*, ſo as if we do endeavour but the taking away of *Apparitors* only, or of any other one kind of inferiour Officers belonging to the Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchy, we ſhall have ſufficiently diſcharged our whole Promiſe in that Particular without any Prejudice done to Epiſcopacy. But

1. Neither the Compoſers of the Covenant by their Words, nor the Impoſers of it by their Actions, have given us the leaſt Signification that they meant no more.
2. Yea rather, if we may judge either by the Cauſe or the Effects, we may well think there was a Meaning to extirpate the whole Government, and every Part thereof in the Article expreſſed. For

1. The Covenant being (as we have no Cauſe to doubt) framed at the Inſtance of the *Scots*, and for the eaſier procuring of their Aſſiſtance in the

(*y*) *Hæretici nec Deo, nec hominibus ſervant fidem. — Speciatim hoc addo, Calviniſtas in hac re deteriores eſſe quam Lutheranos. Nam Calviniſtæ nullam ſervant fidem: Jura, perjura.--Lutherani moderatiores ſunt.* Becan. 5. Manual. Controv. 14. n. 4. & 6.

(*z*) Invent Oathes and Covenants for the Kingdom, diſpence with them when he pleaſeth, ſwear and forſwear as the Wind turneth, like a godly Preſbyter. *Arraig. of Perſec. in Epiſt. Ded.*

late

late War, was therefore in all Reaſon ſo to be framed and underſtood, as to give them Satisfaction, and (conſidering what themſelves have *(a)* declared againſt Epiſcopacy) we have little Reaſon to believe the taking away Apparitors, or any Thing leſſe than the rooting out of Epiſcopacy it ſelf, would have ſatisfied them.

2. The Proceedings alſo, ſince the entring of this Covenant, in endeavouring by *Ordinance of Parliament* to take away the Name, Power, and Revenues of Biſhops do ſadly give us to underſtand, what was their Meaning therein.

Fourthly, as to the Scruples that ariſe from the Soveraignty of the King, and the Duty of Allegiance as Subjects; we find two ſeveral Ways of anſwering, but little Satisfaction in either.

I. The former, by ſaying (which ſeemeth to us a Piece of unreaſonable and ſtrange Divinity, that *Protection* and *Subjection* ſtanding in relation either to other, the King being now diſabled to give us Protection, we are thereby freed from our Bond of Subjection. Whereas

1. The Subjects Obligation *(Jus ſubjectionis)* doth not ſpring from, nor relate unto the actual Exerciſe of Kingly Protection; but from and unto the Princes Obligation to protect *(Jus protectionis.)* Which Obligation lying upon him as a Duty, which he is bound in Conſcience to perform, when it is in his Power ſo to do; the relative Obligation thereunto lyeth upon us as a Duty which we are bound in Conſcience to perform, when it is in our Power ſo to do. His Inability therefore ro perform his Duty doth not diſcharge us from the Neceſſity of performing ours, ſo long as we are able to do it.

2. If the King ſhould not protect us, but neglect his Part, though having Power and Ability to perform it; his voluntary Neglect ought not to free us from the faithful Performance of what is to be done on our Part. How much leſs then ought we to think our ſelves diſobliged from our Subjection, when the Non-protection on his Part is not from the Want of Will, but of Power?

II. The latter (wherein yet ſome have triumphed) by ſaying that the Parliament being the ſupreme Judicatory of the Kingdome, the King, *whereſoever in Perſon*, is ever preſent *there in his Power*, as in all other Courts of Juſtice: and that therefore whatſoever is done by them is not done without the King, but by him. But craving Pardon firſt if in Things without our proper Sphere we hap to ſpeak unproperly or amiſſe; we muſt next crave leave to be ſtill of the ſame Mind we were, till it ſhall be made evident to our Underſtandings, that the King is there *in his Power*, as it is evident to our Senſes that he is not there *in his Perſon:* Which ſo far as

(a) By the Covenant, both Houſes of Parliament, and many Thouſands of other His Majeſtie's Subjects of *England* and *Ireland* ſtand bound as well as we to hinder the ſetting up of the Church Government by Biſhops in the Kingdome of *Scotland:* And that we as well as they ſtand bound to endeavour the Extirpation thereof in *England* and *Ireland. Scots Declar. to the States of the United Provinces,* 5. Aug. 1645. *recited in Anſwer to the* Scots *Papers*, pag. 23.

our

our natural Reaſon and ſmall Experience will ſerve us to judge, all that hath been ſaid to that Purpoſe can never do,

For, firſt, to the Point of Preſence:

1. We have been brought up in a Beliefe that for the making of Lawes, the actual *(b) Royal Aſſent* was ſimply neceſſary, and not only a virtual Aſſent ſuppoſed to be included in the Votes of the Two Houſes: otherwiſe what Uſe can be made of his Negative Voice? or what need to *(c) deſire his Royal Aſſent*, to that which may be done as well without it.

2. The *(d)* Statute, providing that *the King's Aſſent to any Bill ſignified unto his Great Seal* ſhall be to all Intents of Law as valid and effectual, as if he were perſonally preſent, doth clearly import that as to the Effect of making a Law, the King's Power is not otherwiſe really preſent with the two Houſes, than it appeareth either in his Perſon or under his Seal: Any other *real Preſence* is to us a Riddle, not much unlike to that of *Tranſubſtantiation:* an imaginary Thing, rather deviſed to ſerve Turns, than believed by thoſe that are content to make Uſe of it.

3. Such Preſence of the King there, when it ſhall be made appear to us either from the Writs, whereby the Members of both Houſes are called together, or by the ſtanding Lawes of the Land, or by the acknowledged Judgement and continued Practice of former and latter Ages, or by an Expreſs from the King himſelf, clearly declaring his Mind to that Purpoſe, we ſhall then as becometh us, acknowledge the ſame, and willingly ſubmit thereunto.

And as for the Argument drawn from the *Analogy* of other Courts, wherein the King's Power is always ſuppoſed to be virtually preſent, under Submiſſion we conceive it is of no Conſequence.

1. The Arguments *à minore* and *à majore* are ſubject to many Fallacies; and unleſs there be a Parity of Reaſon in every requiſite Reſpect between the Things compared, will not hold good: A petty Conſtable (they ſay)

(b) The old Formes of Acts of Parliament were, *The King willeth, provideth, ordaineth, eſtabliſheth, granteth*, &c. *by the Aſſent of Parliament*, &c. See Statutes till 1. *Hen.* IV. After that, *The King, of the Aſſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and at the ſpecial Inſtance and Requeſt of the Commons of this Realm hath ordained*, &c. See Statutes 1. *Hen.* IV. till 1. *H.* VII. A Form of ſuch Petition of the Commons, See 1. *Rich.* III. 6. *Prayen the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, that where*, &c. *Pleaſe it therefore your Highneſs, by the Advice and Aſſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in this your preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, to ordain*, &c.

No Bill is an Act of Parliament, Ordinance, or Edict of Law, although both the Houſes agree unanimouſly in it, till it hath the Royal Aſſent. *Ancient Cuſtomes*, pag. 54.

Aſſemblee de ceux troys Eſtats eſt apellee un Act de Parliament: car ſans touts troys n'eſt aſcun Act de Parl. Finch Nomotech. fol. 21.

We admit that no Acts of Parliament are complete, or formally binding without the King's Aſſent. H. P. *Anſwer to* David Jenkins, *pag.* 6.

(c) —which if your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to adorn with your Majeſtie's Royal Aſſent, (without which it can neither be complete and perfect, nor—) *Stat.* 1 *Jac.* I.

(d) Stat. 33. *Hen.* III. 21.

may

may do ſomething which a Juſtice of Peace cannot do: And the Steward of a petty Mannor hath Power to adminiſter an Oath, which (as we are told) the Houſe of Commons it ſelf hath no Power to do.

2. That the High Court of Parliament is the ſupream Judicatory, we have been told it is by Vertue of the King's Right of preſiding there, he being (*e*) the *Supream Judge*, and the Members of both Houſes his Council: which being ſo, the Reaſon of Difference is plain between that and other Judicatories in ſundry Reſpects.

1. The Judges in other Courts are deputed by him, and do all in his Name, and by his Authority; and therefore the Preſence of his Power in thoſe Courts of miniſterial Juriſdiction is ſufficient, his perſonal Preſence not neceſſary, neither hath he any perſonall Vote therein at all. But in the High Court of *Parliament*, where the King himſelf is the ſupream Judge, judging in his own Name and by his own Authority, his Power cannot be preſumed to be really preſent without either the actual Preſence of his Perſon, or ſome virtuall Repreſentation thereof ſignified under his Great Seal.

2. The Judges in inferiour Courts, becauſe they are to act all in his Name, and by his Authority, do therefore take Oaths of Fidelity for the right exerciſing of Judicature in their ſeverall Places; ſitting there, not by any proper Intereſt of their own, but onely in Right of the King, whoſe Judges they are, and therefore they are called the King's Judges and his Miniſters. But in the High Court of Parliament, the Lords and Commons ſit there in Councel with the King as Supream Judge, for the Good of the whole Realm; and therefore they are not called the King's Judges, but the King's Councel; and they have their ſeverall proper Rights and Intereſts peculiar and diſtinct both between themſelves, and from that of the Kings; by reaſon whereof they become *diſtinct* (*f*) *Orders*, or as of late Times they have been ſtiled (in this Senſe as we conceive) (*g*) *three diſtinct Eſtates*. Each of which being ſuppoſed to be the beſt Conſervators of their own proper Intereſt, if the Power of any one Eſtate ſhould be preſumed to be virtually preſent in the other two, that Eſtate muſt needs be inevitably liable to ſuffer in the proper Intereſts thereof. Which might quickly prove deſtructive to the whole Kingdome: The Safety and Proſperity of the whole conſiſting in the Conſervation of the juſt Rites and proper Intereſt of the main Parts, *viz.* The King, Lords, and Commons, inviolate and entire.

(*e*) *Dominus Rex habet ordinariam juriſdictionem, dignitatem & poteſtatem ſuper omnes qui in regno ſuo ſunt.* — *Ea quæ Juriſdictionis ſunt & pacis* — *ad nullum pertinent niſi ad coronam & dignitatem Regiam, nec à coronâ ſeparari poſſunt. Bract*, cited by *Stamford*, lib. 2. cap. 2.

(*f*) For in our Laws, the Clergy, Nobility, and Communalty, are the three Eſtates. — *We your ſaid moſt loving, faithful, and obedient Subjects*, (*viz.* the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons) *repreſenting your three Eſtates of your Realm of* England, 1. Eliz. 3. —— *The State of the Clergy being one of the greateſt States of this Realm.* 8. Eliz. 1.

(*g*) See *Finch*, *ſupra ad lit.* (*b*)

3. The Judges of other Courts, foraſmuch as their Power is but miniſterial and meerly judicial, are bounded by the preſent Laws, and limited alſo by their own Acts: ſo as they may neither ſwerve from the Laws, in giving Judgment, nor reverſe their own Judgments after they are given. But the High Court of *Parliament*, having (by reaſon of the King's Supream Power preſiding therein) a Power Legiſlative as well as Judiciall, are not ſo limited by any earthly Power, but that they may change and over-rule the Laws, and their own Acts at their Pleaſure. The King's Perſonall Aſſent therefore is not needfull in thoſe other Courts, which are bounded by thoſe Laws whereunto the King hath already given his Perſonall Aſſent; but unto any Act of Power beſide, beyond, above, or againſt the Laws already eſtabliſhed. We have been informed, and it ſeems to us very agreeable to Reaſon, that the King's Perſonall Aſſent ſhould be abſolutely neceſſary: Foraſmuch as every ſuch Act is the Exerciſe of a Legiſlative rather than of a Judiciall Power; and no Act of Legiſlative Power in any Community (by Conſent of all Nations) can be valid, unleſs it be confirmed by ſuch Perſon or Perſons as the Soveraignty of that Community reſideth in. Which Soveraignty, with us, ſo undoubtedly reſideth in the Perſon of the King, that his ordinary Style runneth, — *Our (h) Soveraigne Lord the King:* And he is in the Oath of Supremacy expreſly acknowledged to be *the onely Supreme Governour within his Realms.* And we leave it to the Wiſdome of others to conſider what Miſery and Miſchief might come to the Kingdom, if the Power of any of theſe *three Eſtates* ſhould be ſwallowed up by any one or both the other, and if then under the Name of a Judiciall, there ſhould be yet really exerciſed a Legiſlative Power.

4. Since all Judiciall Power is radically and originally in the King, (who is for that Cauſe ſtyled by the Laws *(i) the Fountain of Juſtice*) and not in any other Perſon or Perſons, but by Derivation from him: it ſeemeth to us evident, that neither the Judges of inferiour Courts of miniſteriall Juſtice, nor the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the High Court of Parliament, may of Right exerciſe any other Power over the Subjects of this Realm, than ſuch as by their reſpective Patents and Writs iſſued from the King, or by the known eſtabliſhed Laws of the Land, formerly aſſented unto by

(h) The Crown of *England* hath been ſo free at all Times, that it hath been in no earthly Subjection, but immediately to God in all Things touching the Regality of the ſaid Crown. —— 16. *Rich.* II. 5. *Omnis ſub eo eſt, & ipſe ſub nullo, niſi tantùm ſub Deo. Parem autem non habet Rex in regno ſuo, quia — Item nec multò fortiùs ſuperiorem aut potentiorem habere debet, quia ſic eſſet inferior ſuis ſubjectis.* Bract. conten. 1. Rubr. 36.

— *Cui* αὐτοκρατορικὴν, *legibus ipſis legum vim imponendi poteſtatem Deus dedit.* Finch Nomotech. in Epiſt. Dedic. to K. *James.*

(i) Fons Juſtitiæ. Bract. By War to intend the Alteration of the Laws in any Part of them, is to levy War againſt the King, and conſequently Treaſon by the Stat. of 25 *Edw.* III. — becauſe they are the King's Laws. He is the Fountain from whence in their ſeveral Channels they are derived to the Subject. *Maſter* Saint John's *Speech concerning the Earl of* Strafford, *page* 12.

the

the Kings of this Realm doth appear to have been from him derived unto them. Which Laws, Patents and Writs being the exact Boundary of their ſeverall Powers, it hath not yet been made appear to our Underſtandings, either from the Laws of the Realm, or from the Tenour of thoſe Writs by which the Parliament is called, that the two Houſes of Parliament have any Power without the King to *order, command, or tranſact*; but with him (*k*) to *treat, conſult and adviſe* concerning the great Affairs of the Kingdome. In which Reſpect they have ſundry Times in their Declarations to his Majeſty, called themſelves by the Name of his great Councell. And thoſe Laws and Writs are (as we conceive) the proper Topick, from which the juſt Power of the honourable Houſes can be convincingly deduced: and not ſuch frail Collections as the Wits of Men may raiſe from ſeeming Analogies and Proportions.

Sect. VIII. *Of the Negative Oath.*

WE are not ſatisfied, how we can ſubmit to the taking of the *Negative Oath.*

1. Without Forfeiture of that *Liberty*, which we have ſworn and are bound to preſerve. With which Liberty we conceive it to be inconſiſtent, that any Obligation ſhould be laid upon the Subject, by an Oath not eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament.
2. Without abjuring our (*l*) *naturall Allegiance*, and violating the *Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance* by us formerly taken. By all which being bound to our Power to *aſſiſt the King*, we are by this *Negative Oath* required to ſwear, from our Heart, *not to aſſiſt him.*
3. Without *Diminution of his Majeſtie's juſt Power and Greatneſs*, contrary to the third Article of the Covenant; by acknowledging a Power in the two Houſes of Parliament, in Oppoſition to the King's Power. Whereas we profeſs our ſelves unable to underſtand; how there can be any lawfull Power exerciſed within this Realm, which is not ſubordinate to the Power of the King.

Sect. IX. *Of the Ordinances concerning the Diſcipline and Directory.*

FIRST, concerning them altogether; we are not ſatisfied how we can ſubmit to ſuch Ordinances of the two Houſes of Parliament, not having the *Royall Aſſent.*

1. As are contrary to the eſtabliſhed Laws of this Realm, contained in ſuch Acts of Parliament as were made by the joynt Conſent of the King, Lords and Commons.

(*k*) — *Et ibidem vobiſcum colloquium habere, tractare ſuper dictis negotiis tract. veſtrumq; concilium impenſur:* Writ to the Lords.

(*l*) Every Subject by the Duty of his Allegiance is bounden to ſerve and aſſiſt his Prince and Soveraigne Lord at all Seaſons when Need ſhall require. 11. *Hen.* VII. 18.

2. Nor ſo onely, but alſo pretend by Repeal to abrogate ſuch Act or Acts. For, ſince *Ejuſdem eſt poteſtatis deſtruere cujus eſt conſtituere*, it will not ſink with us, that a leſſer Power can have a juſt Right to cancell and annull the Act of a greater.

3. Eſpecially the whole Power of ordering all Matters Eccleſiaſtical being by the Laws, *(m)* in expreſs Words, *for ever annexed to the Imperiall Crown of this Realm.* And upon what Head that Crown ought to ſtand, none can be ignorant.

II. As to the particular Ordinances: thoſe that concern the *Diſcipline*, firſt.

1. If under that Title be comprehended the *Government* alſo: we cannot ſubmit thereunto, without conſenting to the Eradication of a Government of reverent Antiquity in the Church. Which (notwithſtanding the ſeverall Changes of Religion within this Realm) hath yet from Time to Time been continued and confirmed by the Publique Laws and Great Charters of the Kingdom: than which there cannot be a more ample Teſtimony that it was ever held agreeable to the Civill Government and the Subjects Liberty. Which alſo the ſucceſſive Kings of this Realm at their ſeveral Coronations have ſolemnly ſworn to preſerve. And the Continuance whereof for ſundry Reaſons before (upon the ſecond Article of the Covenant) ſpecified, we heartily wiſh and deſire.

2. But if the Word *Diſcipline* be taken (as it is in the firſt Article of the Covenant) as *contra-diſtinguiſhed unto the Government:* there is ſomething even in that alſo, wherein we are not fully ſatisfied, *viz.* the leaving of ſo much Power in ſo many Perſons, and thoſe, many of them of mean Quality, for the keeping back of Thouſands of well-meaning Chriſtians from the Benefit and Comfort of the bleſſed Sacrament. An Auſterity, for which there appeareth not to us any probable Warrant from the Word of God: But which ſeemeth rather repugnant, as to the generall Principles of Chriſtian Prudence and Charity, ſo to the Directions and Practice of St. *Paul* in particular, 1 *Cor.* 5. 1, &c. who in a Church abounding with ſundry Errors and Corruptions both in Faith and Manners, (having firſt given Order for the Excommunicating of one onely Perſon, that by ſhameleſs Continuance in a notorious Sin had brought a foul Scandall upon the Goſpell) ſufficing himſelf then with a general Propoſal of the great Danger of *unworthy Communicating*, remitteth every other particular Perſon to a *Self-Examination*; without any Order either to Miniſters or Lay-Elders to exclude any from the Holy Communion upon their Examination. 1 *Cor.* 11. 28, &c.

III. As to the Ordinance concerning the *Directory* in particular: we cannot without regret of Conſcience, (during our preſent Judgement, and the Continuance of the preſent Laws) conſent to the taking away of *the Book of Common Prayer.*

1. Which by our Subſcriptions moſt of us have approved; with a ſolemn Promiſe therewithall, in the publique Service to uſe the Form preſcribed therein, and no other.

(m) Stat. *Eliz.* 1.

2. Which,

2. Which, according to our ſaid Subſcription and Promiſe, and our bounden Duty according to the Statute *(n)* in that Caſe provided, we have hitherto uſed in our Churches, Chappels, and other Oratories, to the great Benefit and Comfort of our Souls.

3. Which we verily believe not to contain any Thing which (with ſuch favourable Conſtruction as of right ought to be allowed to all Manner of Writings) is not juſtly defenſible; which hath not been by learned and godly Men ſufficiently maintained, againſt ſuch Exceptions as have been heretofore taken thereat; and which we are not confident (by the Aſſiſtance of Almighty God) we ſhall be able to juſtifie (as Occaſion ſhall be offered) againſt all Papiſts, and other Oppugners or Depravers thereof whatſoever.

4. Which is eſtabliſhed by an *Act of Parliament*, made (in peaceable Times) by as good and full Authority as any under Heaven can have over us. Which doth ſo weigh with us, that as it freeth us from the Neceſſity of giving in any particular Exceptions againſt the *Directory*, or any Thing therein contained: ſo it layeth an inevitable Neceſſity upon us of continuing the Form of Prayer therein enjoyned, and of not admitting any *Directory* or other Form to the Prejudice thereof, till the ſaid Act ſhall by the like good and full Authority be repealed.

In which Statute there is not onely an *expreſs Command* given to all Miniſters for the uſing of the ſame; but there are alſo *Sanctions of ſevere Puniſhments* to be inflicted upon ſuch of them as ſhall refuſe ſo to do; or ſhall preach, declare, or ſpeak any thing to the Derogation or Depraving the Book of Common Prayer, or of any Thing therein contained, or any Part thereof, with Puniſhments alſo to be inflicted upon every other Perſon whatſoever *(the Lords of the Parliament not excepted)* that ſhall in like Manner declare or ſpeak againſt the ſaid Book; or ſhall by Deed or Threatening compel, or otherwiſe procure or maintain any Miniſter to ſay open Prayer, or to miniſter any Sacrament, in any other Manner or Form than is mentioned in the ſaid Book; or ſhall interrupt or hinder any Miniſter in the Uſe of the ſaid Formes, as by the Words of the ſaid Statute more at large may appear.

Which Statute alſo hath had ſuch an univerſal powerful Influence into the ſucceeding Times, that in all ſuch *(o)* Statutes as have been ſince made againſt Popiſh Recuſants, the refuſing to *be preſent at Common-Prayer, or to receive the Sacrament according to the Forms and Rites* mentioned in that Book, is expreſſed as the moſt proper legall Character, whereby to diſtinguiſh a *Popiſh Recuſant* from a true Proteſtant. In ſo much that Uſe hath been made of that very Character in ſundry Acts, ſince the Beginning of this preſent Parliament, for the taxing of double Payments upon *Recuſants*.

Thus have we clearly and freely repreſented our preſent Judgment concerning the ſaid Covenant, Negative Oath, and Ordinances; which upon better Information in any particular, we ſhall be ready to rectifie. Only we

(n) 1. *Eliz.*

(o) Stat. 23. *Eliz.* 1. & 29. *Eliz.* 6. & 35. *Eliz.* 1. & 2. & 3 *Jac.* 4. & 5.

deſire

desire it may be considered, that if any one single Scruple, or Reason in any the Premisses remain unsatisfied, (though we should receive full Satisfaction in all the rest) the Conscience would also remain still unsatisfied. And in that Case, it can neither be reasonable for them that cannot satisfie us to presse us, not lawfull for us that cannot be satisfied to submit to the said Covenant, Oath and Ordinances.

Quis damnaverit eum, qui duabus potentissimis rebus defenditur, Jure & mente? Quintil.

Rom. 14. 22. Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that which he alloweth.

A True and Exact Copy of a treasonable and bloody Paper, called the Fanaticks New Covenant: Which was taken from Mr. DONALD CARGILL, at *Queens-Ferry*, the Third Day of *June*, *Anno Dom.* 1680. one of their Field-Preachers, a declared Rebel and Traytor.

Together with their execrable Declaration, published at the Cross of *Sanquhair*, upon the Twenty-two Day of the said Month of *June*, after a solemn Procession and Singing of Psalms, by CAMERON, the notorious Ringleader of, and Preacher at, their Field Conventicles, accompanied with Twenty of that wicked Crew.

A True and Exact Copy of a Treasonable Paper, *&c.*

WE Under-Subscribers, for our selves, and all that join with us, and adhere to us, being put to it by God, our Consciences, and Men; Do bind our Souls with a solemn and sacred Bond, lest on the one Hand we should be carried with the Stream of the Apostacy and Defection of the Church in this Time, and on the other Hand, lest we should (not being so engaged) evanish in Vanity, and be without a right Rule in good Designs: We judged it our Duty again to covenant with God, and one another, and to publish this *DECLARATION* to the World of our Purposes, that Men may know our most inward Thoughts, the Rules that we walk by, and the outmost Ends that we have before our Eyes for this Intent, that these who are Lovers of God, zealous of His reigning in Glory, and desirous of Reformation, and the Propagation of his Kingdom, may have Occasion no more to be jealous of our Intentions, and others may have no Ground to load us with odious and foul Aspersions; but that all knowing the Truth

Truth of us, if they ſhall ſtrive againſt us, and Truth with us, ſhall do it without Excuſe, and againſt Conviction; and that theſe who ſhall join with us, may do it upon ſolid and undoubted Grounds, and both they and we may expect Grace from Him, faithfully to perſevere, and happily to be ſucceſsful in ſo good Purpoſes.

It is true, We are not ignorant of the great Unmindfulneſs, Failing, Counteracting, and Mocking that has been in our former Vows and Covenants with God, and of the great Judgments that have, and are like to follow ſuch impious and ſinful dealing with God in ſuch weighty Matters, (for which we both ought and deſire to be humbled before Him) which cannot but make us with great Trembling of Heart enter into new ones, knowing both our own Weakneſs and Readineſs to relapſe, and the great Hazard and Danger of ſuch Relapſes: Yet, the Deſire of recovering and preſerving a Remnant, and the Conviction of this, as the moſt convenient Mean, the Zeal to God's Glory, and Chriſt's Reigning, (which is the higheſt and moſt acceptable Duty Man can perform to God) hoping for His Mercies, (who is witneſs to the Integrity of our Hearts, and the Rightneſs of our Intentions) that he will inſtruct, direct, accept, and proſper us, we go forward, declaring, that nothing elſe but what we here expreſs is our Deſign.

I.

We covenant and ſwear, that we take the only true and living God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, to be our God, and betake our ſelves to the Merits and Righteouſneſs of his Son, as the alone Righteouſneſs that can juſtifie us before God; and that we take his Scriptures and Word to be the Object of our Faith, and Rule of our Converſation in all Things; and that we ſhall give up our ſelves to Him to be Renewed, Inſtructed, and in all Things ruled by His Spirit, according to that Word; and ſhall earneſtly endeavour, by His Grace, to render to Him that Love, Worſhip and Obedience, that His Word requires, and His Goodneſs engages us to.

II.

That we ſhall to the outmoſt of our Power, advance the Kingdom of our Chriſt eſtabliſh'd throughout the Land, (if at any Time hereafter God ſhall give us this Opportunity) Righteouſneſs, and the true reformed Religion, in the Truth of its Doctrine, in the Purity and Power of its Worſhip and Ordinances, and in its Diſcipline and Government, and free the Church of God from the Thraldom, Tyranny, Incroachment, and Corruption of Prelacy on the one Hand, and Eraſtianiſm on the other. And that we ſhall to our Power, relieve the Church and Subjects of this Kingdom, (we being called thereto, by His giving of us Power, Power being God's-Call to do Good,) of that Oppreſſion that hath been exerciſed upon their Conſciences, Civil Rights and Liberties, that Men may ſerve Him holily, without Fear, and poſſeſs their Civil Rights in Quietneſs, without Diſturbance.

III.

That we ſhall endeavour to our outmoſt, the Extirpation of the Kingdom of Darkneſs, and whatſoever is contrair to the Kingdom of Chriſt, and eſpecially Idolatry, and Popery in all the Articles of it, as we are bound in our

our national Covenant; and Superſtition, Will-worſhip, and Prelacy, with its Hierarchy, as we are bound in our Solemn League and Covenant; and that we ſhall with the ſame Sincerity, endeavour (God giving us Aſſiſtance) the Overthrow of that Power that hath eſtabliſhed that Prelacy and Eraſtianiſm over the Church, and exerciſes ſuch a luſtful and arbitrary Tyranny over the Subjects, ſeeking again to introduce Idolatry and Superſtition in theſe Lands, contrair to our Covenants: And in a Word, that we ſhall endeavour the Extirpation of all the Works of Darkneſs, and the Relicts of Idolatry and Superſtition, (which are both much enlarged and revived in our Times,) and execute righteous Judgment impartially (according to the Word of God, and Degree of Wickedneſs) upon the Committers of theſe Things, but eſpecially, Blaſphemy, Idolatry, Atheiſm, Sorcery, Perjury, Uncleanneſs, Profanation of the Lord's-Day, Oppreſſion and Malignancy; that being thus zealous for God, he may delight to dwell among us.

IV.

Seriouſly conſidering, that the Hand of our Kings has been againſt the Throne of the Lord, and that now for a long Time, the Succeſſion of our Kings, and the moſt Part of our Rulers with him, hath been againſt the Purity and Power of Religion and Godlineſs, and Freedom of the Church of God, and hath degenerate from the Vertue and good Government of their Predeceſſors into Tyranny, and hath of late ſo manifeſtly rejected God, his Service and Reformation, as a Slavery, as they themſelves call it in their publick Papers, (eſpecially, in theſe laſt Letters to the King, and Duke of *Lauderdale)* diſclaiming their Covenant with God, and blaſphemouſly inacting it to be burnt by the Hand of a Hangman, governed contrary to all right Laws, Divine and Humane, exerciſed ſuch Tyranny, and Arbitrary Government, oppreſt Men in their Conſciences and Civil Rights, uſed free Subjects (Chriſtian and Reaſonable Men) with leſs Diſcretion and Juſtice than their Beaſts; and ſo not only fruſtrate the great End of Government, (which is, that Men may live godly, holily, and peaceably under them, and might be maintained in their Rights and Liberties from Injury and Wrong) but hath alſo walked contrary to it; ſo that it can no more be called *a Government*, but a *luſtful Rage*, exerciſed with as little right Reaſon, and with more Cruelty than in Beaſts, and they themſelves can be no more called *Governours*, but *publick Graſſators*, and *publick Judgments*, which all Men ought as earneſtly to labour to be free of, as of Sword, Famine, or Peſtilence raging amongſt us; and beſides, hath ſtopped (inſtead of puniſhing) the Courſe of Law and Juſtice againſt Idolaters, Blaſphemers, Atheiſts, Murtherers, Inceſtuous and Adulterous, and other Malefactors; and inſtead of rewarding the Good, hath made Butcheries and Murthers on the Lord's People, ſold them as Slaves, impriſoned, forfaulted, baniſhed and fined them, upon no other Account, but for Maintaining the Lord's Right to rule Conſciences, againſt the Uſurpations of Men, for fulfilling their Vows, and repelling unjuſt Violence, which innocent Nature allows to all; of all which, and more Particulars, we can give (we ſpeak as before God) innumerable and ſure Inſtances: Neither can it be thought, that there is Hope of their returning

returning from these Courses, having so often shewed their Natures, and Enmities against God, and all Righteousness, and so often declared, and renewed their Purposes and Promises of persevering in these Courses. And, suppose they should dissemble a Repentance of these Evils, and profess to return to better Courses, being put to Straits, or for their own Ends, (for upon no other Account can we reasonably expect it;) and though it might be thought, that there might be Pardon for what is done, (which we cannot yet see to be, without the Violation of the Law of God, and a great Guiltiness on the Land, from which Guiltiness the Land can never be free, but by executing of God's righteous Judgments upon them, for omitting of so greatly deserved, and so necessarily requisite a Justice;) yet they cannot be believed, after they have violated all Tyes that human Wisdom can devise to bind Men; and beside, there will be something of Folly found, to think to bind a King that pretends to Absoluteness: and our Fathers, or rather our selves, at first judged it not warrantable to receive Him, without consenting to, and swearing of the Covenant: And if so, the renouncing and disclaiming thereof, we ought at present to judge, to be a just and reasonable Ground of rejecting Him upon these Grounds, being assured of God's Approbation, and Men's, whose Hearts are not utterly byassed, and their Consciences altogether corrupted, and knowing assuredly, that the upholding of such, is to uphold Men, to bear down Christ's Kingdom, and to uphold Satan's, and the depriving of Men of right Government, and good Governours, to the ruining of Religion, and undoing of humane Society. We then seeing the innumerable Sins and Snares, that are in giving Obedience to their Acts; on the other Hand, seeing, if we shall acknowledge their Authority, and refuse Obedience to their sinful Commands, the endless Miseries that will follow, and siding with God (who we hope will accept and help us to a Liberation from their Tyranny) against his stated and declared Enemies; do reject that King, and these associate with Him, from being our Rulers, because standing in the Way of our right, free and peaceable serving of God, propagating His Kingdom and Reformation, and overthrowing Satan's Kingdom, according to our Covenant; and declares them henceforth to be no lawful Rulers, as they have declared first to be no lawful Subjects, upon a Ground far less warrantable, as Men unbyassed may see; and that after this, we neither owe, nor shall yield any willing Obedience to them, but shall rather suffer the outmost of their Cruelties and Injustice, untill God shall plead our Cause, and that upon these Accounts; because, they have altered and destroyed the Lord's established Religion, overturned the fundamental and establish'd Laws of the Kingdom, taken altogether away Christ's Church and Government, and changed the Civil Government of this Land (which was by King and free Parliaments) into Tyranny, where none are associate to be Partakers of the Government, but only those who will be found by Justice to be guilty Criminals, and all others excluded; even those, who by the Laws of the Land by Birth had a Right to, and a Share in that Government, and that only, because not of the same Guiltiness and mischievous Purposes with themselves: And also,

all free Elections of Commissioners for Parliaments, and Officers for Government, are made void by their making those the Qualifications of Admission to these Places, which by the Word of God, and the Laws of this Land, were the Cause of their Exclusion before, so that none can look upon us, or judge us bound in Alledgiance, to them, unless they say also we are bound in Alledgiance to Divels, they being his Vicegerents, and not God's.

V.

We then being made free, by God and their own Doings, He giving the Law, and they giving the Transgression of that Law, which is the Cause that we are loosed now from all Obligations, both Divine and Civil to them, and knowing that no Society of Men that hath Corruption in them (which always is ready to beget Disorders, and do Injuries, unless restrained and punished by Laws and Government) can be without Laws and Government, and withal, desiring to be governed in the best Way that is least lyable to Inconveniencies and Tyranny, we do declare, that we shall set up over our selves, and over all that God shall give us Power, Government, and Governours, according to the Word of God, and especially according to that Word *Exod.* 18. *v.* 21. *Moreover, thou shalt provide out of all the People, able Men, such as fear God, Men of Truth, hating Covetousness*; and that we shall no more commit the Government of our selves, and the making of Laws for us, to any one single Person, and lineall Successor, we not being tyed as the *Jews* were, by God, to one Family; Government not being an Inheritance, but an Office, which must be squared, not to the Interest and Lust of a Man, but to the Good of the Common-wealth; and this kind of Government by a single Person, *&c.* being most liable to Inconveniencies, (as sad and long Experience may now teach us,) and aptest to degenerate into Tyranny. Moreover, we declare, that these Men whom we shall set over us, shall be engaged to govern us principally by that Civil, or Judicial Law, given by God to His People of *Israel*, especially in Matters of Life and Death, and in all other Things also, so far as they teach, except only that Law, (*viz.* anent Slaves) which does not agree with that Christian Liberty, established in all Christendom, only violated by our Tyrants, (and some others of late) and that of Divorces and Poligamy; the one being not a Law, but a Permission granted, upon the Account of the Hardness of their Hearts, the other being a sinful Custom, contrair to the first Institution of Marriage, crept into the Church: We know that Men of malignant and perverse Spirits, that have not a higher God than a wicked King, which suits only with their lustful Licentiousness; and it may be others with them, that seemed to be of better Principles, will raise an ignorant Clamour upon this, that it is a Fifth Monarchy, and we Fifth-Monarchy-Men, and will labour to amuse the People with strange Terms, and put odious Names on good Things, to make them hateful, as their Way is; but if this be their Fifth-Monarchy, we both are, and ought to be such, and that according to His Word.

VI.

It being the Work of the Ministers of the Gospel, to preach, propagate, and defend the Kingdom of God, and to preserve the Doctrine, Worship, Dis-

Discipline, Government, Liberties, and Priviledges of the same, from all Corruptions and Incroachments of Rulers, and all others. And seeing, that the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland*, (at least the greatest Part of them before) not only were defective in Preaching, and testifying against the Acts of these Rulers, for overthrowing Religion and Reformation, abjuring our Covenant made with God, establishing a Government in the Church, which that King calls His own Government, (and so not God's) contrair to our Covenant; Against inacting of that blasphemous (so *Calvin* calls that Supremacy of *Henry* the Eighth, upon which this Prerogative is founded, and from which it is derived, and is no less, if not more injurious to Christ, and inslaving to his Church) and sacrilegious Prerogative given to a King over the Church of God, and against the other Acts and Incroachments of His Church, and hindered others also who were willing, and would have testified against them, and censured some that did it, (for which, together with the other Causes in their Trust and Administration, we may say, God hath left them to do worse Things) but also hath voted in that Meeting, (which they are pleased to call an Assembly of Ministers, but how justly, let Men judge) an Acceptation of that Liberty, founded upon, and given by vertue of that blasphemously arrogated and usurped Power; and hath appeared before their Courts to accept of that Liberty, and to be enacted and authorized there as Ministers, and so hath willingly (for this is an elicit Act of the Will, and not an Act of Force and Constraint) translated the Power of sending out, ordering, censuring, (for as they accept of their Liberty from them, so they submit to their Censures and Restraints, at least all of them who were yet tried with it, and others of them appeared and acknowledged before their Courts, that they would not have done these Things that they were charged with, if they had thought it would have offended them) Ministers departing from the Court of Christ, and Subjection to the Ministry, to the Courts of Men, and Subjection to the Magistrate, (which had been impious and injurious to Christ and His Church, though they had been righteous and lawful Rulers) and by their changing of Courts, (according to Common Law) hath changed their Masters, and of the Ministers of Christ are become the Ministers of Men, and bound to answer to them as oft as they will; and as by the Acceptation of this Liberty in such Manner, they have translated the Power, so they have given up, and utterly quit the Government, and a Succession of a Presbyterian Ministry; for as these were not granted them of their Masters, so they exercise their Ministry without them, and so by this, as the Ecclesiastick Government is swallowed up in the Civil, (if the rest had followed them) the Ministry should have also been extinct with themselves, and the whole Work of Reformation had been buried in Oblivion, not so much as the Remembrance of it kept up: These, together with the other of their Commissions in Preaching, the Lawfulness of paying that Tribute declared to be imposed for the bearing down of the true Worship of God, (which they falsly termed *Seditious Conventicles)* and their advising these poor Prisoners to subscribe the Bond, and consequently could not but so advise all others, if put to it, (for the Hazard that Men were in, will not make a real Change of the

Morality of that Action) and beside, the rest may be put to it upon the same Hazard, and so if the one should advise, (which consequently they must do) and the other should subscribe, this would altogether close that Door which the Lord hath made Use of in all the Churches of *Europe*, for casting off the Yoke of the Whore, and restoring the Truth and Purity of Religion and Reformation, and Freedom of the Churches, and should have stopped all Ingress for Men, when once brought under Tyranny, to recover their Liberty again. These Ministers then, not being Followers of Christ, who before *Pontius Pilate*, gave a good Confession, which was, that he was a King, and no King, if he have not Power to order his House and Subjects, and they not following him, nor his Ministers, if not asserting and maintaining of this his kingly Power, against all Incroachers and Usurpers of it; and besides, we being commanded, *If any Brother walk disorderly, from such to withdraw*; and although in the Capacity we now are in, we neither have, nor assume to our selves Authority to give out definite and authoratative Sentences of Deposition and Supension against these Ministers; yet we declare, which is proper for us to do, that we neither can, nor will hear Preaching, nor receive Sacraments from these Ministers that have accepted of, and voted for that Liberty; and declare all who have encouraged and strengthened their Hands, by hearing and pleading for them, all those who have traffiqued for an Union with them, without their renouncing and repenting of these Things, all those that do not testifie faithfully against them, and after do not deport themselves suitably to their Testimonies, and all who joyn not in publick with their Brethren, who are testifying against them; we declare, that we shall not hear them preach, nor receive Sacraments from them, at least, till they stand in Judgment before these Ministers, and be judged by them who have followed the Lord, and kept themselves free of these Defections: And as our Hearts have cleaved to these Ministers, while they were on the Lord's side, and subjected our selves to them, so we shall still cleave to those that abide following Him, and shall be subject to them in the Lord.

VII.

Then we do declare and acknowledge, that a Gospel-Ministry, is a standing Ordinance of God, appointed by Christ, to continue in the Church until the End of the World; and that none of us shall take upon him the Preaching of the Word, or administring the Sacraments, unless called, and ordained thereto, by the Ministers of the Gospel: And as we declare, that we are for a standing Gospel Ministry, rightly chosen, and rightly ordained, so we declare, that we shall go about this Work in Time to come, with more Fasting and Praying, and more carefull Inspection into the Conversation and Holiness of these Men that shall be chosen and ordained; the Want of which formerly, hath been a great Sin, both in Ministers and People, which hath not been the least Cause of this Defection.

The

The Declaration and Teſtimony of the True-Preſbyterian, Anti-Prelatick, and Anti-Eraſtian, and Perſecuted Party in SCOTLAND.

IT is not amongſt the ſmalleſt of the Lord's Mercies to this poor Land, that there hath always been ſome who have given a Teſtimony of every Courſe of Defection which we were guilty of, which is a Token for good, that he does not as yet intend to caſt us off altogether, but that he will leave a Remnant, in whom he will be glorious, if they (through His Grace) keep themſelves clean ſtill, and walk in His Way and Method, as it hath been walked in, and owned by Him in our Predeceſſors (of truly worthy Memory) their Time, in their carrying on of our noble Work of Reformation, in the ſeveral Steps thereof, from Popery and Prelacy, and likewiſe from Eraſtian Supremacy, ſo much uſurped by Him, who it is true (ſo far as we know) is deſcended from the Race of our Kings; yet He hath ſo far deborded from what He ought to have been, by His Perjury and Uſurpation in Church-matters, and Tyranny in Matters Civil, as is known by the whole Land, that we have juſt Reaſon to believe, that one of the Lord's great Controverſies againſt us is, that we have not diſowned Him, and the Men of His Practices, whether inferiour Magiſtrates, or any others, as Enemies to our Lord and His Crown, and the true Proteſtant and Preſbyterian-Intereſt in their Hands, our Lord's eſpouſed Bride and Church. Therefore, although we be for Government, and Governours, ſuch as the Word of God, and our Covenant allows, yet we for our ſelves, and all that will adhere to us, as the Repreſentatives of the true Preſbyterian-Church, and covenanted Nation of *Scotland*, conſidering the great Hazard of lying under ſuch a Sin, do by theſe Preſents, diſown *Charles Stuart*, who hath been reigning, or rather (we may ſay) tyrannizing on the Throne of *Scotland*, or Government thereof, (forfaulted ſeveral Years ſince by his Perjury and Breach of Covenant with God and his Church) and Uſurpation of his Crown and royal Prerogatives therein, and many other Breaches in Matters Eccleſiaſtick, and by his Tyranny and Breach of the very *Leges Regnandi* in Matters Civil; for which Reaſons, we declare, that ſeveral Years ſince he ſhould have been denuded of being King, Ruler, or Magiſtrate, or having any Power to act, or to be obeyed as ſuch: As alſo, being under the Standard of Chriſt, Captain of Salvation, we declare War againſt ſuch a Tyrant and Uſurper, and all the Men of his Practices, as Enemies to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, his Cauſe and Covenants, and againſt all ſuch as have ſtrengthened him, ſided with him, or any Ways acknowledged him in his Uſurpation and Tyranny, Civil and Eccleſiaſtick, yea, and againſt all ſuch as ſhall ſtrengthen, ſide with, or any Ways acknowledge any other in the like Uſurpation and Tyranny, far more againſt ſuch as would betray or deliver up our free reformed Mother Church, into the Bondage of Antichriſt, the Pope of *Rome*.

By this we homologat the Teſtimony given at *Rutherglen*, the twenty-ninth of *May*, 1679. and all the faithful Teſtimonies of theſe that have gone before

before us, as of theſe alſo that have ſuffered of late; and we do diſclaim that Declaration publiſhed at *Hamiltoun*, *June*, 1697. chiefly, becauſe it takes in the King's Intereſt, which we are ſeveral Years ſince looſed from, becauſe of the foreſaid Reaſons, and others, which may after this (if the Lord will) be publiſhed. As alſo, we diſown, and by this reſent the Reception of the Duke of *York*, a profeſt Papiſt, as repugnant to our Principles and Vows to the moſt high God, and as that which is the great (though alace too juſt) Reproach of our Church and Nation: We alſo, by this, proteſt againſt his ſucceeding to the Crown, and whatever hath been done, or any are eſſaying to do in this Land, (given to the Lord) in Prejudice to our Work of Reformation.

And to conclude, we hope none will blame us for, or offend at, our rewarding theſe that are againſt us, as they have done to us, as the Lord gives the Opportunity. This is not to exclude any that have declined, if they be willing to give Satisfaction to the Degree of their Offence.

Given at *Sanqhuair*, the 22. of *June*, 1680.

Theſe are the true and exact Copies of the Fanaticks New-Covenant, *and* Declaration; *collationed with the Originals, which are kept amongſt the Records of His Majeſtie's Privy-Council; and atteſted by*

AL. GIBSON, *Cl. Sti. Concilii,*
And WILL. PATERSON, *Cl. Sti. Concilii.*

A Letter from Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, *Thomas Scot*, *Jo. Berners*, and *John Weaver*, Eſquires; Delivered to the Lord FLEETWOOD: Owning their late Actions in endeavouring to ſecure the *Tower* of *London*, for the better Service of the City and Commonwealth. 1659.

SIR,

UNderſtanding you have received ſome Diſturbance of late, in examining divers Perſons about a Deſign to ſurprize the *Tower*; to ſave your further Trouble, we doe hereby freely own our utmoſt and hearty Endeavours to have put that Place into more faithfull and confiding Hands, and that by Authority from the Council of State, who, at the paſſing of that Reſolve, had the ſole Legall Power from the *Parliament*, of ordering, directing, and diſpoſing of all the Garriſons and Forces of this Commonwealth, both by Sea and Land; an Action ſo honeſt and honourable, as would

would not onely have given Check to your Exorbitances at *Wallingford Houſe*, and *White-Hall*, but was almoſt neceſſary to the preſerving the Peace and Safety of this great City, by giving Advantage to them, to put themſelves into a regular Poſture of Defence, and ſuch an Encouragement to the ſober Party amongſt them, as would (through GOD's Mercy) have utterly defeated the Deſigns of the Common Enemy.

Sir, Let us tell you, this Deſigne was not ſo vain but that we had (by the Bleſſing of GOD) poſſeſt that Place ſome Weeks ſince, had we not been fruſtrated by our Miſtake in the Courage and Fidelity of a Perſon, whoſe Opportunity, Intereſt, and Duty, (if not Principles) gave us better Hopes: But in this Age we are to complain and wonder at nothing, yet we cannot but highly reſent the Confidence of ſending for one of our Number by a Party of Souldiers; as if Red-coats and Muſkets were a *Non Obſtante* to all Law and publique Priviledge, not as if that Perſon, or any of us, are afraid or aſhamed to own the Enterprize, before any that have a lawful Authority to demand an Account of it; which, we are ſure no Single Perſon, Juncto, or Pack of Men, at *White-Hall*, or *Wallingford-Houſe*, have a Pretence to.

Sir, We have the Witneſſe with our own Spirits, that we have and doe cordially wiſh the Preſervation and Good of you and your Family; but if the LORD hath ſaid, you ſhall not hearken, but be hardned in your Way, we muſt acquieſce in his Providence, and with Sorrow look upon that Ruine which is flowing in upon you, as upon one in whom we thought we had ſeen ſome good.

Sir, Conſider that in the Day of Trouble, which is certainly comming upon you, what Support you will have to your Spirit, when you ſhall be aſſaulted with the Shame you have brought upon GOD's People, with the Breach of Faith to the Parliament, from whom you received your Commiſſion; with the Ruine you have brought upon your native Countrey (unleſſe the Lord by his own Almighty Arm prevent it) and with the Miſery you have led the poor Soldiers into; who inſtead of being the Inſtruments of ſecuring and ſettling the Peace and Liberty of theſe Nations, enjoying the Honour and Quiet thereof, their Arrears fully paid, future Pay and Advancement ſettled and eſtabliſhed, in order, and with the Bleſſing of their Countreymen, are now become the Inſtruments of nine Men's Ambition, have made the whole Nation their Enemies, and are expoſed again to the Hardſhip and Hazard of a new unnaturall War, without Proſpect of ever hoping that the Iſſue of theſe Affairs can leave their new Maſters ſo rich (though Conquerors) as to ſatisfie their Arrears, or ſo ſecure as to truſt Preferment in any Hands but ſuch whoſe fanatick Principles or perſonall Relations makes them irreconcileable to the publick Intereſt: But GOD (we truſt) has raiſed up a Deliverer, having by admirable Providence put an Opportunity and Power into the Hands of Generall *MONK*, the ableſt

ableſt and moſt experienced Commander of theſe Nations, whom he hath alſo ſpirited to ſtand firm for the Intereſt of this Commonwealth; as well againſt a Rebellious Party of our own Forces, (as the Deſigns of the common Enemy (notwithſtanding all cauſeleſſe and falſe Aſperſions maliciouſly caſt upon him); being warranted in his preſent Actings by eſpecial Commiſſion and Authority from the Council of State, whereas yours is that only of the Sword. Our Prayers and earneſt Requeſt for you, and all honeſt Men amongſt you, are, That you may timely joyn with him, and partake of the Honour and Bleſſing of his Actions, and your true Repentance ſhall be a greater Rejoycing, than your Defection was a Trouble. When Providence ſhall have ſeparated the precious from the vile, and not have ſuffered our Scumme to boyl in, but ſhall have placed the Sword and Civill Authority in the Hands of Men of the beſt and ſobereſt Principles.

Sir, Be not ſo far deceived as to think ſober Men ſee not through the Maſk of this ſtrange new Parliament, whoſe Liberty and Safety, either of meeting or debating, muſt be at your Pleaſures; who having taken upon you to be Conſervators of the Cauſe, will onely make Uſe of them as your Aſſeſſors and Tax-gatherers: The preſent interrupted Parliament being the ſole lawfull Authority, and which can onely be hoped to make the Sword ſubſervient to the Civill Intereſt, and ſettle the Government in the Hands of the People, by ſucceſſive and free Parliaments lawfully derived to them.

Sir, We have in Sincerity given you our Senſe, and ſhall leave you to him that diſpoſes of all Men's Hearts, and remain

Your Servants, ſo far as you ſhall be found to ſerve the Publick,

Decemb. 16. 1659.

For the Lord FLEETWOOD, late Lieutenant Generall of the Army.

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER,
THOMAS SCOT,
Jo. BERNERS,
JOHN WEAVER.

The End of the FIRST VOLUME.